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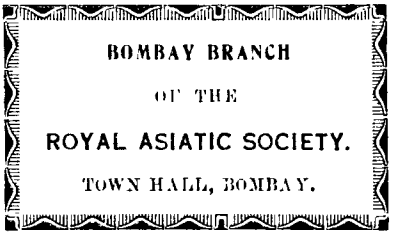

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THE

HOLY BIBLE

ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION (A.D. 1611),

WITH AN EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL

Commentary

AND

A Revision of the Translation,

BY BISHOPS AND OTHER CLERGY

OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

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EDITED

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NEW TESTAMENT.

Vol. IV.

HEBREWS—THE REVELATION OF ST JOHN.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1881

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PREFACE.

EIGHTEEN years have now passed since this Commentary on the Holy Scriptures was undertaken. Its publication was commenced ten years ago, and the concluding volume is now presented to the public. Its conception was due to the late Lord Ossington, then Speaker of the House of Commons, and to that circumstance it owes its familiar title of "The Speaker's Commentary"—a title, however, which derives a further justification from the warm interest he maintained in the progress of the work, and the constant encouragement it received from him.

The course of thought during those eighteen years has abundantly shown the opportuneness of such an undertaking, and, it may be hoped, has vindicated the general wisdom of the plan on which it was designed. In consequence of ever-accumulating discoveries, antiquarian and philological, public attention has been concentrated to an unprecedented extent upon the Holy Scriptures, upon the origin and history of their several books, upon their text and their interpretation, and this attention has, for the great mass of English readers, given a new interest and importance to the Authorized Version, in which, by the use of nearly three centuries, those Scriptures have become enshrined for them. The first anxiety of the public at large was to know how the new discoveries in philology and history bore upon that venerated translation, what corrections of its text they rendered necessary, and what elucidations of its meaning they afforded. To meet this want was the simple and practical purpose with which our

Commentary was designed, and from first to last this purpose has been kept steadily in view. In publishing the final volume a few observations seem desirable on the method with which these objects have been pursued.

In the first place, as stated on the title-page, it was from the outset a primary purpose of the Commentary to furnish in the Notes corrected translations of all passages in which the old version required revision. These emendations of the Authorized Version, when deemed certain, have throughout the work been printed in a distinctive type, darker than the rest of the Note; and the reader is thus enabled to see at a glance every correction in rendering which modern scholarship has made really necessary. The work thus presents substantially the advantages of a Revised Version—a circumstance on which it is desirable to insist, in view of the scheme for providing such a version which about eight years afterwards was set on foot and has since been partially executed.

While, however, the present work has thus, for a large class of readers, anticipated, both in conception and execution, the purpose of the Revised Version now in progress, it presents one marked difference from that undertaking. It was deemed preferable, after mature consideration, to present in our Text the Authorized Version intact. As was stated in the Preface to the first volume, "it was thought that in this way might be reconciled the claims "of accuracy and truth with that devout reverence, which has "made the present text of the English Bible so dear to all "Christians that speak the English tongue." Our design was not to supersede the Authorized Version, but to furnish the reader of it with the requisite corrections and elucidations, so that the Book which has been the life of English religion, and to a great extent of English literature, might continue to be studied in its old familiar form, while at the same time all danger of mis-reading "the pure Word of God" might be avoided.

It is, however, a fact which must give general satisfaction, and for which we feel exceedingly thankful, that on comparing the corrections adopted in the Notes to this work with the cor-

responding alterations in the Revised Version of the New Testament, we find a close approach to agreement in passages which affect the sense and have any bearing on doctrine. To appreciate the value of this result, it must be borne in mind that whereas the Revised Version of the New Testament was published in May, 1881, the three volumes of this Commentary which extend to the end of the Pastoral Epistles were completed in 1878, 1879 and 1880; while it is due to the contributors to this last volume to add that the Commentary on the remaining portion, from the Epistle to the Hebrews to the Revelation, was not only printed, but for the most part stereotyped and ready for publication, long before the appearance of the New Version. Any coincidence, therefore, between our corrections and those of the Revisers is the more valuable, as being undesigned and completely independent. In our Commentary, the reader has for every such correction the authority of a scholar who for many years had given special attention to the portion of Scripture in which it occurs, and whose judgment has generally been confirmed by his fellow-labourers, to whom as a rule the proofs of each portion were sent, and by many of whom singular care has been bestowed upon them.

When the conclusions in the two works are identical in substance, if not in form, there can be little doubt that they express positive results of Biblical Scholarship, and will probably command the consent of competent judges. When the corrections or alterations differ, the difference seldom, if ever, occurs in reference to questions of pure scholarship. It generally depends on the greater or less importance attached by either party to the testimony of early Versions, or of the great Fathers, and to the general judgment of the Churches. To such considerations great weight is, indeed, on all hands attached. But a different estimate of their influence from that adopted by the Revisers has undoubtedly determined some of the results presented in this Commentary on questions of considerable importance, especially as affecting the integrity of Holy Scripture as hitherto generally received.

Such has been the nature of our labours as respects the correction of the text of the Scriptures. In respect to the explanatory matter in the Notes, great pains have been taken to present the results of laborious investigations in a condensed form. As a rule, but little space has been allowed to the discussion of interpretations dismissed as untenable by our contributors. Our object has been to put the reader at once in possession of the results of our enquiries, and to spare him the task of comparing conflicting views, especially those which appeared merely speculative[1].

Where subjects required fuller discussion than could conveniently be afforded in notes of this character, they are dealt with separately in Essays at the close of a Book or Chapter. Our object has been simply to afford the reader the necessary materials for understanding the text; and the limits of our space precluded us, for the most part, from admitting observations which did not bear directly on this purpose. The extent of the Commentary was expected not to exceed eight or ten volumes; and it has been found practicable to complete the Old Testament in six volumes, and the New Testament in four. The volumes are, indeed, somewhat larger than was at first contemplated; but the enlargement was rendered inevitable by the constant accumulation of materials, and by the growing demand for full and precise information on points of exegetical interest.

It remains to give some account of the general conduct of the undertaking. Its conception, as has been stated, was due to the late Lord Ossington; but that the idea was carried into effect is due in the first instance to the present Archbishop of York. On the

[1] To this general rule the present volume presents one exception which calls for notice. The writer of the Commentary on the Revelation, who had devoted many years to the study of this most difficult book, deemed it essential to present, together with his own conclusions, a complete view of the systems of interpretation adopted by ancient and modern expositors of recognized position and authority. As a necessary result of this decision, in which the Editor reluctantly acquiesced, the Commentary on the Revelation considerably exceeds the average length. But it may be hoped that the reader will, on the whole, welcome what may be regarded as an exhaustive commentary on a peculiarly difficult and obscure portion of Scripture.

suggestion being made to the Archbishop, he at once proceeded to call a meeting for forming a Committee, and took an active part in its formation. By that Committee, which comprised many Prelates and distinguished laymen, with the Regius Professors of Divinity in Oxford and Cambridge, the plan of the work was settled, and the selection of the Contributors and of the general Editor was finally approved. The Archbishop of York of course became Chairman, and the practical direction of the work was entrusted to the Editor. Both in the constitution of the original Committee and in the choice of contributors, care was taken that all parties should be represented by whom the fundamental principles of the Anglican Church are recognized. For some years, meetings of the original Committee were held frequently, at which points not definitely determined, or open to question, were fully considered. These meetings were attended by all the members, generally at the residence of the Speaker; but when questions respecting the form and character of the work had been unanimously and finally decided, and when the list of contributors was completed, the execution was left to them, and to the Editor, whose responsibility extends to every part. Had questions of principle arisen, reference would have been made to the Regius Professors of Divinity and the Archbishop; but no such intervention has been called for. From first to last the work has proceeded without any clash or danger of disruption; and, as now presented to the public, it affords an attestation to the substantial unity of principles which underlies all superficial divergences of opinion within our Church.

The duty of the Editor has necessarily involved a vigilant and laborious supervision of the work of his colleagues, particularly in ensuring that no important investigations on their respective subjects were accidentally unnoticed, but the contributors have enjoyed practical independence. More particularly, in points not of primary or doctrinal importance, whether affecting the comparative value of differing expositions, or the results of archæological or philological investigations, the Editor has not attempted to interfere with the liberty or discretion of the contributors, and each of

them is strictly responsible for his own statements. It may be admitted that thorough uniformity, such as marks the production of a single mind or the labours of colleagues under complete control, is not attainable under such a system. But it will probably be felt that this disadvantage is more than compensated by the greater freedom and independence, and by the wider scope of research, which are rendered possible when each scholar follows his own course, and is himself mainly responsible for the elucidation of the portion of Scripture specially entrusted to his care.

The original list of contributors is necessarily somewhat different from that which is presented by the successive volumes. But it differs far less than might be supposed. In the Old Testament, the gaps occasioned by the deaths of three contributors were supplied from the general list without calling in new hands, except for the Book of Daniel. Thus the Editor, who originally undertook the Book of Job only, had to write the Commentary and Essays on the first part of Exodus, the Introduction and part of the Commentary on the Psalms, and that on Habakkuk; but with few exceptions, the other books have been treated by the writers to whom they were originally assigned. In the New Testament, the portion of the Gospels left incomplete by the death of Dean Mansel devolved upon the Editor. Some portions of St Paul's Epistles, from Ephesians to Philemon, surrendered by Bishops Lightfoot and Benson, were undertaken by the Bishop of Derry, aided by the Dean of Raphoe, and by other contributors originally connected with the work. In this last volume, with the exception of the Second Epistle of St Peter, and that of St Jude, every portion was written by the contributor to whom it was first allotted[1].

[1] The two Epistles of St Peter, together with that of St Jude, were originally assigned to the Editor. They were willingly transferred, however, by the Editor to Bishop, then Professor, Lightfoot, in substitution for the Pauline Epistles which he had undertaken, as he desired to be relieved from the latter, on the ground that he was producing a Commentary of his own upon them. Dr Lightfoot then engaged Professor Lumby for the Second Epistle of St Peter and for that of St Jude; and some time afterwards, on his elevation to the Bishopric of Durham, he gave up also the First Epistle of St Peter, which thus reverted to the Editor. This statement seems necessary to account for the withdrawal of so distinguished a name from the list of contributors.

The Editor cannot but express his deep thankfulness that a work involving so many difficulties, and liable to so many unforeseen disturbances, should thus have been brought to its conclusion without any substantial deviation either from the principles or the form adopted and explained at its commencement.

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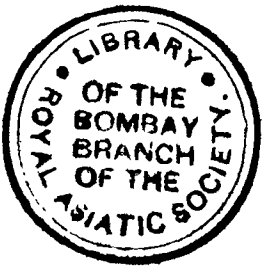

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I. THE TITLE OF THE EPISTLE.

IT is certain that the Title which stands in our Authorised Version (adopted from the Received Greek Text and the Vulgate) is not the primitive one.

In the most ancient existing Greek Manuscripts (A, B, and ℵ) the heading is simply, TO THE HEBREWS. The same must have been the case in the Alexandrian manuscripts at the end of the second century, since we find Origen speaking of "the Epistle which bears the superscription, *To the Hebrews*." The Peshito Syriac Version, also, which was made not long after the middle of the second century, has "The Epistle to the Hebrews."

It is scarcely necessary, however, to appeal to documentary evidence. All the most ancient traditions relative to this Epistle (see III. Sect. 1) imply that the oldest copies had no author's name prefixed. The writer had seen fit, for whatever reason, not to place his name at the head of the Epistle; and, although the persons to whom it was sent knew well from whom it came (see xiii. 18—24), yet those who first transcribed it imitated the writer's reticence.

Under these circumstances, it seems obviously proper that we should inquire into the evidence for the *Canonicity* of the Epistle prior to making any attempt to determine (if possible) its authorship.

II. THE CANONICITY OF THE EPISTLE.

The inquiry on this point is of a strictly historical kind.—Have we good ground for affirming that this Epistle stood, in primitive times, among the books which had authority in determining the Church's faith? and have later ages of the Church ratified, by their mature decisions, the view that had prevailed in the first age?

1. As regards *the Eastern Church*, the answers to these questions can be soon given. All the evidence we possess tends to prove that the Epistle was received as canonical from the earliest times by the churches of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The fact, already alluded to, of its insertion in the Peshito Version is a very

weighty one. Justin Martyr (A.D. 145) quoted it as a Scriptural authority of equal rank with the book of Genesis[1]. The language of the Epistle is clearly reflected in a fragment of Pinytus of Crete (A.D. 170) and in a passage of Theophilus of Antioch[2] (A.D. 180). Irenæus, also (whose testimony belongs properly to the Eastern Church), has at least two manifest allusions to this Epistle[3]. Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 165—220) quotes it frequently, and always as of apostolic authority. Origen does the same (A.D. 186—253). We need mention no later names. It is undeniable that in the third century the Epistle was received as canonical by all the churches of the East[4]; and that it has continued to be so received down to the present day.

2. On turning to *the Western Church* we find that we have a somewhat complicated problem to deal with.

(*a*) On the one hand, we have clear proof that the Epistle was already looked upon as authoritative by the Roman Church in the later part of the first century. This proof is supplied by a Letter which St Clement wrote, as Bishop of Rome and in the name of the Roman Church, to the Church of Corinth[5]. In this Letter the Epistle to the Hebrews is frequently referred to[6] in precisely the same way as the other Epistles; besides which it is evident that the writer's whole way of viewing and expounding religious truth had been largely influenced by this Epistle. The fact is unquestionable. It was observed by Eusebius; who says, "He not only borrows many thoughts from the Epistle to the Hebrews, but uses its very words[1]."

It is certain, then, that, before the end of the first century, this Epistle was held in the highest honour by the Roman Church, and was used with at least as much deference as was accorded to Epistles of confessedly apostolical origin. This is a fact of primary importance, which must never be lost sight of in the present inquiry. No other Epistle can be more distinctly proved to have had a place in the primitive canon of the Roman Church.

(*b*) On the other hand, from about the end of the second century down to the close of the fourth, we find many traces, in different parts of the Western Church, of the Epistle's not being regarded as, in the full sense of the word, canonical. It had a place assigned it in the sacred volume which contained the books of the New Testament; but, not being held to be apostolical, was not allowed to be of binding cogency for the settlement of controversy, and, in some cases, was not publicly read in the Churches.

Notwithstanding this, however, the testimony of the Western Church, as a whole, is not doubtful. For, *Firstly*:—We have already seen that the Roman Christians, who lived at the time when the Epistle was written, received it into their canon. It is inconceivable that they should have done this, if they had not had clear and positive knowledge of the author. If, therefore, apostolicity was a necessary condition (as the doubters maintained) of canonicity, then it followed that, in the judgment of those who had the means of knowing, the Epistle had been written by an apostle; and their unhesitating reception of it cannot be set aside because persons, who lived one or two or three hundred years later, thought that it was not apostolic. *Secondly*:—Whatever may have been the extent, to which an opinion adverse to the canonicity of the Epistle prevailed for a time[2], or whatever may

[1] 'Apol.' I. 63 (cp. 12). He joins together the testimonies of Gen. xviii. 2 and Hebr. iii. 1; so making (to adopt Dean Alford's words) "what can hardly but be called a canonical use of" the Epistle.

[2] Dr Westcott, on the 'Canon of the N. T.;' pp. 172, 3, 208.

[3] Compare 'c. Hær.' II. xxx. 9 with Hebr. i. 3, and III. xix. 1 with Hebr. iv. 2.

[4] That Marcion (A.D. 140) excluded it from his canon, is a fact scarcely worth noticing. He rejected three of the four Gospels, the Acts, and the Pastoral Epistles; simply because they were opposed to his own teaching.

[5] The date of the letter cannot well be later than A.D. 96. It may, however, be much earlier. Irenæus speaks of Clement as embodying in his Letter "the teaching (παράδοσιν) which he had *recently* (νεωστί) *received from the Apostles*" (III. iii. 3).

[6] See especially chh. 17, 21, 36, and 43; but note also chh. 1, 9, 10, 12, 27, 34, 56.

[1] 'E. H.,' III. 38. Dr Westcott remarks: "It is not too much to say, that it [the Ep. to the Hebr.] was wholly transfused into Clement's mind" ('H. of the Canon,' p. 26).

[2] It should be borne in mind that

(1) Much of the evidence which is brought for-

have been its origin[1], thus much is certain, that by the end of the fourth century the Epistle was firmly established in the Canon of the Western Church. The ground, on which this settlement was effected, is set forth by St Jerome in very memorable words. After remarking that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not included in the Latin Canon, nor the Apocalypse in the Greek, he continues: "and yet we receive both; following by no means *the usage of the present time*, but *the authority of ancient writers*, who for the most part freely refer to passages of both as canonical." Both Jerome and Augustine, we may add, were careful to explain that they did not consider it possible to determine the *authorship* with absolute certainty.

The position thus assigned to the Epistle was undisturbed for the next eleven hundred years. In the early part of the sixteenth century, when the question of its authorship was again raised, and freely discussed by both Roman and Reformed divines, by far the greater part of those, who had doubts as to its being St Paul's, steadily upheld its canonicity[2]. Luther, however, led by mistaken views of some passages in the Epistle, gave it only a secondary rank among the writings of the New Testament; and was followed in this by many German divines of his own and the next age. But soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century its authority in the German Church was restored, chiefly through the labours of John Gerhard; who contended that the term "deutero-canonical" should be held to mean simply, "of uncertain authorship," without in any way derogating from the canonical dignity of the book to which it was applied.

May we not say, then, that the emergent testimony of the Western Church, though it differ so widely in character from that of the Eastern, cannot be looked upon as less valuable? In the East there was a general acceptance of the Epistle from the first; which has continued without variation to the present time. In the West its authority had been most distinctly recognized in the first century[1]; then in the course of the third and fourth centuries it passed through a severe ordeal of doubt; from which, however, it came forth uninjured, and therefore (must we not say?) with added lustre. After 1100 years it was a second time subjected to the crucible of doubt; and on

ward is *negative;* that is, drawn from the *silence* of Latin writers. But this is a very precarious ground of inference. For instance:—we know that early in the Fifth Century the Epistle was admitted at Rome to be St Paul's. Yet it is not quoted by Innocent, Zosimus, Boniface, Siricius, Celestine, nor (in what are held to be his genuine works) by Leo the Great;—the six successive Bishops of Rome between A.D. 402 and 461.

(2) No weight can be attached to the fact that Muratori's Canon does not mention the Epistle. It also omits the Epistle to St James and both the Epistles of St Peter. In all likelihood, it is only a fragment (see Dr Westcott, p. 198).

(3) When St Jerome says, that "*the Latin custom* does not receive it among the canonical Scriptures" (on Isaiah ch. viii), he must be employing the term "Latin" in a limited sense. It did not, for instance (see III. 1. 7), include the churches of Milan and Brescia. Indeed, in another place he himself says; "though *many* of the Latins doubt concerning it" (on Matt. xxvi).

[1] On this point see III. 1. 6.

[2] Erasmus, who argued vehemently against the Pauline authorship (see III. 3, § v. 3) wrote: "I do not think that the faith is exposed to peril, if the whole Church be mistaken in regard to the title of this Epistle, so long as it is settled that the Holy Ghost is its principal author; and *on this point we are agreed.*"

Calvin wrote: "I, indeed, embrace it without controversy among the Apostolical Epistles... As to the question, Who composed it, we need not trouble ourselves much."

It will be seen that the principle on which these two writers proceeded, when they accepted the Epistle as canonical, was far inferior to that which had guided St Jerome. He went on historical and objective grounds; they on critical and subjective.

It is, at the same time, interesting to notice, how cordially, both in ancient and modern times, persons who had doubts regarding the authorship of the Epistle have confessed its *worthiness* of standing in the Canon.

Thus *Origen:* "The thoughts (νοήματα) of the Epistle are wonderful, and no way inferior to those of the writings which are acknowledged as the Apostle's."

Dean Alford ('Prol.' Sect. VI. § 31): "Nowhere are the main doctrines of the faith more purely or more majestically set forth; nowhere Holy Scripture urged with greater authority and cogency; nowhere those marks, in short, which distinguish the first rank of primitive Christian writings from the second, more unequivocally and continuously present."

Delitzsch speaks of the Epistle as "marching forth in lonely royal and sacerdotal dignity, like the great Melchizedek, of whom its central portion treats, and like him, ἀγενεαλόγητος."

[1] Cp. Dr Westcott (as above, p. 199). "The Epistle to the Hebrews is just that of which the earliest and most certain traces are found at Rome."

more the conscience of the Church decided that the Epistle had an incontrovertible claim to stand in the Canon of the New Testament.

III. The Authorship of the Epistle.

Since the canonicity of the Epistle has been established apart from the question of its authorship, and since the author himself saw fit to withhold his name, it might appear to some that there is no need to entertain this question; especially when so many have held that it is one to which no answer can be given with any approach to certainty.

We are unable to adopt this conclusion.

The controversy respecting the authorship of this Epistle has been one of the most remarkable in the whole range of biblical criticism; and therefore its history is, in any case, of deep interest. But, besides this, the inquiry is one which may contribute, in no slight degree, to illustrate the Epistle itself. For, if any certainty is to be attained as to the authorship, it must be chiefly by means of the Internal Evidence; and a diligent examination of this may be expected to throw light on the contents of the Epistle, even if it should fail to reveal its author.

Before, however, we enter on this investigation, we must take a brief survey of

Sect. 1. The External Evidence.

1. First of all, a strong *presumption* respecting the author is supplied by the early reception of the Epistle among the Gentile churches of both the East and the West. It was addressed specially, "To the Hebrews;" and it entered with laboured minuteness into matters connected with the Jewish Ritual; nowhere speaking of the Gentiles as fellow-heirs of God's promises. Yet, as far as we know, no Epistle laid so firm hold on the mind of the Roman Church in the first century as this did; and by the middle of the second century it had struck its roots in the Churches of Syria, Crete, Palestine, and Egypt. The only adequate explanation of all this appears to be, that the Roman Church knew the Epistle to be the work of an Apostle, and that the "Hebrews," to whom it was sent (and to whom the writer was undoubtedly known), gave a like account of its authorship in different parts of the East. If now we ask, *what apostle* united in himself the many diverging qualifications, which alone could have gained for the Epistle so immediate and so wide a circulation, the most obvious answer, certainly, is—St Paul.

2. *The earliest traditions* we possess on this subject, do actually assign the Epistle to St Paul.

Clement of Alexandria[1] (A.D. 165—220) relates that "the blessed presbyter" (by whom it is agreed that he meant Pantænus) used to say: "Since the Lord, being the Apostle[2] of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul out of modesty, as having been sent to the Gentiles, avoids inscribing himself Apostle of the Hebrews: both because of the reverence due to the Lord, and because it was a supererogatory work in him to write to the Hebrews, when he was preacher and apostle to the Gentiles[3]."

This tradition takes us nearly up to the apostolic age.

Again, a little later, we find Origen (A.D. 186—253) writing thus: "If, then, any Church holds this Epistle to be Paul's, let it have credit on this account also; for not without good reason have *the men of old time*[4] handed it down as Paul's." Coming from one who was born about A.D. 186, this expression, "men of old time," takes us back to the age of those who might have conversed with Apostles.

3. *The Alexandrian Church*, as a whole, distinctly assigned the Epistle to St Paul. Both Clement and Origen frequently refer to the Epistle as "the Apostle's," or "St Paul's;" showing what the prevalent church-tradition there was. Their testimony on this point is rather strengthened than weakened by the fact

[1] In Euseb. 'E. H.,' VI. 14.

[2] Hebr. iii. 1: see above, II. 1, note.

[3] Clement himself supposed that the reason, why St Paul had not prefixed his name to the Epistle, was, "that he might not at the outset repel the Hebrews, who were prejudiced against him and viewed him with distrust." (Euseb., as above.) Plainly, both he and Pantænus would have thought it, à priori, *unlikely* that Paul should have written to the Hebrews: a circumstance, which gives additional force to their historical *testimony*.

[4] οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες (in Euseb. 'E. H.,' VI. 25).

that each of them had a theory of his own about the composition of the Epistle[1]; on which point some remarks will have to be made when we consider the Internal Evidence[2]. The witness borne by succeeding Alexandrian writers is free from all trace of vacillation or doubt. Dionysius († 264, 5), Peter, and Alexander, quote the Epistle as Paul's; and Athanasius mentions *fourteen* Epistles of St Paul among those which had been "placed in the Canon, and handed down, and believed to be divine."

4. That the same view prevailed in the Churches of *Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor*, is not questioned. We need only mention that Eusebius speaks of "fourteen Epistles of St Paul" as "plainly and clearly[3]" belonging to the Canon. At the same time he states that there were some who refused to admit the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, because the *Roman* Church did not admit it:—which may fairly warrant the inference that they found no eastern Church to appeal to.

There appears to be one, and only one, way of accounting for so general an agreement as to the authorship of an anonymous Epistle. It is this. When the Christians, who had escaped to Pella before the Siege of Jerusalem, found themselves precluded from returning to the captured city, they would be likely to go and settle, some of them, in Palestine and Egypt, others, in Syria and Asia Minor (cp. Acts vi. 5, 9, viii. 1, xi. 19, 20); carrying with them their copies of this Epistle,—now, after the overthrow of the Temple, more precious to them than ever. *Their* statements as to the authorship would, of course, be accepted everywhere.

5. Before we leave the East, there is one more testimony that ought to be noticed. It is of an indirect kind, but this in no way lessens its interest.

In the Alexandrian, Vatican, and Sinaitic Manuscripts (as also in C, H[1] and many cursives) the Epistle to the Hebrews stands immediately after the Epistles to the Thessalonians; and this is also the place which it occupies in the lists put forth by St Athanasius and by the Council of Laodicea (A.D. 365)[2]: proving that there was a wide-spread *consensus* among the learned, at any rate, in favour of the Pauline authorship.

The testimony of the *Eastern Church*, then, is consistent and clear.

6. That of the *Western Church* is of a different character.

We saw above (II. 2. *b*) that the Epistle, which had been recognized as authoritative at Rome in the first century, came at a later period to be treated by many as of only secondary value. The reason which they alleged for this was, that the Epistle was "*not St Paul's:*"—clearly implying, that as many as held it to be canonical did believe it to be St Paul's; and consequently, that the Roman Church of the first century had done so.

The question, then, is: Shall the positive testimony of men, who, knowing St Paul intimately, were qualified to give witness on such a point, be outweighed by the doubts of those who lived some hundred years later, and therefore were not so qualified? To allow this would be to violate a fundamental rule of evidence.

If it be demanded, that some explanation be given of the change of opinion

[1] Clement, endeavouring to account for "a similarity of complexion," which he observed between the style of this Epistle and that of the Acts, conjectured, that the Epistle was written by St Paul in Hebrew and translated into Greek by St Luke.

Origen also maintained that the style was unlike St Paul's; but he preferred supposing that the "thoughts" were Paul's, and that these were embodied in language by one who had attended his teaching; though it was impossible to say, who this was. "As to who *wrote* the Epistle, the truth is known to God: but the information that has reached us (ἡ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία) is from some, who say that Clement, who became Bp of Rome, was the writer, and from others, who say that it was Luke, the writer of the Gospel and the Acts." That this "information" did not mean ancient tradition is evident from the context. It probably refers to what he had heard stated by Clement and others.

[2] See below, Sect. 3, § v.

[3] 'H. E.,' III. 3, πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς.

[1] In H (=the Coislinian Fragment) there is a note, which says that the MS. had been "compared with the copy in the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea, which was written with his own hand." This would take us to A.D. 310. Dr Westcott says: "So much at least is certain, that Pamphilus, a man of wide learning and research, reckoned the Epistle to the Hebrews among the writings of St Paul" (pp. 361, 2).

[2] Ebrard notices that a still earlier position of the Epistle was after the Epistle to the Galatians; as appears from the numbering of the Kephalaia in the Vatican MS.

which is thus supposed to have occurred in the Western Church, we may point in reply to the following considerations:

(1) Philastrius († about 387) speaks of some who denied that it was St Paul's, because they thought the passage vi. 4—6 favoured the Novatians. It seems probable that this had been from the first the chief cause of stumbling. During the severer persecutions which broke out in the second and third centuries, many of those, who had fallen away for a time, confessed their error and begged to be re-admitted to church privileges. This was refused them by some rigid sectarians, especially the Novatians. We can readily imagine how natural it would be for men, under such circumstances, to shrink from those solemn words, and to *wish* that the Epistle which contained them were not of obligatory authority. Why, indeed (it might be argued), should it be, when it had not on it the apostle's name? In any case, the Epistle did not itself *claim* to be Paul's; why, then, should this point be insisted upon by any?

It may help us to realize, in some degree, the force of what is here alleged, if we remember, that this very passage (Hebr. vi. 4—6) was one of the chief causes of Luther's being unwilling to receive the Epistle as St Paul's. How much stronger would the reluctation against it be in the minds of those who heard the text quoted by Novatians as a proof that broken-hearted penitents must be excluded for ever—at least from communion with the Church upon earth —if not also from hope of salvation[1]!

(2) Such persons could scarcely fail to be confirmed in their doubts, if they heard that eminent Greek scholars like the Alexandrian Clement and Origen had expressed an opinion that the style was unlike St Paul's; or again, that so illustrious a man as Tertullian had actually spoken of it as the work of *Barnabas*[2].

Neither would they be indisposed to lay stress on the circumstance that, as the apostle St John had been directed by Christ to write to *seven* Churches, so the Apostle of the Gentiles had written by name to *seven* Churches; seven being the mystical number, in which (as the Muratorian Canon says) the Catholic Church is represented[1]. Some effect, also, must have been produced by the style of the translation of the Epistle; the "*old Latin*" form of which (according to Dr Westcott[2]) "exhibits more marked peculiarities than are found in any of the Pauline Epistles;" while even the Vulgate translation exhibits "numerous singularities of language and inaccuracies of translation."

7. On the whole, then, we are able to account sufficiently for the altered position which the Epistle occupied in some parts of the West for about two centuries; and to affirm that the testimony of the Eastern Church and of the early Roman Church is no way shaken by anything that occurred during that interval[3]. That this was the judgment of the Western Church itself, is certain. By about the middle of the fourth century we find many Latin writers using the Epistle unhesitatingly as St Paul's. So Hilary of Poitiers († 368), Lucifer of Cagliari († 371), Victorinus at Rome, Philastrius of Brescia († 387), S. Ambrose of Milan († 397). The Council of Hippo (A. D. 393) and the Third Council of Carthage definitely ascribed the Epistle to St Paul. In A. D. 405 Pope Innocent I, in a letter which he wrote to the Bishop of Toulouse, spoke of the "*fourteen* Epistles of the Apostle Paul."

[1] Philastrius adds that some refused to read this Epistle in Church because they thought ch. iii. 2 ("faithful to Him that *made* Him") had a savour of Arianism.

[2] It is noticeable that in the very chapter, from which we derive this information ('de Pudic.,' c. 20), Tertullian is quoting Hebr. vi. 4f. Of course, his known Montanistic leanings would give additional weight to any admission of this kind coming from him.

St Jerome speaks of Tertullian's opinion as if it were peculiar to him, "vel Barnabæ juxtà Tertullianum" ('Catal. Scr. E.,' c. 5); and we find no traces of such a view in St Augustine. Yet we can scarcely doubt (as Bishop Wordsworth has remarked) that Tertullian's statement exerted much influence on the course which opinion took in the Western Church on this subject during the two following centuries.

[1] Slight as this argument is, it seems to have had considerable weight with some. It was urged by Cyprian, and still more pointedly by Victorinus of Pannonia († 303). It was thought worthy of mention by Jerome and by Isidore of Seville.

[2] As above, p. 242.

[3] It is obvious that the fact of the Epistle's being without the author's name adds materially to the force of the *positive* evidence; while it tends to neutralize that which is merely *negative*.

There can be little doubt that the final settlement of the question was largely due to the wisdom and candour of the two great Church teachers, Jerome and Augustine. Both of these stated clearly their own conviction that the Epistle was St Paul's; yet they frequently contented themselves with referring to it as "the Epistle to the Hebrews;" or, "which is inscribed to the Hebrews[1]."

From their time downward, for about 1100 years, the Eastern and Western Churches were in accord on this point.

As the objections, which have been urged against the Pauline authorship of the Epistle during the last four centuries, rest almost entirely on grounds of internal evidence, we reserve further notice of them till we reach the end of the next section[2].

Sect. 2. The Internal Evidence.

We now come to the ground on which the main arguments against the Pauline authorship of the Epistle have rested both in ancient and in modern times. We shall endeavour, therefore, to examine this branch of the evidence, concisely indeed (as our limits require), but with thoroughness; taking note not only of words, phrases, modes of expression, and whatever else comes under the head of style, but also of quotations from the Old Testament, characteristic metaphors, modes of viewing and stating theological truth, and the like[3].

It is important to bear in mind what the two fields of comparison are: namely, on the one side, this Epistle; on the other, not only St Paul's Epistles, but *his speeches also*, as recorded in the Acts[4]. The fidelity with which St Luke reproduced these is unquestionable[1]. Some of them, in all probability, he had from the Apostle himself[2]. The difference of style observable in these speeches—Hebraic, Hellenistic, and Hellenic—is itself no slight guarantee of their historical accuracy.

§ 1. *Words found in this Epistle and the writings or speeches of St Paul, but not elsewhere in the New Testament or the Septuagint.*

αἰδώς, ἀναθεωρέω, ἀνυπότακτος, ἀπείθεια, ἀπόλαυσις, ἀφιλάργυρος, ἔνδικος, ἐνεργής, ἐφάπαξ, ἵστημι, κοσμικός, μιμητής[3], νεκρόω, ὀρέγομαι, παρακοή, πληροφορία, φιλοξενία.

That seventeen words answering to the above description should be found in our Epistle, is, of itself, a striking fact. But the significance of this fact is vastly enlarged, when we look at the words *in situ*, and mark their surroundings.

1. In both ch. xi. 12 and Rom. iv. 19 we have the participle νενεκρωμένος; and in both it is used to describe Abraham's bodily condition at the time when a child was promised him; while in the context of each passage reference is made to the promise that Abraham's seed should be as the stars of heaven.

Note, moreover, that the noun, νέκρωσις, is twice used by St Paul (Rom. iv. 19, 2 Cor. iv. 10), though it is found nowhere else in the New Testament or the Septuagint, and is of rare occurrence in secular writers.

2. In ch. vii. 27, ἐφάπαξ is used of Christ's "offering Himself a sacrifice for sins once:" and in Rom. vi. 10, of His "dying unto sin once."

3. The ἀπείθεια of ch. iv. 6 follows

[1] *E.g.* "Epistola quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos" (Aug. 'de Civ. D.,' x. 5). It has been argued that such a mode of quotation implies doubt respecting the authorship. All that can properly be inferred from it is, that St Augustine, like many in modern times, sometimes saw fit to tread in the very steps of the writer of the Epistle, and to withhold mention of his name.

[2] For the reasons why no reference is made here to 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16, see Appendix I.

[3] Valuable help has been derived, in some of these branches, from Mr Forster's 'Apostolical Authority of the Ep. to the Hebrews.'

[4] Acts xiii. 16—41; xiv. 15—17; xvii. 22—31; xx. 18—35; xxii. 1—21; xxiv. 10—21; xxvi. 2—29. Many of the words noted by Delitzsch as characteristic of St Luke belong to these speeches; so that they are really indications of St Paul's hand. See Appendix II.

[1] See Introd. to 'Acts,' p. 339 f.

[2] So Dr Farrar ('Life of St P.,' I. 157) in regard to St Stephen's speech: "We find little difficulty in adopting the conjecture that its preservation was due to him [St Paul]."

[3] That is, if we follow the later editors; who read ζηλωταί in 1 Pet. iii. 13. If we follow the Received Text of 1 Pet. iii. 13, 20, μιμητής will be transferred from § 1 to § 3; but on the other hand ἀπεκδέχομαι will have to be transferred from § 3 to § 1. The word μιμητής occurs in St Paul five times.

upon the ἀπιστία of iii. 19. We have the like sequence in Rom. xi. 20—30.

4. *Two* of the words in the list given above, ἔνδικος and παρακοή, occur together in the same verse, ii. 2, along with another word, παράβασις, which is found in the New Testament only in this Epistle and in St Paul. *All the three words occur in* Rom. iii—v.

5. Other two of the words in this list, φιλοξενία and ἀφιλάργυρος, are found in ch. xiii. 2—5, only six lines apart.

The former of these had been preceded by φιλαδελφία (in *v.* 1); as it is also in Rom. xii. 10—13. The latter, ἀφιλάργυρος, occurs also in 1 Tim. iii. 3 (following upon φιλόξενος in *v.* 2), but *nowhere else in the whole range of Greek literature.*

6. The argument supplied by the term ἐνεργής is greatly strengthened, when it is remembered that ἐνέργεια is used by St Paul *eight times* and ἐνέργημα *twice*, though neither of them is found elsewhere in the New Testament, or the Canonical books of the Old Testament; and that he uses ἐνεργέω, which occurs only thrice in the rest of the New Testament, no fewer than *seventeen times.*

7. The word πληροφορία occurs in two places in our Epistle:—

vi. 10—12, "*your work* and *love*;... to *the assurance* of *hope*;...through *faith* and *patience*."

x. 22—24, "In *assurance* of *faith*;... the profession of our *hope*...to provoke unto *love* and to good *works*."

In St Paul, also, it occurs in two places:—

1 Thess. i. 3—5, "your *work* of *faith* and labour of *love*, and *patience* of *hope*... in much *assurance*."

Col. i. 27—ii. 5, "The *hope* of glory; ...knit together in *love*;...the *assurance* of understanding;...the stedfastness of your *faith*."

Let it be observed, that

(1) In each of these pairs we have a passage which contains these six words, —"work," "faith," "patience," "hope," "love," "assurance."

(2) In all four passages we have what has been called "the Pauline triad of Christian graces" (Delitzsch);—compare 1 Cor. xiii. 13, Col. i. 4, 1 Thess. v. 8.

(3) Another of the words in our list, μιμητής, is found in the first of the four passages (Hebr. vi. 12), and in the verse which follows the third passage (1 Thess. i. 6).

(4) The like sequence of thought and language (laborious work being set forth as a model for imitation) is found also in 1 Thess. ii. 9, 14, 1 Cor. iv. 12—16.

(5) The word πληροφορία *occurs nowhere else in Greek literature.*

When we remember that 1 Thess. i. 3—5, the passage which has presented so many striking resemblances to ch. vi. 10—12, lies in the first paragraph of what is believed to be the earliest of the Pauline Epistles, may we not affirm that here, in the heart of our anonymous Epistle, we have the very signature of St Paul, engraven in the clearest characters?

§ ii. *Other words common to this Epistle and St Paul, but not found elsewhere in the New Testament*[1].

ἀγών, ἀγιότης, ἀδόκιμος, αἱρέομαι, ἄκακος, ἀνωφελής, ἀόρατος, βεβαίωσις, βέβηλος, διάκρισις, δουλεία, ἔκβασις, ἐκτρέπομαι, ἔλεγχος, ἐνδείκνυμι, ἐπισυναγωγή, εὐάρεστος, θαρρέω, ἱλαστήριον, καύχημα, μεσίτης, μετέχω, οἰκτιρμοί, ὁμολογία, ὀνειδισμός, παιδευτής, παράβασις, πρόδηλος, συγκεράννυμι, τελειότης, ὑπεναντίος, ὑπεράνω, ὑπόστασις, ὑποστέλλομαι.

Here, as in § i, if we are to appreciate the force of the evidence, we must examine the context.

1. In ch. ii. 15 the term δουλεία stands contrasted with the freedom of those who through Christ have been made children of God. So it does in the three places where it is used by St Paul, Rom. viii. 15, Gal. iv. 24, v. 1.

In both Rom. viii. 15 and ch. ii. 15 the badge of this servitude is "*fear.*"

2. In ch. iii. 6 καύχημα is coupled

[1] This general statement is far from representing the full value of the facts included under it. For (1) although all the words do actually occur in the Septuagint, yet six of them (ἁγιότης, ἔκβασις, ἐπισυναγωγή, εὐάρεστος, πρόδηλος, συγκεράννυμι) do not occur *at all*, and eight others occur *once only*, in the *canonical* books.

(2) The *frequency* with which several of the words are used by St Paul is not taken account of; whereas four of them are used by him *four* times, three *five* times, παράβασις *six*, ἀδόκιμος *seven*, εὐάρεστος *eight*, ἐνδείκνυμι *nine*, and καύχημα no fewer than *ten* times.

with "hope." So καυχᾶσθαι in Rom. v. 2[1].

3. The word ὑπόστασις in ch. iii. 14 represents the καύχημα τῆς ἐλπίδος of *v.* 6: and in 2 Cor. ix. 4, xi. 17 we have, τῇ ὑποστάσει τῆς καυχήσεως.

4. Ἐπισυναγωγή occurs in the New Testament only in ch. x. 25, and 2 Thess. ii. 1. (*It is not found in classical Greek, and only once in the LXX.*, 2 Macc. ii. 7.) In each case it is followed by a reference to the "day" of God's visitation.

5. In ch. vi. 10 we have "the *love which ye showed* (ἐνεδείξασθε)...in that ye *ministered to the saints.*" So in 2 Cor. viii. 24, ix. 1 (consecutive verses); "*the proof* (ἔνδειξιν) *of your love*...For, as touching *the ministering to the saints.*"

6. The word παράβασις occurs in ch. ii. 2 and ix. 15.

In ii. 2 we have "the word spoken by (διὰ) angels;" and in Gal. iii. 19, where also παράβασις occurs, "(the law) ordained by (διὰ) angels[2]:"—while a little above this (*v.* 14) we have, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν...λάβωμεν; as in ch. ix. 15, ὅπως ...τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν.

7. In ch. xiii. 13—15 the Hebrews are exhorted to "bear the reproach (ὀνειδισμόν)" which Jesus bore; and then "through Him" to "offer unto God the sacrifice of praise (αἰνέσεως), that is, the fruit of lips that give thanks (ὁμολογούντων) to God." Similarly in Rom. xv. 2—11, Christ is first set forth as our pattern in the endurance of "reproaches" (ὀνειδισμοί), and then as having accomplished the promises, which spoke of the Gentiles as giving "praise" and "thanks" to God (ἐξομολογήσομαι...αἰνεῖτε).

In ch. x. 33—36 the mention of "reproaches" is followed by an encouragement to "patient endurance" (ὑπομονή). So it is in Rom. xv. 3—5.

8. In xi. 27 we have the *oxymoron*, "as *seeing* Him that is *invisible*" (ἀόρατον). So too in Rom. i. 20.

9. In ch. xiii. 21 we read, "make you perfect in every *good* work to do *His will*, working in you that which is *acceptable* (εὐάρεστον) in His sight;" and in Rom. xii. 2, "that *good* and perfect and *acceptable* (εὐάρεστον) *will of God.*"

10. The word μεσίτης, which occurs in ch. viii. 6, ix. 15, xii. 24, is found elsewhere in the New Testament only in Gal. iii. 19, 20, 1 Tim. ii. 5. (In the Old Testament only in Job ix. 33.)

Now observe, that

(1) In all the three places of this Epistle the Mediator introduces a "new," or "better" *Covenant*, in which "better *promises*" are embodied, and especially (ix. 15) the "*promise of an* eternal *inheritance.*" So in Gal. iii. 14—19 (cp. 29) a contrast is drawn between the old *Covenant* and one that is established in God's *promise of a* future *inheritance.*

(2) In both ix. 15 and Gal. iii. 17—19 the elder Covenant is represented as a temporary provision made for "transgressions" (παραβάσεων).

(3) In ix. 15, Gal. iii. 13, 1 Tim. ii. 6, the Mediator gives Himself as a ransom for sinful men.

§ iii. *Words in this Epistle which are seldom used in the New Testament by any except St Paul, but which he uses frequently or with some peculiarity of manner.*

1. κλῆσις, iii. 1. In St Paul *nine* times; elsewhere only in 2 Pet. i. 10. In ch. iii. 1 we have κλήσεως ἐπουρανίου, in Phil. iii. 14, τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως; the equivalence of the two expressions becoming evident, when we compare ch. xii. 22, Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐπουρανίῳ, with Gal. iv. 26 ᾗ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ.

2. ἐπουράνιος is found *six* times in this Epistle; in St Paul *twelve;* elsewhere, *once* in St Matthew, and *once* in St John.

3. ἁγιασμός, xii. 14. In St Paul *eight* times; elsewhere only in 1 Pet. i. 2.

In 1 Thess. iv. 3 it is contrasted with πορνεία. The same contrast is found in ch. xii. 14—16 (πόρνος).

4. νήπιος, v. 13. In St Paul *ten* times; els. *thrice.* In ch. v. 12, 13, it is used of an *infantile* state, which needs "teaching," as in Rom. ii. 20, 21; and is opposed to "perfection," ch. vi. 1, as in Eph. iv. 13, 14. See also § v. 1.

5. στοιχεῖα, v. 12. In St Paul four times; els. only in 2 Pet. iii. 10, 12 (in a different application).

[1] The verb καυχᾶσθαι occurs in the New Testament 37 times; of which 35 are in St Paul:—καύχησις 12 times, of which 11 are in St Paul:—καύχημα 11 times, of which 10 are in St Paul.

[2] Dr Farrar ('Life of St P.,' 1. 163) in tracing the connexion between St Stephen's speech and *the writings of St Paul*, notices "the same tradition (Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19)."

In ch. v. 12, as in Gal. iv. 1—3, the word is associated with *νήπιος*.

6. *σκία*, used in viii. 5, x. 1, of the adumbrations of truth which were supplied by the Law. The word is so used in Col. ii. 17; but not elsewhere in the Old Testament or the New.

In both ch. x. 1 and Col. ii. 17 we have *σκία τῶν μελλόντων*.

7. *σαρκικός*, vii. 16. In St Paul *eight* times; els. only in 1 Pet. ii. 11.

8. *ἀπεκδέχομαι*, ix. 28. In St Paul *six* times; els. only in 1 Pet. iii. 20 (see on § i. footnote 3, p. 7).

In ch. ix. 28 it is used of waiting for Christ's Second Coming. So it is in 1 Cor. i. 7, Phil. iii. 20, expressly; and virtually in Rom. viii. 19, 23, 25, Gal. v. 5.

In Phil. iii. 20 Christ is waited for as *σωτήρ*; in ch. ix. 28 as bringing *σωτηρία*.

9. *περισσοτέρως*, ii. 1, xiii. 19. In St Paul *nine* times; els. only in Mark xv. 14 (where the later edd. have *περισσῶς*).

10. *ἐνδυναμόω*, xi. 34. In St Paul *six* times; els. only in Acts ix. 22 (where, however, St Luke was almost certainly making use of the word he had heard from St Paul's own lips; see 1 Tim. i. 12, 13). In ch. xi. 34 it refers to Divine power received through faith, and is contrasted with man's natural "weakness." So it is in Rom. iv. 19, 20; cp. 2 Cor. xii. 9, 10, xiii. 3, 4.

11. *ἀπολύτρωσις*, ix. 15, xi. 35. In St Paul *seven* times; els. only in St Luke xxi. 28.

In ch. ix. 15 the *ἀπολύτρωσις* is effected through the blood of Christ. So in Eph. i. 7.

12. *ἐπαγγελία*. In the Epistle to the Hebrews it occurs *fourteen* times; in the Epp. to the Rom., Gal., and Eph., *twenty-two* times; in St Paul's speeches (Acts xiii. 23, 32, xxvi. 6) *three* times:—in the Gospels and non-Pauline Epp. *five*. Cp. above, § ii. 10.

Obs. In ch. iv. 1, 2, the terms *ἐπαγγελία* and *εὐαγγελίζω* are co-ordinated; and in Acts xiii. 32 we have, *εὐαγγελιζόμεθα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν*.

13. *καταργέω*, ii. 14. In St Paul *twenty-five* times; els. only in Luke xiii. 7 (in a different sense). In the LXX. the word occurs nowhere outside Ezra iv—vi. Only two instances are given of its use in classical Greek. It is, therefore, pre-eminently a Pauline term.

In 1 Cor. xv. 26 and 2 Tim. i. 10 it is used of abolishing *death*; and in ch. ii. 14, of bringing to nought "him that had the power of *death*."

In ch. ii. 8—14 the writer is commenting upon Ps. viii. 6; so he is likewise in 1 Cor. xv. 25—28.

14. *συνείδησις*, ix. 9, 14, x. 2, 22, xiii. 18. In St Paul *twenty-three* times; els. only in John viii. 9, 1 Pet. ii. 19, iii. 16, 21. (In the LXX. *twice*.)

In ch. ix. 14 we have, "*purify your conscience...to serve* (*λατρεύειν*) the living *God*." In 2 Tim. i. 3, "I thank *God*, *whom I serve* (*λατρεύω*) *with pure conscience*[1]." Cp. also Acts xxiii. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 9.

In ch. xiii. 18 the allusion to "conscience" is introduced in an *apologetic* way;—as in Acts xxiii. 1, xxiv. 16. Cp. Rom. ix. 1.

§ iv. *Other verbal resemblances.*

(1) Phrases and modes of expression.

i. 1, "the fathers;" as in Acts xiii. 32, xxvi. 6; Rom. ix. 5, xi. 28, xv. 8.

ii. 4, "signs, wonders, and miracles," mentioned as confirmations of apostolic authority. So in 2 Cor. xii. 12.

ii. 14, *διὰ τοῦ θανάτου*; employed absolutely, as in Col. i. 22, in speaking of the efficacy of the death of Christ.

ii. 17 and v. 1, *τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*; as in Rom. xv. 17. Not elsewhere.

iii. 1, "holy brethren;" as in 1 Thess. v. 27 (cp. Col. i. 2). Not elsewhere.

iii. 12, ix. 14, x. 31, xii. 22, "the living God;" as in St Paul's speech, Acts xiv. 15 (nowhere else in St Luke's Gospel or in the Acts), and *seven times* in his Epp. Elsewhere in the New Testament five times.

iv. 2, *ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς*. So in 1 Thess. ii. 13, *λόγος ἀκοῆς*. Not elsewhere.

In 1 Thess. ii. 13 this "word" is described as "*the word of God which worketh effectively* (*ἐνεργεῖται*) in" them "*that believe*." In ch. iv. 2, *faith* is required as the condition of profiting by the word; while in iv. 12 it is said, "*the*

[1] Dean Howson mentions "the emphatic and repeated references to *conscience*" as one of the marked peculiarities of the Pastoral Epistles ('Hulsean L.,' p. 147).

word of God is living and *effective* (ἐνεργής)."

iv. 11, σπουδάσωμεν...εἰσελθεῖν. The expression gains more of vivid reality, when we call to mind the σπούδασον ἐλθεῖν of 2 Tim. iv. 9, Tit. iii. 12.

iv. 14, x. 19, ἔχοντες οὖν...; in gathering up the result of a previous argument. So in 2 Cor. iii. 12 (only).

vi. 3, ἐάνπερ ἐπιτρέπῃ ὁ Θεός. In 1 Cor. xvi. 7, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέπῃ ὁ Κυρίος. Not elsewhere.

vi. 8, ἧς τὸ τέλος. Similarly, ὧν τὸ τέλος, in 2 Cor. xi. 15, Phil. iii. 19 (cp. Rom. vi. 21).

vi. 9, πεπείσμεθα δὲ περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀγαπητοί; cp. Rom. xv. 14, πέπεισμαι δὲ, ἀδελφοί μου, περὶ ὑμῶν[1].

ix. 12, and xiii. 12, διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος. So in Acts xx. 28. Not elsewhere.

ix. 14, λατρεύειν Θεῷ ζῶντι. In 1 Thess. i. 9, δουλεύειν Θεῷ ζῶντι. Cp. § iii. 14 above; and note on ch. iii. 12.

ix. 26, νῦν δὲ (recent edd. νυνὶ δὲ)... πεφανέρωται. In Rom. iii. 21, νυνὶ δὲ... πεφανέρωται; Col. i. 26, νυνὶ δὲ ἐφανερώθη; 2 Tim. i. 10, φανερωθεῖσαν δὲ νῦν; Rom. xvi. 26, φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν: cp. Tit. i. 2, 3.

Obs. The "now" in ch. ix. 26 is in contrast with antecedent "ages" (αἰῶνες). So in Col. i. 26 (αἰῶνες); cp. Rom. xvi. 26, 2 Tim. i. 10 (χρόνοι αἰώνιοι).

x. 5, εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον; so in Rom. v. 12 (only).

x. 19—22, ἔχοντες...παρρησίαν...ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἰησοῦ...προσερχώμεθα. So in Eph. iii. 12, ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν προσαγωγήν. Cp. Rom. v. 2; Eph. ii. 18.

x. 26, ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας. So in 1 Tim. ii. 4, 2 Tim. ii. 25, iii. 7, Tit. i. 1.

xi. 1, 3, 7, βλεπόμενα; denoting "things visible." So in 2 Cor. iv. 18, *four* times.

xi. 3, νοοῦμεν; of "discerning" the relation in which the created universe stands to the Creator. Similarly in Rom. i. 20.

xii. 4, μέχρις αἵματος. Cp. μέχρι θανάτου, Phil. ii. 8; μέχρι δεσμῶν, 2 Tim. ii. 9.

xiii. 7, "who spake unto you the word of God." In Acts xiii. 46, "that the word of God should be spoken unto you."

xiii. 17, ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν. So in 2 Cor. xii. 15.

xiii. 18, "Pray for us;" as in 1 Thess. v. 25, 2 Thess. iii. 1 (cp. Eph. vi. 19, Col. iv. 3)[1].

xiii. 20, "The God of peace," only in St Paul; Rom. xv. 33, xvi. 20, Phil. iv. 9, 1 Thess. v. 23 (in each case, in the way of a parting benediction). Cp. 2 Cor. xiii. 11.

Obs. In Rom. xv. 33, as here, the writer had been asking those whom he addressed to pray that he might be enabled to visit them.

xiii. 20, "that brought up (ἀναγαγών) from the dead...our Lord Jesus;" cp. Rom. x. 7, "to bring up (ἀναγαγεῖν) Christ from the dead."

xiii. 21, "every good work." So in 2 Cor. ix. 8; Col. i. 10; 1 Tim. v. 10; 2 Tim. ii. 21; Tit. i. 16, iii. 1. Cp. 2 Thess. ii. 17; 2 Tim. iii. 17.

xiii. 22, παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, as in Rom. xv. 30, xvi. 17; 1 Cor. xvi. 15.

xiii. 22, ἀνέχεσθε; used in asking for the forbearance of his readers, as in 2 Cor. xi. 1 (cp. *vv.* 4, 19, 20).

xiii. 23, "Our brother Timothy," as in 2 Cor. i. 1; Col. i. 1; Philem. 1.

xiii. 23, ἐὰν τάχιον ἔρχηται. For the phrase see 1 Tim. iii. 14; and for the subject-matter comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 10, Phil. ii. 19—24, 2 Tim. iv. 9.

xiii. 24, "all the saints," 2 Cor. xiii. 13; Phil. iv. 22.

xiii. 25, "Grace be with you all," as in Tit. iii. 15; cp. Col. iv. 18, 1 Tim. vi. 21, 2 Tim. iv. 22. All St Paul's Epistles close with some form of this salutation; and his only.

(2) Connective particles, grammatical forms, rhetorical manner, rhythm of sentences, &c.

The resemblances which have been hitherto pointed out are, for the most part, as weighty as they are plain. It may be well to add a few which, if of less intrinsic value, possess a special argumentative force of their own; since they show that the farther our analysis of the language of this Epistle goes, the

[1] This resemblance is more than a verbal one. "Nothing is more characteristic of St Paul than the habit of giving credit for something to those whom he wishes to conciliate" (Dean Howson, 'H. L.,' p. 32). Cp. also ch. x. 32—34.

[1] Delitzsch admits frankly that, towards the close of the Epistle, "we seem to hear *St Paul, and no one else.*"

more manifestly does its likeness to that of St Paul's writings stand out to view.

1. τοιγαροῦν, xii. 1. Elsewhere (in New Test.) only in 1 Thess. iv. 8.

2. καθάπερ, iv. 2 (and v. 4, R.T.). In St Paul *ten times*. Not elsewhere.

In both iv. 2 and v. 4 it is followed by καί; as it is in Rom. iv. 6, 2 Cor. i. 14, 1 Thess. iii. 6, iv. 5.

3. νυνὶ δὲ, viii. 6, xi. 16 (and in recent edd., ix. 26). In St Paul's Epp. *eighteen times*. The *only other places*, where νυνὶ occurs, are in St Paul's speeches, Acts xxii. 1, xxiv. 13.

4. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν (as a connective), ii. 11. In St Paul *three times*. Not elsewhere.

5. ἐπεί followed by a question (= "for otherwise"), x. 2. So in Rom. iii. 6, 1 Cor. xiv. 16, xv. 29 (only).

A corresponding use of ἐπεί without a question occurs in ch. ix. 26; as it does in Rom. xi. 6, 22, 1 Cor. v. 10, vii. 14 (only).

6. In iv. 8 and viii. 7 we have the sequence, εἰ γὰρ..., οὐκ ἄν....

The same occurs *three times* in St Paul's Epp. (1 Cor. ii. 8, xi. 31; Gal. i. 10), but not elsewhere.

7. In viii. 4 we have εἰ μὲν γάρ; a combination found in 2 Cor. xi. 4 and in St Paul's speech, Acts xxv. 11, but not elsewhere.

8. In iii. 7 we have a quotation from the O. T. introduced by a καθὼς..., with an ellipsis preceding it. The same very marked peculiarity is found in Rom. xv. 3, 21 and 1 Cor. i. 31, ii. 9 (only).

9. In vi. 17, vii. 18, we have a neuter adjective (with the article) used as an abstract noun, with a dependent genitive. The same is found in Rom. ii. 4, viii. 3, ix. 22; 2 Cor. iv. 17, viii. 8; Phil. iv. 5.

More particularly; with ch. vii. 18, τὸ αὐτῆς (=τῆς σαρκικῆς ἐντολῆς, vi. 16) ἀσθενές, compare Rom. viii. 3, τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου, ἐν ᾧ ἠσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός.

10. In xiii. 5, ἀφιλάργυρος ὁ τρόπος· ἀρκούμενοι τοῖς παροῦσιν (an apparently categorical clause, followed by a participial one; both being, in fact, hortatory); remarkably parallel to Rom. xii. 9, ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος· ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρόν.

11. In v. 11, xiii. 18, ἡμεῖς refers to the writer singly; as it very frequently does in St Paul.

12. In iv. 13 there is an unusual construction; the relative ὃς taking up an antecedent αὐτὸς with a slight break intervening. The same is found in Eph. iv. 15, 16, Col. ii. 10.

13. In ii. 9, iv. 14, xii. 2, 24 (cp. xiii. 20) the sacred name, Ἰησοῦς, is made (with marked emphasis) to follow a descriptive clause. So it is in Acts xiii. 23 and 1 Thess. i. 10 (cp. Rom. i. 3, 4, 1 Cor. v. 7).

14. In vi. 10, 11, διακονήσαντες...καὶ διακονοῦντες· ἐπιθυμοῦμεν δὲ...ἄχρι τέλους, the rapid combination of past, present, and future recalls that of 2 Cor. i. 13, 14, ἐπιγινώσκετε, ἐλπίζω δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἕως τέλους ἐπιγνώσεσθε, καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώκατε.

15. The use of τινες in iii. 16, to minimise the statement of Israel's guilt, is strikingly similar to that in Rom. iii. 1—4 and 1 Cor. x. 7—10.

16. In some cases we seem to have the very structure (and even the rhythm) of St Paul's sentences reproduced. Thus:

(*a*) The balanced clauses of x. 39, ὑποστολῆς εἰς ἀπώλειαν and πίστεως εἰς περιποίησιν ψυχῆς, resemble those of Rom. vi. 16, ἁμαρτίας εἰς θάνατον and ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην: while the general structure of the verse, οὐκ...εἰς ἀπώλειαν, ἀλλὰ εἰς περιποίησιν ψυχῆς, has a close parallel in 1 Thess. v. 9, οὐκ...εἰς ὀργήν, ἀλλ' εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας.

(*b*) In v. 5 we have, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐδόξασε...ἀλλ' (followed by a text from the O.T.); strikingly parallel to Rom. xv. 3, καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτῷ ἤρεσεν, ἀλλὰ (followed by a text from the O. T.).

17. In manner, again, how forcibly does the παροξυσμὸς ἀγάπης of x. 24 recall to memory the φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν of 1 Thess. iv. 11, and the τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι of Rom. xii. 10!

How similar, too, the paradox in x. 34, "Ye took joyfully (μετὰ χαρᾶς) the spoiling of your goods," to that in 1 Thess. i. 6, "having received the word in much affliction with joy (μετὰ χαρᾶς) of the Holy Ghost," and in Col. i. 11, "unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness (μετὰ χαρᾶς)!" Cp. also St Paul's words in Acts xx. 24.

§ v. *The use of Metaphors.*

1. In v. 12—14 persons of low religious attainments are spoken of as be-

ing in an *infantile* state, unfit to partake of solid food. Similarly in 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2. Cp. § iii. 4.

2. In each of these passages this *domestic* metaphor is followed by *two* others; one taken from *architecture*, the other from *agriculture*. See ch. vi. 1, 7, 8; 1 Cor. iii. 6—11.

3. In xii. 1 life is compared to *a race*. This is one of St Paul's characteristic metaphors[1]. See 1 Cor. ix. 24; Gal. v. 7; Phil. iii. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 7; Acts xiii. 25, xx. 24.

4. *Following upon this*, in xii. 4, there is a metaphor taken from the *pugilistic games;* "the metaphor changing here," Delitzsch observes, "exactly as it does in 1 Cor. ix. 24—27."

5. In x. 33 the suffering Christians are spoken of as "made *a spectacle*" (*θεατριζόμενοι*); so they are in 1 Cor. iv. 9 (*θέατρον...ἐγενήθημεν*).

6. In xiii. 9 we have a *nautical* metaphor, "carried away (*παραφερόμενοι*) by various and strange teachings" (cp. ch. vi. 19). Similarly in Eph. iv. 14, "carried about (*περιφερόμενοι*) by every wind of doctrine."

7. In iv. 12 we have a metaphor such as might be used by one who was conversant with *medical* subjects. It has been pointed out[2] that metaphors of this kind are found in St Paul's Epistles (as 1 Tim. iv. 2, *κεκαυτηριασμένοι*, 2 Tim. ii. 17).

§ vi. *The Quotations from the O. T.*

(1) Texts made use of in this Epistle and by St Paul.

1. Ps. ii. 7. Quoted in ch. i. 5, v. 5, and by St Paul in Acts xiii. 33; cp. Rom. i. 4.

The statements made by St Paul, that Ps. ii. 7 had its fulfilment when Christ was raised from the dead (Acts xiii. 33), and that by His resurrection He was "declared to be the Son of God" (Rom. i. 4), throw much light on the use that is made of this passage in ch. i. 5, v. 5. They also illustrate the meaning of the term "First-begotten" (namely, "from the dead," Col. i. 18) which occurs in ch. i. 6.

[1] It is dwelt upon by Dean Howson, 'Metaphors of St Paul,' p. 137.

[2] See a paper by Dr Plumptre, in 'The Expositor' for August, 1876.

2. Ps. xcvii. 7 is quoted in i. 6. The prefatory words, "When, again, He bringeth His first-begotten into the world (*εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην*)," point to verses in the adjacent Psalms, xcvi. 13 and xcviii. 9; the language of which is applied by St Paul in Acts xvii. 31 (see on i. 6) to Christ's Second Coming (coupled, as in ch. i. 5, 6, with mention of His resurrection).

3. Ps. cx. 1 is quoted in i. 13, and referred to in i. 3, viii. 1, x. 12, xii. 2. St Paul quotes it in 1 Cor. xv. 25, and refers to it in Rom. viii. 34, Eph. i. 20, Col. iii. 1.

In Rom. viii. 34 it is said that Christ, "at the right hand of God...*ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*." The only place outside Rom. viii, in which the expression *ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ* occurs, is ch. vii. 25; where it is used of Him who is set forth as the "priest for ever" of Ps. cx.

4. Ps. viii. 6 is quoted in ii. 8. So it is in 1 Cor. xv. 27, Eph. i. 22; cp. also Phil. iii. 21.

In 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28 the same logical stress is laid on the "*all things*" of Ps. viii. 6 as here in ch. ii. 8.

In both 1 Cor. xv. 27 and Eph. i. 22 this quotation follows upon a reference to Ps. cx. 1; as it does in ch. ii. 8.

5. Gen. xxii. 16 is quoted in vi. 13—17, as supplying a ground on which the "heirs of promise" might securely rest their hope. The same use is made of Gen. xxii. 16—18 in Gal. iii. 8—29.

6. Jer. xxxi. 31—34 is quoted in viii. 8—12 and x. 16, 17. The same passage is plainly referred to in 2 Cor. iii. 3—6 (cp. also vi. 16).

7. Deut. xxxii. 35 is quoted in x. 30 and in Rom. xii. 19. The rendering, which differs widely from that of the Septuagint, is exactly the same in the two passages; and in each case the words, "saith the Lord," are added. Cp. below, (2). 5.

The noun *ἐκδίκησις* and the verb *ἀνταποδοῦναι*, contained in this quotation, occur also in 2 Thess. i. 6—8[1].

8. Hab. ii. 4 is quoted in x. 38. So it is in Rom. i. 17 and Gal. iii. 11[2].

[1] Deut. xxxii is quoted by St Paul in two other places, Rom. x. 19, xv. 10; but not elsewhere in the New Testament. It is also referred to in 1 Cor. x. 20.

[2] The denunciation of *unbelief* in Hab. i is quoted by St Paul in Acts xiii. 41.

In Rom. iv. 16—22, where the ἐκ πίστεως of the quotation is specially dwelt upon[1], Abraham's example is brought forward to illustrate the nature of faith; and the language which is used concerning him bears a close resemblance to that of ch. xi. 8—19 (see above, § i. 1).

In Gal. iii, also, Abraham's faith has equal prominence given to it.

In chh. x, xi, Rom. iv, Gal. iii, faith is represented as *a firm reliance on God's promise* (ἐπαγγελία; see ch. x. 36, xi. 9, 11, 13, 17; Rom. iv. 13, 14, 16, 20, 21; Gal. iii. 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 29[2]).

9. Gen. xxi. 12 is quoted in xi. 18 and in Rom. ix. 7.

A verse in the immediate context, Gen. xxi. 10, is quoted in Gal. iv. 30; the narrative in Gen. xxi. 1—12 being, indeed, the basis of Gal. iv. 22—31.

A similar oracle in Gen. xxv. 23 is quoted in Rom. ix. 12.

(2) Remarkable coincidences in the mode of citing the O. T.

1. In iii. 7, "as the Holy Ghost saith[3]." Cp. Acts xxviii. 25, "Well spake the Holy Ghost...saying." Not elsewhere.

2. With iv. 7, "saying *in* David." Cp. Rom. ix. 25, "saying *in* Hosea." See also Acts xiii. 40.

3. In v. 6 we have καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει; and in Acts xiii. 35, διὸ καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει.

4. In viii. 5, ὅρα γὰρ, φησί. In 1 Cor. vi. 16, ἔσονται γὰρ, φησί.

5. In x. 30 λέγει κύριος is added. So in Rom. xii. 19, xiv. 11, 2 Cor. vi. 17.

6. In xii. 5 the O. T. text is introduced by a bold personification: "The exhortation, which *converseth with you* as with sons; My son, despise not thou...." Similarly in Rom. x. 6, "The righteousness which is of faith *speaketh on this wise;* Say not thou....:" and in Gal. iii. 8, "The Scripture, *foreseeing...*, *preached the Gospel beforehand* to Abraham."

7. In i. 5, ii. 12, 13, x. 30 we have several quotations connected by "And again:" so in Rom. xv. 10, 11, 12; 1 Cor. iii. 20.

It has, indeed, been objected that the quotations in this Epistle are introduced by λέγει, εἴρηκε, &c.; while St Paul (it is alleged) uses the forms, "it is written," "the Scripture saith," &c.

The objection proceeds on the fallacious assumption that, if St Paul sent a letter to the Hebrews, he must needs write as if he were addressing Gentile Christians. But, in fact, there is no difficulty whatever in the case.

1. St Paul often uses the form λέγει. In Rom. x. 16—21, for instance, it occurs *four* times within the space of *six verses.* In the Epistle to the Ephesians the only two citations that are made are introduced by διὸ λέγει (iv. 8, v. 14).

2. The form "saith" is more usual in addressing *Jews*[1]. Hence in Acts xiii. 16—43 "saith" or "said" occurs four times, and "written" only once. In speaking to the Roman Felix, Paul says, "All things *written* in the Law and the Prophets" (xxiv. 14); but to Agrippa the Jew his words are, "Nothing but what the Prophets *did say*" (xxvi. 22).

This latter form is obviously most in harmony with the whole tenor of an Epistle which begins, "God, who of old... *spake* unto the fathers by the prophets;" and which views the word of God as "living and operative" (iv. 12), addressing the same warning, age after age, to the successive generations of men (iii. 7).

§ vii. *Ways of viewing or handling religious truth.*

Many parallelisms to St Paul's teaching have been introduced incidentally under the preceding heads[2]. In addition to these the following (which are, however, but a sample) deserve to be noticed:

1. In i. 2—6 a remarkable description of Christ, as Son of God, stands in immediate connexion with mention of His sacrificial work.

[1] I say, *specially*, because this phrase dominates the whole Epistle; occurring in it *eleven* times. The like may be said in regard to the Epistle to the Galatians; in which the phrase occurs *nine* times. The only other place in the New Testament where it is found is James ii. 24 ("*not* of faith").

[2] This supplies an answer to the oft-repeated assertion, that the conception of "Faith" in this Epistle differs from that which belongs to it in the Pauline Epistles.

[3] The ellipsis in διὸ, καθὼς has been noticed above, § iv. (2). 8.

[1] Cp. Dr Townson, 'Works,' I. 91—102.

[2] See especially § i. 2, 6; § ii. 1, 5, 9; § iii. 6, 10, 11, 13; § iv. (1) freq.; § vi. throughout.

Similarly in Col. i. 13—17; the language employed in the two cases having a striking resemblance[1].

2. In ii. 9 we read that Christ "tasted of death *for every man* (*ὑπὲρ παντός*)." So in 1 Tim. ii. 6, He "gave Himself a ransom *for all* (*ὑπὲρ πάντων*);" in 2 Cor. v. 15, "one died *for all* (*ὑπὲρ πάντων*);" in Rom. viii. 32, He was "delivered up *for* us *all* (*ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων*)."

This wonderful arrangement had its origin in "the *grace* of God;" cp. Rom. v. 15, 17, 20, 21.

3. In ii. 10, 11, Christ is "the Captain" of "many sons" of God, who are "His brethren." In Rom. viii. 29 He is "the first-born among many brethren."

4. In ii. 10, 14 the "many *sons*," whom God is "leading to *glory*," are represented as having previously been "subject to *bondage* through *fear* of death." So in Rom. viii. 14 f., the "*sons* of God," who are heirs of "*glory*" (*v.* 17), were once burdened with "the spirit of *bondage*" causing them "to *fear*."

5. In ii. 17 it is said that it behoved Jesus, for the due discharge of His office, "to be made like (*ὁμοιωθῆναι*) to His brethren." In Rom. viii. 3 (with a similar connexion of thought), "God sent His Son in the likeness (*ἐν ὁμοιώματι*) of sinful flesh;" and in Phil. ii. 6, 7 Jesus "was made in the likeness (*ἐν ὁμοιώματι*) of men."

6. The case of those who fell in the wilderness is enlarged upon (with much similarity of treatment) in iii. 7—19 and 1 Cor. x. 1—12.

7. In ch. v. 7—9 the "*obedience*" of Christ has the same prominence given to it which it has in Phil. ii. 6, 7. See also Rom. v. 19.

8. In ix. 15 Christ's atoning death is represented as having a retrospective efficacy. So in Rom. iii. 25[1].

9. In x. 25 the day of our Lord's coming to Judgement is spoken of, absolutely, as "the day." So in 1 Cor. iii. 13; cp. 1 Thess. v. 4.

10. The thought that "God is faithful" is used in the way of consolation in x. 23; as it is in 1 Cor. i. 9, x. 13, 1 Thess. v. 24, 2 Thess. iii. 3.

11. In xi. 7 we have, "heir of the righteousness which is by (or, according to) faith." This effect of faith, as placing a man in his proper relation to God, is (it needs scarcely be said) often insisted on by St Paul. See Rom. iii. 22, iv. 11—13; Phil. iii. 9, &c.

12. The mention of *πόρνος* in xii. 16 is followed in *v.* 17 by a reference to the forfeited inheritance. The same sequence is found in 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, Eph. v. 5.

13. In xiii. 4, 5 unchastity and covetousness are placed side by side, as in 1 Cor. v. 10, 11, vi. 9, Eph. v. 3, 5, Col. iii. 5.

14. In xii. 22 Mount Sinai and the Heavenly Jerusalem stand contrasted as the respective homes and centres of the Legal and Evangelical Covenants. Similarly in Gal. iv. 25, 26[2].

15. In iii. 15 f., iv. 11, the history of Israel in the Wilderness is urged as a typical warning to Christians. So in 1 Cor. x. 1—12.

16. In xiii. 16, "beneficence and communication (*κοινωνία*)" are spoken of as "sacrifices," with which "God is well-pleased (*εὐαρεστεῖται*)."

In Phil. iv. 14—18 St Paul speaks of the gifts, by which the Philippians "communicated" with him (*συγκοινωνήσαντες*, *v.* 14, cp. *ἐκοινώνησεν*, *v.* 15), as "a sacrifice well-pleasing (*εὐάρεστον*) to God." The word *κοινωνία* is used with this same specific meaning in Rom. xv. 26, 2 Cor. ix. 13; but not elsewhere.

17. More particularly as regards the

[1] "It is universally acknowledged that the Christology of the Ep. to the Hebr. is on all essential points in agreement with that of St Paul. This agreement is so great and so evident that even Köstlin and Ritschl are obliged to admit that the Christology of our author presupposes the Pauline higher conception of the idea of the Son of God, and that *here at any rate there is unmistakeably a direct dependence of our author upon the Apostle.*" So Dr Riehm, 'Der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefes,' p. 385. The divergencies which this candid and painstaking writer thinks he sees between our Epistle and St Paul's writings, admit, in most cases, of very easy explanation. Some of the more important of these are noticed in App. IV.

[1] Delitzsch refers to Acts xiii. 38, 39, as "a remarkable parallel passage." This also belongs to St Paul.

[2] The vividness of the description in ch. xii. 18—21 is only natural, if St Paul were the writer; as we know that he spent a considerable time in Arabia shortly after his conversion (Gal. i. 17). There, no doubt, he learnt to realize the truth, that Jerusalem, regarded as the centre of the Levitical system, was but the successor of Mount Sinai, on which the Tabernacle was first erected.

position occupied by the Law in the history of Redemption, the following points deserve to be noticed:

(*a*) It was only temporary and provisional, ix. 9, 10; so Gal. iii. 19:

(*b*) with carnal ordinances, vii. 16, ix. 10; comp. Gal. iii. 3, Col. ii. 20—23:

(*c*) in the nature of rudimental discipline (στοιχεῖα) suited to infants, v. 12—14, vi. 1; comp. Gal. iv. 1, 3, 9 (στοιχεῖα, which occurs also in Col. ii. 20):

(*d*) bringing the fact of man's sinfulness more clearly before the mind, x. 3 (ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν); comp. Rom. iii. 20 (ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας), vii. 7[1]:

(*e*) weak and unprofitable, as regarded deliverance from sin, vii. 18 (ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελές); comp. Gal. iii. 21, iv. 9 (ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχά), Rom. viii. 3 (ἠσθένει):

(*f*) leaving men in a state of bondage and alarm, ii. 15; comp. Rom. viii. 15, Gal. iv. 3, 9, 30:

(*g*) "*a shadow of* good *things to come*," x. 1; so in Col. ii. 17 "*a shadow of things to come:*"

(*h*) the atoning blood of the sacrifices being a type of the blood of Christ, whereby He "obtained eternal redemption (ἀπολύτρωσιν) for us," ix. 12; comp. Rom. iii. 24, 25, Eph. i. 7, Col. i. 14 (ἀπολύτρωσις, in each case):

(*i*) Christ, the antitype, being both offerer and offering, ix. 12, 14; comp. Eph. v. 2, Gal. i. 4, ii. 20, 1 Tim. ii. 6, Tit. ii. 14.

(*k*) When Christ came, the office of the Law was abrogated, vii. 18; comp. Gal. iii. 23, 24:

(*l*) and God's law was written on men's hearts, viii. 10, x. 16; cp. 2 Cor. iii. 11, 13.

18. The argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews culminates in the thought of Christ, the Son of God, seated at the right hand of God, interceding for us, vii. 25 (ἐντυγχάνειν), viii. 1: so does that of the Epistle to the Romans, Rom. viii. 34 (ἐντυγχάνει).

[1] In the Epistle to the Romans, the Law is dealt with chiefly as a rule of action; in that to the Hebrews, as a system by which Israel was to be preserved in communion with God. Each of the above expressions, therefore, is appropriate to the persons addressed. The primary aim of the Law is in each case represented as being to quicken the sense of sin.

§ viii. *Summary of the Internal Evidence.*

It is not easy to express in words the value of the above numerous positive lines of evidence. The coincidences which have been pointed out, in the use of words and phrases, in modes of enunciating or illustrating religious truth, in the subject-matter of the Epistle,—would be most remarkable, if they were simply looked at, one by one, in succession. But, in fact, they are so interwoven with each other, as (from the nature of convergent evidence) to preclude all possibility of doubt. The supposition that St Luke or Clement of Rome, Barnabas or Apollos, should, *first of all*, have so analysed the Apostle's writings as to gain command over this vast array of characteristic words, turns of expression, associations of thought, and modes of Scriptural exposition; *then*, have set to work to recombine these into an Epistle which he meant should pass for his own; and *lastly*, should have succeeded so perfectly that the Epistle reads like a grand original composition, the product of one powerful mind: this must, surely, appear *absolutely incredible*. Consequently, on internal grounds, it is nothing less than certain that St Paul was the writer.

We are warranted, therefore, in asserting that the external and the internal evidence conspire in establishing the Pauline authorship of this Epistle.

Since, however, from the earliest times there have been various arguments urged, by men of real eminence, against this view, it seems right that the chief of these objections should be here briefly noticed.

Sect. 3. Examination of leading Objections.

§ i. Undoubtedly, one of the earliest difficulties was *the fact that the Epistle had not St Paul's name prefixed.*

1. We have seen above, how Panætius and Clement attempted to explain this fact. Panætius thought that as the writer meant to exhibit our Lord as "the *Apostle* of our profession," he reverentially refrained from speaking of himself as an apostle; more especially, since he himself had been appointed "the Apostle of the Gentiles."

Clement, again, accounted for it by

supposing that the Apostle prudently refrained from obtruding on the Hebrews a name which, he knew, was unwelcome to many of them.

There may be a residuum of truth in each of these explanations[1].

2. A more important consideration, however, is the following:

St Paul had just reached the end of an imprisonment which had lasted four years. The cause of this detention had been a charge, brought against him by the Jews of Jerusalem, that "he taught men everywhere against *the people*, and *the Law*, and *this place*" (Acts xxi. 28).

If then, at such time, he felt bound to write to the Hebrews a discourse like the present[2], in which he boldly and clearly maintained the abolition of the legal ordinances, how must he proceed? Was it not a plain duty in him to abstain, as far as was possible, from everything that might furnish his opponents with grounds for bringing a fresh charge against him[3]?

3. The full account of the matter, however, appears to be this. The Apostle's intention was to ground his appeal throughout upon *the word* of God Himself. Therefore he strikes the key-note of his discourse at the outset thus:—

God, who had spoken to them in old times by the prophets, now spoke by the Son to whom the prophets had given witness.

Then follows a string of testimonies; taken especially from the Psalms, which were continually sung in the Temple. One of these, the cxth, which runs through the whole discussion, contains the most emphatic oracle of the Old Testament,—the word of the Divine oath which constituted the everlasting Priest. Another, the xcvth, furnishes the trumpet-like summons (thrice repeated, iii. 7, 15, iv. 7), "To day, if ye will hear *His voice*." He, whose voice once filled even Moses with fear, now speaks to us "from heaven" (xii. 25). What reason, then, was there for concentrating their attention on Jesus, their "Apostle and High-priest," their "Mediator," the "Author and Perfecter of faith"!

This sustained concentration of mental gaze on the "faithful Witness" in heaven may well be held to explain, what it abundantly justifies, the withdrawal of the writer's personality into the background[1].

§ ii. Again; it was thought, that St Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, would not be likely to write to the Hebrews.

Yet he was most anxious to preach at Jerusalem (Acts ix. 29, xxii. 19); and always, wherever he came, addressed himself to "the Jew first" (cp. Rom. i. 16). For a whole year before his visit to Jerusalem he had been engaged in working out a plan, by which he hoped to show his love to the mother Church (2 Cor. ix. 2). For his brethren's sake he would even have been content to be "anathema from Christ." Of his *willingness*, then, to undertake the task we may be certain; and, that in actually undertaking it he would not be overstepping the limits of his apostolical commission, is evident from Acts ix. 15. (See below, v. 6.)

§ iii. An objection which had great weight in ancient times, as it has also had in modern[2], rests on ch. ii. 3. It is said, that St Paul never could have written, "and was *confirmed unto us by them that heard it*." But this assertion is altogether a mistake. In addressing the Christians of Judea, St Paul could not have selected a more correct way of representing the facts of the case. He had not supplied them with *the historical evidence* of the death and resurrection-life of Jesus. In speaking to the Jews of Pisidian Antioch,

[1] As regards the latter, note the apologetic character of ch. xiii. 18. It should be borne in mind, that his name "Saul" had long fallen into disuse, even in Jerusalem (Acts xv. 25); and that the name "Paul" specially marked him out as the apostle of the Gentiles (see note on Acts xiii. 9).

[2] See the note on ch. xiii. 22.

[3] The severity of proceedings against persons who wrote on public matters, under the Empire, is rightly urged by Dr Biesenthal, 'Das Trostschreiben,' ss. 3—19. He adds, "What did Paul lose by writing the Epistle anonymously? His friends would recognize the author and lovingly welcome it, as the poet says,

Ut titulo careas, ipso noscere colore;
Dissimulare velis, te liquet esse meum.
(Ovid, 'Trist.' I. 61, 2)."

[1] Compare Owen, 'Prel. Exerc.' II. § 19; Dr Irons, 'Bamp. Lect.,' p. 468.

[2] It is noticed by Euthalius in the Fifth Century, and by Primasius in the Sixth. It had much influence with Calvin, and has been pronounced by a recent writer to be "decisive."

Paul prefaced his own declaration of the Gospel to them by saying, that Jesus was "seen many days of them which came up with Him from Galilee, *who are His witnesses unto the people*" (Acts xiii. 31, 32; compare Luke xxiv. 48; Acts i. 22, ii. 32). The passage, therefore, which has caused so many to stumble, is in full accordance with St Paul's known mode of address[1].

§ iv. Another objection, which has had no little influence both in ancient and modern times[2], was drawn from ch. vi. 4—6, x. 26, 27, xii. 17. None who weigh these passages soberly, remembering, (1) what was implied by men's apostatizing from a Church which had received those Pentecostal gifts, (2) how intensely fanatical the unbelieving Jews had by this time become, will feel any difficulty in them. The utterance of severe truths was, in such a case, a proof of the tenderest compassion.

§ v. It is objected that Clement of Alexandria and Origen pronounced the style to be unlike Paul's; and that so learned and acute a scholar as Erasmus spoke yet more strongly on this point. The influence exercised by these really eminent men has been so great in the matter before us, that it is necessary to examine the grounds on which they proceeded in forming their judgment.

1. *Clement* supposed that the Epistle had been written in Hebrew, and translated into Greek by St Luke; "whence," he says, "there is found the same complexion of style in this Epistle and the Acts." On this it is to be observed

(*a*) That almost all in modern times allow the evidence *of the language itself* to be fatal to Clement's conjecture of a Hebrew original[3]; which, indeed, even Origen passed over without notice.

(*b*) St Luke's general style is much more Hebraic than that of St Paul or of this Epistle, and the book of Acts becomes *less* Hebraic *in its second half;* that is, when the narrative begins to record the doings and speeches of St Paul[1]. When so accomplished a critic as Delitzsch[2] has argued in favour of the Lucan authorship of this Epistle from words found in those speeches, it is no disrespect to Clement to suppose that he may have been alike inadvertent.

(*c*) That there are some noticeable verbal coincidences between St Luke's writings and this Epistle, is true. But so there are between those writings and St Paul's Epistles[3]. The fact was noticed by Chrysostom; who ascribed it to the influence which St Paul's master-mind had exerted on his fellow-labourer.

2. We are able to deal more definitely with *Origen's* decision; for he has told us the ground on which his opinion rested. He appealed to 2 Cor. xi. 6, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτης λόγῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ γνώσει; and he inferred from this passage that St Paul was unable to write pure Greek. Whereas

(*a*) The words only imply that Paul was willing to *concede*, for the time, *what his opponents had said of him* (x. 10): "His speech (λόγος) is contemptible." Throughout the chapter he is writing with a calm and loving, but dignified, irony[4].

(*b*) He could well afford to grant that he had given them occasion to think him ἰδιώτην λόγῳ, "unversed in the art of speech"—*in their sense* of the term. We know that, when St Paul came to Corinth, he deliberately resolved to avoid "excellency of speech (λόγου) or of wisdom" (1 Cor. ii. 1); not to employ the "persuasive words of man's wisdom" (ii. 4); but to "speak in words which the Holy Spirit taught" (ii. 13). In a corresponding sense of the term, we may allow that Paul was ἰδιώτης λόγῳ in the Epistle to the Hebrews; abstaining here from Rabbinic lore (not, certainly, that he was

[1] Consider also what was said to St Paul by our Lord Himself (Acts xxii. 18); "they will not receive *thy* testimony concerning Me."

[2] See above, III. 1. 6.

[3] Dr Biesenthal (a. a.) does not appear to have done anything to diminish the weight of the difficulties, which have been often urged; *e.g.* What an enormous distance is there between ἔμαθεν, ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν, τὴν ὑπακοήν (ch. v. 8) and למד בעניו לשמוע! See also the renderings of πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως (i. 1), οὐδὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ ἀνυπότακτον (ii. 8), μετριοπαθεῖν (v. 2), εὐλαβείας (v. 7, xii. 28), τὸν ἀόρατον ὡς ὁρῶν (xi. 27), etc.

[1] These speeches occupy about one sixth part of chh. xiii—xxviii; besides which many of the narratives must have come from St Paul himself (*e.g.* xiii. 1—xvi. 9; xvii. 1—xx. 3).

[2] See above, p. 7, note 4.

[3] See Appendix III.

[4] So St Augustine and St Chrysostom understood the Apostle's language.

without it), as at Corinth he had abstained from Hellenic philosophy and rhetoric.

(*c*) If it be needful to bring forward a counterpoise to Origen's great name, we have it in St Chrysostom. He, the pupil of Libanius, and the greatest of Christian Greek orators, spoke with admiration of St Paul's style, and accepted the Epistle to the Hebrews as undoubtedly his.

3. Erasmus,—a man, like Origen, of immense learning,—whose opinion, probably, influenced a large number of both Roman Catholic and Protestant divines, wrote thus of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "There still remains an argument of the most conclusive kind, the style and character of its diction; which has no affinity with St Paul's...The divergence is not only in words or figures of speech; it differs in all features (*omnibus notis dissidet*)." After the evidence which has been produced above, no comment on this can be thought necessary.

§ vi. In recent times, those who object to the Pauline authorship on the ground of style have greatly modified their position. It is allowed that there is a very striking similarity between the language of this Epistle and that of St Paul; but it is urged (1) that words not used by St Paul occur in this Epistle, while some which he uses frequently do not occur; (2) that the language indicates familiarity with the writings of Philo of Alexandria; (3) that a more rhetorical form of writing is found in this than in St Paul's Epistles.

A few words will suffice regarding each of these points.

1. When Paul was writing to the Hebrew Christians on the relation between the Legal Constitution and the Gospel, it could not fail that his topics, and consequently the terms he employed, would differ materially from those which formed the staple of letters written to Gentile Churches. It is surely very idle, then, to rest any argument as to style on the fact that St Paul nowhere uses the words "priest" or "high-priest," or that the word "justify" does not occur in our Epistle.

In the Epistle to the Romans St Paul uses the word "Law" *seventy-five times*, because *he wanted it;* in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians *not once*, because *his subject did not require it.* No one supposes that this furnishes the faintest presumption against the Pauline authorship of either of these Epistles.

If the word δικαιόω does not occur in this Epistle, its absence has no bearing whatever on the authorship of the Epistle; for it is alike absent from 2nd Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1st and 2nd Thessalonians, and 2nd Timothy. The term was needed by the writer in the Epistle to the Romans; but in the Epistle to the Hebrews his standpoint was different, and he used the more appropriate words καθαρίζω, τελειόω[1].

2. That St Paul was not likely to have been familiar with Philo's writings, is assumed without any warrant. Facts point plainly the other way.

(*a*) Before his conversion, Paul had been a zealous associate of the opponents of Stephen; among whom were included "*Alexandrians*" (Acts vi. 9).

(*b*) During his fortnight's sojourn at Jerusalem, in A.D. 37, "he disputed against the Hellenists" (Acts ix. 29) single-handed. This implies that he was well acquainted with Hellenistic modes of theologizing; among which Philo's was at that time pre-eminent[2].

(*c*) Tarsus, to which he next retired, was reckoned inferior neither to Alexandria nor to Athens as a school of philosophy[3]. He had thus a further opportunity of preparing for future labour by surveying afresh the whole field of Hellenistic thought.

(*d*) When he was summoned away from Tarsus, it was that he might instruct the Hellenists who had joined the Church at Antioch.

(*e*) Many noticeable points of contact with Philo's writings, similar to

[1] It is evident that "justification" flows from Christ as ἱλαστήριον, in Rom. iii. 24, in the same way that "purification from sin" and "restoration to communion with God" do in Hebrews: and that in Rom. iv. 1—8 the "justified" man is he, whose iniquities are forgiven (ἀφέωνται), as the "perfected" of Hebr. x. 14—18 are they who receive "remission" (ἄφεσις) of their iniquities. Comp. App. IV.

[2] Philo was an old man, when he headed the deputation to Caligula in A.D. 39, 40.

[3] See the passage of Strabo in Howson and Conyb., I. p. 103.

those which are found in our Epistle, occur in the Pauline Epistles[1].

If, then, the second generation of Christians at Jerusalem were in danger of having their faith weakened by an infusion of Alexandrian mysticism, and St Paul saw fit to write an admonitory Letter to them, what could be more probable than that his language would exhibit some coincidences[2] with that of the writer, who had done most to shape and to consolidate that subtle system of error?

Philo's teaching was, in fact, opposed to the whole tenor of Divine Revelation. He nowhere recognized the need of an Atonement for sin. With him the true High-priest is the Divine Reason (λόγος), which he speaks of as the Son of God; in which the ideal Universe is contained; and which mediates between God and the material Universe. With him Melchizedek is a type of "right reason" (ὀρθὸς λόγος); and sacrifices have efficacy just so far as they are expressions of moral virtues in the offerers. The Levitical system and the temple, as witnessing to such sacrifices, will, he declares, be preserved so long as the race of men continues; being co-eval with the world.

St Paul deals with these erroneous views, as he did with those of the Stoics and Epicureans on Mars' Hill; that is, he supplies the positive truth, which they denied or misapprehended.

3. If there be a somewhat more stately and elaborated style observable in this Epistle, this is only what might be expected from the nature of the case. Many of St Paul's Epistles were written rapidly, to meet emergent needs, while he was "daily" burdened with "the care of all the churches." We are not surprised at finding some difference of style between these and the other Epistles which were written in the comparative leisure and seclusion of the Captivity. But when he addressed the Hebrews there was abundant reason why his writing should exhibit a yet more marked diversity.

He was now putting into form his ripest thoughts on a subject which could never have been absent from his mind for thirty years,—the relation of the Legal to the Evangelical Dispensation. Some aspects of the question had been dealt with in other Epistles; but he was now called upon to supply an answer to the central question, "On what grounds do you require us, Jews, to relinquish that Levitical system, which was ordained by God Himself to be the key-stone of Israel's national constitution, and which has now lasted 1500 years?" We know well with what deep reverence St Paul would in any case approach this subject[1]; and the first verse of the Epistle tells us that he meant to look the difficulty full in the face. We cannot doubt, therefore, that he would bring the whole energy of his mind to bear upon so important a work.

He was not only seeking to re-animate the faith of the Hebrew Christians;—though that, unquestionably, was his primary aim, and a very momentous one he would feel it to be[2];—but his task was one of still greater solemnity. For, while he addressed himself exclusively to the Hebrews, he was in fact vindicating his conduct as Apostle of the Gentiles; showing that the Gospel which he had preached, instead of derogating from the honour of the elder Dispensation, reflected rays of glory upon it; filling its histories and types, its psalms and prophecies, with a mysterious and wide-reaching significancy, which conferred upon them an unimagined worth and dignity[3]. Nor was this all. For,

[1] See, *e.g.*, the commentators on Rom. i. 23—25, ix. 14, xiv. 7; 1 Cor. xv. 46, 47; 2 Cor. iii. 3, iv. 4; Gal. iv. 22—31; Col. i. 15, etc.

[2] It should be remarked, however, that many words are quoted as Philonian, which belong to Hellenistic literature at large. Thus in a list given in the 'Expositor' (1875, p. 336), the following seven terms stand consecutively;—ἀόρατος (found in LXX., Josephus, Plato, &c.), εἰσάγειν (frequent in LXX. and in classical Greek), ἀνακαινίζειν (LXX., Joseph.), ἐχόμενα (LXX.), προκεῖσθαι (LXX., Joseph., and classical writers), ἄμωμος (LXX. freq.), ὑποστέλλομαι (LXX., Joseph., Classics; and *St Paul*, Acts xx. 20). The term αἴτιος σωτηρίας (ch. v. 9) is found in Philo; but it also occurs twice in Josephus, and once in Diodorus Siculus. Πολυμερῶς and πολυτρόπως are conjoined in Philo; but so are πολυμερής and πολύτροπος in two passages of Maximus Tyrius. If the contrast between νήπιοι and τέλειοι, and the comparison of simple spiritual diet to milk (v. 12, vi. 1), be found in Philo, so also are they in another Hellenistic writer,—*St Paul* (1 Cor. ii. 6, iii. 1, 2).

[1] See Rom. ix. 1—5.

[2] See below, v. 6.

[3] "Here," says Mr Dale, "in the Epistle to

in laying this "Apology for the Gospel" before the Hebrews, he was also providing a store of most precious theological truth for the Catholic Church of all ages; supplying it with an *Organon* for the interpretation of the Old Testament; and showing how firmly its foundations had been laid in the Divine purpose, which had worked onward in gradual self-revelation from the beginning of human history.

Is it in any way strange,—is it not rather most natural,—that an Epistle, whose aims were so lofty, should have had extraordinary pains bestowed on its composition[1]?

That such a variation of style was not beyond St Paul's ability is shown by his Speeches and Epistles[2].

the Hebrews, I see an ancient faith, out of which the life has gone, being carried to its sepulchre; and a Christian writer stops the funeral procession, touches the bier, and the lips of the dead religion open and bear testimony to the greatness and glory of the Lord Jesus Christ." ('The Jewish Temple,' &c., 1865.)

[1] If Horace's 'Epistle to Augustus' be compared with the Epistles of the First Book, it will be found to be not only more methodical in its structure, but more stately in manner, more rhythmical, and (in parts) more elaborately rhetorical. How strong a contrast, for instance, do vv. 219—259 present to the general style of Book I.

[2] I may be allowed to refer on this point to one or two witnesses.

Dr Farrar speaks of St Paul's address on Mars' Hill as exhibiting "a power of reasoning and eloquence to which they [*the Athenians*] could not be insensible," and notices "the consummate skill with which it was framed," and "the pregnant meanings infused into *its noble and powerful sentences*." ('L. of St Paul,' I. 544, 6.) He also observes that St Paul "could, when he chose, wield a style of remarkable finish and eloquence" (p. 623).

Dean Alford says of the 1st Ep. to the Corinthians, that it "ranks, perhaps, the foremost of all as to sublimity, and earnest and impassioned eloquence." He describes 1 Cor. xiii as "a pure and perfect gem; perhaps, the noblest assemblage of beautiful thoughts in beautiful language extant in this our world." "About the whole Epistle," he adds, "there is a character of lofty and sustained solemnity." ('Proleg.' Sect. VII.) Yet this Epistle, it should be observed, was written in the midst of many and pressing engagements (xvi. 9).

Dr Davidson speaks of the great variety of style and diction in St Paul's Epistles, as what "might be expected from *the many-sided man*, who stands before us. The Epistles," he says, "are wonderfully adapted, in tone and contents," to the circumstances of the individuals or communities to whom they were sent. ('Introd. to N. T.,' Vol. III.)

We see, then, that the things which have been urged against the hypothesis of the Pauline authorship of this Epistle, are, on the contrary, in perfect harmony with it; some of them, indeed, supplying confirmatory proofs of it. There is, therefore, nothing to set against what has been alleged in the way of Internal Evidence (under which head all these objections fall).

IV. Where, and when, the Epistle was written.

The expression used in xiii. 24, "They of Italy salute you," suggests to us, *where* the writer was. For, just as, when St Paul was writing from Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 8), he forwarded greetings from the churches of the Asian province, of which Ephesus was the chief city,—"the churches of Asia salute you" (*v.* 19);—so, if he were writing from Rome, it would be natural for him to send greetings from those who represented the churches of Italy[1].

But, if he wrote from Rome, the obvious inference from xiii. 23 is, that the Epistle was finished shortly before the close of the Apostle's first imprisonment; that is, in A.D. 65.

It is a wonderful sight, which is thus brought before us. Paul, who has been above four years a Roman prisoner, sits surrounded by proofs of the greatness of the city which called itself "Eternal;" but the eye of his faith penetrates far beyond the range of all that visible grandeur, and sees it scattered "like chaff from the summer threshing-floor" (see the notes on ch. xii. 28); while in its stead there is established "an immoveable kingdom," of which he and his suffering fellow-Christians are the possessors.

V. To whom it was written.

The most prevalent opinion has been, that the Hebrews addressed in this Epistle were the Christians of Palestine; especially, therefore, those of Jerusalem[2].

[1] The expression οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας corresponds in form to the οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰόππης of Acts x. 23.

[2] The references to the theatre and the games (x. 32, xii. 1—3) are no way inconsistent with this view. Few intelligent Jews could be ignorant of what went on at Cesarea.

This view is supported by the following considerations :—

1. The whole tenor of the Epistle implies that the persons, to whom it was written, lived under the shadow of the Temple services.

2. To none, so well as to them, would the words in ii. 3 apply. The Apostles remained in Jerusalem for several years; and James the Just had continued to reside there for thirty-two years. (His martyrdom took place A.D. 62.)

3. These "Hebrews" had suffered persecution at an early period (x. 32—34). So had the Jerusalem Christians: Acts viii. 1—3, xii. 1—5; cp. 1 Thess. ii. 14.

4. They were in danger of relapsing into Judaism (ch. iii. 12—15, iv. 11, vi. 4—6, x. 28, 29). Nowhere was this danger so great as at Jerusalem (see note on xiii. 9). The nature of the "zeal," which prevailed among the Christians there, is shown by the fact that they spoke of Paul as one who "taught all the Jews, which were among the Gentiles, *apostasy from Moses*[1]" (Acts xxi. 21). On such men the deepening fanaticism of the Jerusalem Jews could scarcely fail to exert a perilous influence. The elder generation of Christians was fast passing away (cp. ch. xiii. 7). The younger generation looked around them, and saw no signs of Christ's coming. The Temple yet stood in its glory. Might it not, after all, be the Divine purpose to continue it, for some time to come, as the visible centre of Messiah's kingdom? If so, instead of provoking the furious bigotry which had lately put to death so holy a man as James, would it not be better to look out for some way of effecting a fusion of the Law and the Gospel? While the latter contributed the inward spiritual life, might not the former supply the bodily framework?

No other Church was thus tempted to fall away into an adoption of the Levitical system.

5. The expression, "That I may be restored to you" (see the note on xiii. 19), implies that something had occurred, which had broken off the connexion between the writer of the Epistle and these "Hebrews." Such had been the case with St Paul. When, after long and careful preparation, he had brought up to Jerusalem the offerings by which the Gentile Churches testified their loyal regard for the parent Church,—just as his purpose seemed to have been attained, he was suddenly swept away from the scene, and handed over to an imprisonment which was to last for more than four years. But his deep affection for the mother Church remained unchanged; nor can we doubt that the warmest desire of his heart was to establish a solid union between the Gentile and Hebrew Christians.

6. There are many special circumstances in St Paul's character and history which make it highly probable that he would wish to write such an Epistle as this to the Christians of Jerusalem.

(*a*) He could never forget how he had once "devastated" the Church there. Up to the last, when his memory reverted to those days, he felt himself to be "the chief of sinners" (1 Tim. i. 12—15). He could not but long to make some amends for the injuries he had inflicted on the Churches of Judea.

(*b*) Very early in his career he had given proof of his earnest desire to preach at Jerusalem (Acts ix. 26—30):—a work for which, indeed, he appeared to be singularly qualified; since he was familiar not only with the traditional system of the rabbins, as expounded by Gamaliel, but also with the views of the more intellectual Jewish schools, the Cilician and Alexandrian[1].

(*c*) The prophetic words uttered by the Lord Himself concerning him (Acts ix. 15) gave him an assured hope that he should yet be able to perform some great work for Israel's edification:—"He is a chosen vessel unto me to bear My name before nations, and kings, *and the sons of Israel*." Would it not have been surprising, if he who had written so much for the instruction of the Gentile Churches had had no "word of exhortation" to send to "the Hebrews"?—none, even now when the "pillar" of the Church had been removed and "the enemy was pouring in like a flood" upon it?

[1] ἀποστασίαν ἀπὸ Μωσέως. It is a significant fact that the *Ebionites* rejected all St Paul's Epistles on this very ground; "declaring him to be an *apostate from the Law*" (Euseb., 'E. H.' III. 72).

[1] See above, p. 19.

(*d*) Must not the Apostle's spirit have been stirred to its very depths when he reflected on the circumstances of St James's death? James, *the Just*, had been put to death by the High-priest, *as a violator of the Law*;—he, the man who had been so anxious to conciliate his countrymen by observing the Law! Was not the thought of this, joined with the memory of all that had issued from his own attempts at conciliation, sufficient to persuade Paul, that it was high time for him, the Apostle of Christ, to put forth all his powers in an endeavour to set forth fully and clearly the true relation in which Christians stood to the Law[1]?

We conclude, then, that the view, which has been most generally entertained, has also the strongest grounds of probability in its favour;—that the "*Hebrews*," to whom this Epistle was in the first instance addressed, were the Christian Jews of Jerusalem.

St Paul's imprisonment had seemed to frustrate all the loving plans he had formed for the edification of the Hebrew Church. But his enforced seclusion was over-ruled, in fact, to a higher good. He was thus enabled to bestow on them the most precious of gifts; an Epistle, which, taking them by the hand and leading them through the various parts of the Old Testament scriptures, showed them everywhere "visions of God,"—the heavens opened, and Jesus, the Son of God, at the right hand of God;—and then urged them to abandon their reliance on shadows, and to live as befitted priests of the Living God, who already by faith possessed a share in the Kingdom of eternal realities.

About five years after the date of this Epistle, the Temple was burnt, and the Levitical service "vanished away." How inestimably precious a treasure would this Epistle then become to the scattered Hebrew Christians!

[1] It is observable that many of the details in the Epistle gain greatly in force when they are thought of in connexion with Jerusalem: *e.g.* Ps. xcv (chh. iii, iv,) was a warning to all not to think of Jerusalem as God's "resting-place;" the allegory of ch. vi. 7, 8, reproduced Isaiah's parable to the "inhabitants of Jerusalem" (Isai. v. 3); Ps. cx had supplied the basis of our Lord's parting words to the Pharisees of Jerusalem (St Matt. xxii. 41—46); while ch. x. 25, xiii. 14 are pointed allusions to the approaching "fatal day" of Jerusalem's overthrow.

APPENDICES.

I. On 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16.

As it cannot be affirmed that the writing spoken of in *v.* 15 is certainly the Epistle to the Hebrews, it has been thought most consistent with reverence not to use this passage at all in the way of *evidence*. Now, however, when that Epistle has been proved on other grounds to be St Paul's, we not only may, but are bound to, ask, whether it be not the one which is referred to in that striking testimony of St Peter.

The following reasons are strongly in favour of such a view.

1. St Peter, writing to Israelites, speaks of one special Epistle addressed to them by St Paul, and contrasts this with "all his (other) Epistles." Undoubtedly this cannot be understood of any other Epistle so naturally as of this "to the Hebrews."

2. The description, "according to the wisdom given to him," falls in exactly with this supposition. Nowhere else do we meet with so large an outpouring of that "wisdom," which St Paul uttered among Christians of ripe attainments (*τέλειοι*, 1 Cor. ii. 6; cp. Heb. vi. 1). The very word, *δυσνόητα*, here used by St Peter, reminds us of the *δυσερμήνευτος* of Heb. v. 11.

3. Passages like ch. vi. 4—6 and x. 26—31, were obviously liable to be misunderstood, and "wrested" by the "ignorant and unstable to their own destruction."

4. No other Epistle of St Paul supplies so forcible an exhortation to "count the long-suffering of God to be salvation." This thought runs through the admonitory portion of the Epistle. From the beginning (it says) God, "the rock of their salvation" (Ps. xcv. 1), had been inviting His people to "hear His voice." Age after age the call had been renewed with unwearied patience. It still spoke to them from heaven in tones of the tenderest loving-kindness (xii. 25); and He who so spoke would, after "a little while" (x. 37), bring "salvation" to "them that wait for Him" (ix. 28).

The objection that St Peter wrote to Israelites of the Dispersion, while the Hebrews to whom this Epistle was written were probably those of Judæa, is of no material weight. We cannot doubt that a letter written by St Paul to the Judæan churches would soon be circulated among the Jewish Christians of Asia Minor.

The facts, which thus emerge to view, are of great interest.

On the one hand, St Paul writing, towards the close of his career, to the "Hebrews," suppresses his own name, and pointedly refers to St Peter and the Eleven as Christ's chosen "witnesses" (ii. 3). On the other hand, St Peter, knowing that he was soon to depart this life (2 Pet. i. 14), commends the wisdom of his "beloved brother Paul," as shown in his Epistles:—one of which Epistles recorded Peter's own faulty conduct at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11 f.) and Paul's reproof of him.

II. Words in St Paul's speeches which have been referred to as characteristic of St Luke.

The following instances are taken from a commentary written by a German critic,—Dr Delitzsch,—who is second to none of his countrymen in learning, acuteness, candour, and piety.

1. In vol. I. p. 104 (E. Transl.) we read, "*διαμαρτύρεσθαι*, of specially frequent occurrence in St Luke, *e.g.* Acts xx. 23, xxiii. 11." —But xx. 23 is part of *St Paul's* address at Miletus. The word occurs in that address *three* times (*vv.* 21, 23, 24), as well as in 1 Thess. iv. 6; 1 Tim. v. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 14, iv. 1. The other passage, xxiii. 11, contains the words spoken by our Lord to Paul in the night-vision at Jerusalem; the account of which St Luke must certainly have received from *St Paul*.

2. At p. 140, *ὅθεν*, "six times in Hebrews, and in Acts xxvi. 19; nowhere in St Paul's Epistles."—But xxvi. 19 is part of *St Paul's* speech before Festus.

3. At p. 231, the "construction of *περικεῖσθαι*," in ch. v. 2, is "found nowhere else in New Testament, except in Acts xxviii. 20." —But these are *St Paul's* words.

4. In vol. II. p. 31, Acts xxvi. 7 is quoted

in support of the statement that λατρεύω is "of special frequency in the writings of St Luke." —But these are *St Paul's* words; as are also Acts xxiv. 14, xxvii. 23, where the verb occurs. A comparison of these two last passages with Rom. i. 9 and 2 Tim. i. 3, supplies an excellent illustration of the accuracy with which St Luke reported St Paul's speeches.

Acts xxiv. 14, λατρεύω τῷ πατρῴῳ Θεῷ (followed in *v.* 16 by ἀπρόσκοπον συνείδησιν).
2 Tim. i. 3, τῷ Θεῷ, ᾧ λατρεύω ἀπὸ προγόνων ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει.
Acts xxvii. 23, τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗ εἰμι, ᾧ καὶ λατρεύω.
Rom. i. 9, ὁ Θεός, ᾧ καὶ λατρεύω.

5. II. 81, χειροποίητος "is used by St Luke in two places and in a similar connexion, Acts vii. 48 and xvii. 24."—But xvii. 24 is in *St Paul's* speech at Athens; and vii. 48 is in St Stephen's speech, the report of which is thought by many (see above, p. 7) to have been furnished by St Paul himself.

6. II. 121, ἄφεσις is "a term of frequent occurrence in St Luke." Yet St Luke uses it only in places where he is reporting the words of others; and two of these, Acts xiii. 38, xxvi. 18, are in *St Paul's* speeches. The word is also found in Eph. i. 7, Col. i. 14.

7. II. 188. On the τιμωρία of x. 29 reference is made to the τιμωρεῖσθαι of Acts xxii. 5, xxvi. 11;—both of which are *St Paul's* words.

8. II. 214. The use of μαρτυρεῖσθαι in xi. 2 is said to be "characteristic of St Luke;" one of the places quoted in support of this statement being Acts xxii. 12;—which belongs to *St Paul.* The same use is found in Rom. iii. 21, 1 Tim. v. 10.

9. II. 242, Acts xiii. 35, part of *St Paul's* speech, is referred to as showing that διὸ καὶ is characteristic of St Luke.

10. II. 396. In comparing the two readings in ch. xiii. 18, it is said that πειθόμεθα is "more in St Luke's style" than in St Paul's; the proof of this assertion being Acts xxvi. 26: —which belongs to *St Paul.*

III. Verbal resemblances between the (acknowledged) writings of St Paul and those of St Luke.

The following words used by St Paul are found also in St Luke's writings, but not elsewhere in the New Testament.

ἄδηλος, αἰφνίδιος, αἰχμαλωτίζειν, ἀνακρίνειν, ἀναλίσκειν, ἀναστατοῦν, ἀνατίθεσθαι, ἄνεσις, ἀνοητός, ἄνοια, ἀνταποδίδοναι, ἀνταποκρίνεσθαι, ἀντικεῖσθαι, ἀπειθής, ἀπειλή, ἀποστασία, ἀροτριῶν, ἀτενίζειν, ἀχάριστος, βάρβαρος, *βιωτικός, βυθίζειν, διαιρεῖν, διαπορεύεσθαι, διερμηνεύειν, δυνάστης, ἐγκακεῖν (or, ἐκκακεῖν), ἐκδιώκειν, ἔνδοξος, ἔννομος, ἐξαποστέλλω, ἐξαρτίζω, ἐξουθενεῖν, ἐξουσιάζειν, ἐπαναπαύεσθαι, ἐπέχω, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐφίσταναι, ζωγρεῖν, ἡσυχάζειν, ἡσυχία, ἠχεῖν, *ἰδιώτης, κακοῦργος, καταγγέλλειν, καταξιοῦν, κατευθύνειν, *κατηχεῖν, κινδυνεύω, κραταιοῦσθαι, κυριεύειν, μέθη, μεθιστάνειν, μεθύσκεσθαι, μερίς, μεταδίδοναι, *νομοδιδάσκαλος, νοσφίζεσθαι, *ξενία, οἰκονομία, ὁμοθυμαδόν, ὀπτασία, ὁσιότης, παγίς, πανοπλία, πανουργία, *παραγγελία, *παραχειμάζω, παροξύνεσθαι, παρρησιάζεσθαι, *περίεργος, πληροφορεῖν, πορθεῖν, *προειπεῖν, προϊδεῖν, προκαταγγέλλειν, προκόπτειν, *προορίζειν, προπετής, πυκνός, σπουδαίως, στοιχεῖν, συγκαθίζειν, συγκλείειν, συγχαίρειν, συμπαραγίνεσθαι, συμπαραλαμβάνειν, συναντιλαμβάνεσθαι, σύνδεσμος, *συνέκδημος, συνειδέναι, συνευδοκεῖν, συνοχή, ὕβρις, ὑπήκοος, *ὑπωπιάζειν, ὑστέρημα, φιλανθρωπία, φιλάργυρος, φόρος, χαρίζεσθαι, χαριτοῦν, *χειροτονεῖν[1].

In addition to these words (103 in number) we have remarkable coincidences of expression, such as the following:

1. ζέων τῷ πνεύματι, in Rom. xii. 11, and Acts xviii. 25.

2. πληροῦν τὴν διακονίαν, in Col. iv. 17 (cp. 2 Tim. iv. 5), and Acts xii. 25.

3. αἰφνίδιος ἐπιστῇ, Luke xxi. 34, αἰφνίδιος ἐφίσταται, 1 Thess. v. 3.

4. φοβούμενοι μήπως..., in St Paul three times; elsewhere only in Acts xxvii. 29.

5. The expression ἀποβαίνειν τινί εἴς τι used in Phil. i. 19 (cp. Job xiii. 16, LXX.) occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in Luke xxi. 13.

6. πορθέω is used in Gal. i. 13, 23, of Saul's devastating the Church; and so it is in Acts ix. 21.

7. Compare also Phil. iv. 3, 4 with Luke x. 20; 1 Cor. xvi. 9, 2 Cor. ii. 12, Col. iv. 3, with Acts xiv. 27; 2 Cor. viii. 13 with Luke xxi. 4; &c.[1]

We are not called upon to explain these resemblances in detail. In general, they are sufficiently accounted for by the long and

[1] The thirteen words marked by an asterisk do not occur in the Septuagint Version, or in the Apocrypha.

[1] If we descend to minuter points, we may notice that μενοῦνγε and πάντως occur only in St Paul and St Luke; and that Winer remarks (p. 446, ed. Moulton), "*Luke* and *Paul*—but still more *the Epistle to the Hebrews*—are peculiarly fond of the participial construction." At p. 35 Winer classes together, on the ground of *Hellenistic* education, "*Paul, Luke* (especially *in the second part of the Acts*), John, and *the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.*"

intimate companionship of the Apostle and the "beloved physician[1]."

[1] St Chrysostom ('in Matth.' H. IV.) assumed that St Luke "imitated his master." Doubtless, two such minds would in some degree influence each other; but St Paul's was the more original and energetic intellect, St Luke's the more receptive.

With regard to 1 Cor. xi. 23 f., Alford remarks: "The similarity between this account of the Institution and that in St Luke's Gospel is only what might be expected on the supposition of a special revelation made to Paul, *of which that Evangelist*, being Paul's companion, in certain parts of his history *availed himself*."

The important point is, that the fact of there being a certain resemblance between the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the writings of St Luke is no way opposed to a belief in the Pauline authorship of that Epistle. Rather, the evidence of this authorship would be less clear, if such resemblance were wanting.

IV. On some divergencies alleged by Dr Riehm to exist between this Epistle and those of St Paul.

1. "St Paul regards Judaism almost exclusively as a Law which man has to fulfil; while this Epistle views it as a system provided by God for maintaining communion between Himself and the Covenant people." 'Lehrb. d. Hebr.,' S. 225.

Ans. It is evident that the term *Judaism*, as here used, is ambiguous; the Jews of the Dispersion putting forward widely different views from those which were most prominent at Jerusalem. The Jews at Rome, for instance, were not likely to obtrude on their neighbours the claims of the Levitical priesthood and sacrifices; as those at Jerusalem did. Their contention was that through the moral and religious training of the Law they had attained to a state of "righteousness" before God.

The Apostle was aware of this difference, and framed his Letters to the Romans and to the Hebrews accordingly.

2. "St Paul treats the [Moral] Law as 'holy, and just, and good;' but failing through man's sinfulness. This Epistle represents the [Levitical] Law itself as defective; because unable to remove the sins which hindered men from communion with God." S. 226.

Ans. The ambiguity here is patent. There is no opposition whatever between the two views. Neither the Moral, nor the Levitical, Law could "give life" (Gal. iii. 21). Both of them tended to deepen men's sense of sin (Rom. iii. 20, vii. 7; Hebr. x. 3).

3. "St Paul speaks of the Law as placing men under 'bondage' (Gal. v. 1); from which Christ delivers them into a state of 'freedom.' But this idea of 'freedom' is nowhere found in the Epistle to the Hebrews." S. 231.

Ans. It is represented in this Epistle by the term παρρησία; which in Levit. xxvi. 13 stands in antithesis to "bondmen" and "bands of your yoke," and in 2 Cor. iii. 12 corresponds to the ἐλευθερία of *v.* 17. In ch. iii. 6 this παρρησία is antithetic to the δουλεία of ch. ii. 15. In ch. x. 19 it proceeds from the ἄφεσις, which was procured by the death of Christ.

4. "Paul urges that the Promise *was given before the Law* and could not be invalidated by it (Gal. iii. 17). This Epistle, on the contrary, says, that the Promise *was given after the Law* (Heb. vii. 28)." S. 232.

Ans. This rests entirely on a misconception. Our Epistle (ch. vi. 13—18) dwells, no less strongly than Gal. iii. 14—17, on the "immutability" of the promise made to Abraham. The "word of the oath," in ch. vii. 28, refers to the publication of the great oracle, Ps. cx; which took place after the Legal Dispensation had been ages in existence. Consequently, ch. vii. 28, instead of reversing the argument of Gal. iii. 17, supplements and confirms it[1].

5. "St Paul lays great stress on the Resurrection of Christ, while he makes express mention of the Ascension only in Eph. iv. 10 and 1 Tim. iii. 16. In our Epistle the Resurrection of Christ is mentioned only in ch. xiii. 20, while the Ascension is several times spoken of (vi. 20; ix. 11, 24)." S. 397.

Ans. The prominence given in this Epistle to our Lord's *high-priestly* work naturally led the writer to speak of His session in glory; the thought of which, moreover, was the best antidote to that "offence of the Cross," which continually beset the Jew.

The language of 1 Cor. xv. 25—27, Eph. i. 20—22, is derived from the very same passages, Ps. viii. 6, cx. 1, that are so much dwelt upon in this Epistle.

6. "Christ's offering of Himself is not represented by St Paul specifically as *a sin-offering*; not even in Eph. v. 2, since the phrase εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας is never used of a sin-offering." S. 635.

Ans. If the allegation had been true, the more specific reference would have been only what was natural in writing to the Hebrews. But it is not true. The term εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας is used of the sin-offering in Lev. iv. 31.

[1] This it does in any case; but more especially, if what is suggested in the note on vi. 17 (*Obs.* 2) be correct.

7. "St Paul frequently sets forth Christ's death as a *vicarious* endurance of the penalty of sin;—a view which is only alluded to in our Epistle." S. 638.

Ans. The Hebrews knew well that the root-idea of sacrificial atonement (of which this Epistle is full) was *a vicarious death.* There was no need to enunciate that truth in writing to them.

In ch. ix. 28 we read, "Christ was once offered, *to bear the sins of many;*" the latter clause being a quotation from Isai. liii. 12. Did any Jew require to be expressly told that that chapter gave a picture of *vicarious suffering?*

8. "The idea of καταλλαγή is absent from our Epistle; which does not view the death of Christ as a vicarious enduring of the *wrath* of God." S. 638.

Ans. St Paul's statements are that "we shall be *saved from* wrath through Christ" (Rom. v. 9); and that "Jesus *delivereth us from* the wrath to come" (1 Thess. i. 10). This is identical with the teaching of our Epistle; which is, that the sacrifice of Christ is the only means by which any can escape the "*fiery jealousy*, which shall consume *the adversaries*" (ch. x. 27). Indeed, the thought of deliverance from wrath is implied in the very word ἱλάσκεσθαι (ch. ii. 17); see Num. xvi. 46 (=xvii. 11), "*make atonement* (ἐξιλάσαι) for them, for there is *wrath* gone out from the Lord."

9. "According to our Epistle Christ's oblation was completed only when He entered heaven;—a representation wholly alien to St Paul." S. 639.

Ans. And also alien to our Epistle; which teaches that "we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" (ch. x. 10). If this Epistle represents the saving efficacy of that one oblation as being now dispensed by the ascended Saviour, so does St Paul (Rom. v. 10, viii. 34; Col. iii. 3, 4).

10. "The idea of τελειοῦν [as used in Hebrews] is sought in vain in the Pauline Epistles." S. 641.

Ans. Naturally; for it is correlated to the idea of the high-priestly work of Christ (τελείωσις being used by the LXX., where A. V. has "consecration," in Exod. xxix. 22, 26, 27, 31, 34; Lev. vii. 37, viii. 22, 28, 29, 31, 33).

With the Hebrew Christians the great question of all did not present itself in this form, "May we hope through Christ to be accepted as righteous at the bar of Divine Justice?" but rather in this; "Are we enabled by Christ to approach the throne of Divine Holiness as duly consecrated worshippers?" (Cp. ch. xii. 28, 29.)

11. "St Paul [in writing to Gentile churches] associates the idea of 'vocation' with the ideas contained in πρόθεσις, προγινώσκειν, προορίζειν, ἐκλέγεσθαι, αἱρεῖσθαι, ἐξαιρεῖσθαι, &c.; which are absent from this Epistle." S. 823.

Ans. The explanation is easy. The calling of the Gentiles was a surprising "mystery" (Eph. iii. 3—6), which had been hid in God's "eternal purpose" (πρόθεσις, ib. *v.* 11): while the Hebrews were familiar with the thought that God had "chosen" their fathers (ἐξελέξατο, Deut. iv. 37, vii. 7, xiv. 2, &c.).

12. "We have not in this Epistle the Pauline contrast between 'faith' and 'the Law,' or, 'the works of the Law;' nor yet the Pauline connexion between faith and righteousness (ἡ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη)." Ss. 832—840.

Ans. (1) Since the very same may be said of 1 and 2 Cor., Eph., Coloss., 1 and 2 Thess., 1 and 2 Tim., there is obviously a fallacy lurking under the term "Pauline," as here employed. The fact, that St Paul used the above terms when he *needed them*, no way obliged him to use them when his subject *did not require them.*

(2) The fault of the Hebrew Christians does not appear to have been in the way of seeking to justify themselves by their own moral efforts. On the contrary, they were rather in danger of falling into lassitude and νωθρότης (cp. ch. vi. 12, x. 35, 36, xii. 1, 2); and this, because they had allowed their "zeal for the Law," as a ceremonial system (Acts xxi. 20), to obscure their view of the grandeur and absolute completeness of Christ's mediatorial work.

(3) Different, however, as the specific form of their spiritual malady was, the means of recovery is sought in an application of the same principle, which was appealed to in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. The prophetic text, from which the oft-repeated ἐκ πίστεως of those Epistles was derived, is quoted in this Epistle also[1] (see above, p. 13); and faith is set forth prominently as that by which all "the righteous men" from the beginning, whose "spirits are now made perfect" (xii. 23), were enabled to "please God" (xi. 6).

13. "According to St Paul, believers are placed in an inward, mystical, vital, connexion with Christ; of which few traces occur in this Epistle. Indeed the expressions ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν Κυρίῳ, which are so frequent in St Paul, nowhere occur in it." S. 841 f.

Ans. The thought of this mystical connexion of believers with Christ pervades our Epistle;

[1] Dr Riehm, indeed, says that while the words ἐκ πίστεως are connected with the predicate in our Epistle, they form part of the subject in Rom. i. 17, Gal. iii. 11. But this is incorrect. The words ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται in Gal. iii. 11 are not less closely bound together than are the words ἐν πίστει ζῷ in ii. 20.

for it is part of its fundamental idea—the high-priestly relation of Christ to His people.

On the day of Atonement the Levitical high-priest confessed the sins *of the people*. When he put on his usual ministerial robes, the names of the twelve tribes, engraven on his breast-plate and on the shoulder-pieces of the ephod, signified that *in his person* all Israel was viewed as standing before the Lord; privileged to draw near to Him as His accepted and sanctified people.

What was set forth figuratively in the case of the typical high-priest became a reality in Christ. Accordingly, in our Epistle believers are spoken of as "partakers of Christ" (iii. 14). He is to them the author and cause (αἴτιος) of salvation. By His one offering of Himself they are perfected for ever (x. 14). "In virtue of His blood" they "have boldness to enter into the holiest" (x. 19).—All this involves (for it wholly depends upon) their "inward, mystical, vital, union with Him."

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE

TO THE

HEBREWS.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Christ in these last times coming to us from the Father,* 4 *is preferred above the angels, both in person and office.*

GOD, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets,
2 Hath in these last days spoken

TITLE. In the oldest MSS. the Title is simply "TO THE HEBREWS." See Introd. ch. I.

CHAP. I. In the introductory verses (1—3) a foundation is laid for all the arguments and exhortations which are to follow. God has now spoken to us by His Son, who

(1) Is higher than the angels (i. 4—13), and has exalted our human nature above the angelic (ii. 5—18):

(2) Is more glorious than Moses or Joshua (iii. 1—iv. 13):

(3) Is the one eternal High-priest, in whom the great oracle of Ps. cx. 4 is fulfilled (ch. vii), and the blessings figuratively suggested by the Levitical priesthood are realized (viii. 1—x. 25).

Therefore how attentively ought we to listen to His voice (ii. 1—4, iii. 7—15, iv. 1, 2, 11, xii. 5—29); waiting in patient faith for the fulfilment of His promises (vi. 12—20, x. 36—xii. 3, xiii. 7, 8); assured of His compassion (ii. 17, 18, iv. 14—16, v. 7—9, vi. 20, vii. 25, x. 22, xii. 2, 24), and diligently improving the grace which He bestows (vi. 1—12, x. 23—35, xii. 3—17, 28, 29, xiii. 1—17)!

1. *at sundry times*] This is only an approximation to the meaning of the expressive, but quite inimitable, adverb used in the original (lit. "many-portion-wise"). The revelations of God's mind and will which were made through the prophets, from Moses to Malachi, were limited and partial; presenting the "manifold wisdom of God" (Eph. iii. 10) in fragments. In Christ these imperfect, and sometimes not easily reconcileable, portions were gathered up into unity. The blessings of the Abrahamic Covenant and the curses of the Law; the Aaronic High-priest and the Priest after the order of Melchizedek; the Righteous Servant of God in His suffering and in His exaltation; these all became intelligible for the first time when they found their interpretation in the person and work of Christ.

in divers manners] In various forms, or by various methods, the Moral Law spoke to the conscience directly, the Ceremonial Law indirectly, saying, "Be ye holy;" "Hear my voice, and I will be your God" (Jer. vii. 22, 23). The numerous "visions" and "dark speeches" (Num. xii. 6, 8) of prophecy, and the more explicit teaching of the Psalms, were evidences of the unwearied versatility with which Divine mercy devised expedients for keeping Israel in the paths of obedience.

in time past] Rather, **of old**. Four centuries and a half had now elapsed since the latest of the prophetic books was written.

the fathers] Absolutely; a respectful way of speaking: as in John vii. 22, Acts xiii. 32, xxvi. 6, Rom. ix. 5, xi. 28, xv. 8, 2 Pet. iii. 4. The writer wishes it to be understood from the outset how entirely he is in accord with the ancient Church.

by the prophets] Lit. "in the prophets" (and so in *v.* 2, "in His Son"); in and through their personality.

In 2 S. xxiii. 2 the LXX. has, "the Spirit of the Lord spake in me." Cp. 2 Cor. xiii. 3, "a proof of Christ speaking in me."

2. *in these last days*] In these our days, which are what prophecy styled "the last days" (Gen. xlix. 1; Deut. xxxi. 29; Isai. ii. 2; Dan. ii. 28). Another reading, "at the end of these days," would seem to mean "at the end of this present dispensation;" the Legal period not being formally brought to an end so long as the Levitical priesthood and the Temple continued to exist.

by his Son] Here, as in ch. v. 8, vii. 28, the noun is used without the article, as being virtually a proper name; "by Him who is SON" (cp. the Hebrew of Ps. ii. 12); who by His identity of nature with the Father is qualified to be a perfect expounder of the

unto us by *his* Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds;

[a] Wis. 7. 26. 3 [a] Who being the brightness of *his* glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high;

4 Being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.

5 For unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my

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Father's will. Cp. Matt. xi. 27; John i. 18, xiv. 10.

hath appointed] Rather, "appointed;" in His pre-mundane counsel. All things were created "*for*" Christ—that He should be their proprietor—as well as "*by* Him" (Col. i. 16). The first clause thus stands in co-ordination with the three which follow; all of them referring to Christ's eternal Sonship.

heir] Sole proprietor and lord.

by whom] Or, "through whom;" by whose agency. Cp. John i. 2, 3; 1 Cor. viii. 6; Col. i. 16.

also] This marks an advance; from the purpose to its realization. He who, in His eternal purpose, had constituted the Son "heir of all things," put forth His creative power in forming the universe through the agency of His Son.

the worlds] The word properly denotes "ages," or long periods of time. Here, and in xi. 3 (cp. Wisdom xiii. 9), it is more fitly rendered "worlds;" without, however, eliminating the idea of time. Whatever of creative power the various portions of the universe needed to be put forth during the long ages of their duration resided in the Son.

3. *being*] In His essential nature; irrespectively of time. Similarly, in Phil. ii. 6, when the Apostle is preparing to speak of the humiliation of Christ, he begins; "who, being in the form of God." Compare also Col. i. 14—17 (where the order of the contrasted terms is different).

the brightness] Or, "effulgence;" issuing from "the Father's glory," as "Light from Light." (See Additional Note.) The glory must here be the uncreated glory, in which the Godhead has its eternal self-manifestation.

the express image] Or, "the exact impress." Cp. 2 Cor. iv. 4; Col. i. 15.

his person] Rather, **His substance** (or "subsistence");—His essential nature; in contrast with the "glory" of the preceding clause.

upholding all things] Sustaining all the parts of the universe, or even "*bearing them along*" in their several courses. (See note below.) Cp. Col. i. 17.

the word] The "*uttered* word." The personal WORD upholds the universe by the power of His spoken word, which is the continuous utterance of His will.

by himself] For the Word, made flesh, offered up Himself; being priest and victim in one (ix. 12, 14, 26). The words "by Himself" have good MS. and patristic authority, and are in both the Syriac versions as well as the Itala; but are omitted by most recent editors. (Delitzsch, however, retains them.) Anyhow, the sequence of the clauses implies that the work of "taking away the sin of the world" was one to which no creature was equal. He effected it, by whom the universe was at first formed and has all along been upheld.

purged our sins] or (better reading), "made purification of sins;" so as to do away with the pollution which the sins of men had brought into the world. The same noun is used in Exod. xxix. 36, "a sin-offering for *atonement*." The corresponding verb is used in Lev. xvi. 19, 30.

sat down] As one who was invested with sovereign power, Ps. cx. 1. See *v.* 13, viii. 1, x. 12.

on high] The words are the same as in Ps. xciii. 4 LXX. (cp. Ps. lxviii. 18).

4. *Being made*] Or, "Having become;"—through the exaltation which followed on the completion of His atoning work.

better than] Or, "superior to." Compare Eph. i. 20, 21. "He does not say, 'greater,' or 'more honoured;' in order that none might think he was speaking of Him and them as beings of the same kind" (Athanasius).

hath by inheritance obtained] Rather, **hath for his inheritance**; in sole and perpetual possession. The word is frequently used of Israel's holding the land of Canaan under the indefeasible title of God's gift.

a more excellent name] This Name includes not only the "Son" and "First-born" of *vv.* 5, 6, but also the "God" and "Lord" of *vv.* 8, 10. Comp. Phil. ii. 9.

The comparison instituted between Christ and the angels (i. 4—ii. 18) enables the writer to meet the two most rooted of Jewish prejudices; which led them to rebel (1) against the idea of the *Incarnation*, and (2) against that of a *suffering* Messiah. The former of these points is dealt with in *vv.* 5—13, the latter in ii. 5—16.

5. The angels, as a class, are designated "sons of God" in Job xxxviii. 7 (and so the Israelites, Deut. xxxii. 19, Ps. lxxxii. 6).

Son, this day have I begotten thee? And again, I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son?

6 And again, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.

7 And of the angels he saith, Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.

8 But unto the Son *he saith*, Thy throne, O God, *is* for ever and ever: a sceptre of †righteousness *is* the sceptre of thy kingdom.

9 Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God,

† Gr, *rightness*, or, *straightness*.

But in Ps. ii. 7 the title is assigned to *one* person as His special prerogative. That the person so addressed was Messiah (not David), was admitted by the Jews. Indeed, both the name "*Messiah*" and the title "Son of God" were originally derived from this Psalm. That the "Son" spoken of in Ps. ii. 12 was Divine, is plain from the last words, "Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him." It is evident from Matt. xxvi. 63—66, John v. 18 (cp. ix. 35—38, x. 33), that the Jews understood the "Son of God" to be Himself God.

No angel ever had this unique appellation, "the Son of God."

this day] According to Acts xiii. 33, the day of Christ's Resurrection is referred to in this passage; as being the day on which Jesus was definitively "declared" to be the "Son of God" (Rom. i. 4), and constituted "the first-begotten from the dead" (Col. i. 18; Rev. i. 5).

And again] The promises in 2 S. vii. 12—16, 1 Chro. xvii. 11—14, are in their nature absolute (cp. Ps. lxxxix. 30—33; cxxxii. 12), and far transcend anything that was, or could be, realized by Solomon; as when it is said, "I will *settle him in my house and in my kingdom for ever*" (1 Chro. xvii. 14). The overthrow of Solomon's temple and royalty showed that he was no more than a historical foreshadowing of the rightful Heir (Ezek. xxi. 26, 27), who should be both "Son of David" and "Son of God" (Rom. i. 3, 4). Compare 2 S. vii. 25—29 with Isai. ix. 6, 7.

6. *And again, when he*] Rather, **But when, again, He;** the "but" having a distinctly adversative power. Not only is it true that no angel can be thought of as holding the sovereignty which was promised to the "Son," but, on the contrary, they are bidden to worship Him. The word "again" thus becomes practically equivalent to "on the other hand."

bringeth...into] The reference is to the future introduction of the Divine King (His "firstborn," Ps. lxxxix. 27) *into actual possession of* His earthly kingdom. It is the word used, in Exod. xiii. 5, 11 and Deut. vi. 10, xi. 29, of God's bringing Israel into possession of the Promised Land (as their inheritance, Deut. ix. 4—6). This of itself decides against translating (with Chrys., Ambrose, and many moderns) "But when He *again bringeth*." (See note below.)

the world] the habitable earth. The word is the same as in ii. 5, but *not* as in x. 5, John i. 9. The word is also used by St Paul in Acts xvii. 31, and in a way that throws much light upon the present verse. For, when he says, "God will *judge the world in righteousness* by that man whom He hath ordained; whereof He hath given assurance to all men in that He *raised Him from the dead*," he clearly (1) quotes Ps. xcvi. 13, xcviii. 9 of Christ's second Advent, and also (2) places this fact in the closest connexion with Christ's resurrection (which in the text is pointed to by the term "firstborn," see on *v.* 5). We may infer, therefore, that the quotation, which follows, is substantially a reference to Ps. xcvii. 7; though in form it agrees with the words inserted by the LXX. in Deut. xxxii. 43 (see Additional Note).

7. *of the*] Rather, **in regard to the** (and so in *v.* 8, "in regard to the Son").

spirits] So in *v.* 14. But the parallelism ("a flame of fire") requires here the rendering, "winds;" which also harmonises best with the Psalm itself. The angels, in performing God's commands, wield mighty natural agencies, the storm-wind or the "flame of fire" (the words used in Acts vii. 30, of the angel at Sinai). They are as the scorching "fire that goeth before Him" (Ps. xcvii. 3), when He comes forth to judge the world. (See Additional Note.)

8. *the Son*] The characteristics of the "King" addressed in Ps. xlv show that He can be none other than the "Son" of Ps. ii and 2 S. vii; for He (1) is anointed by God (cp. Ps. ii. 2); (2) is exalted above "His fellows" (cp. Ps. ii. 10—12); (3) has an eternal throne (cp. 2 S. vii. 13); (4) is Himself Divine (cp. Ps. ii. 12). Such a throne had been all along set before the mind of the Israelite; see Exod. xv. 18; 1 S. viii. 7; Ps. lxxxix. 36, 37; Isai. vi. 1—5; Lam. v. 16—19; Ezek. i. 26—28.

Thy throne, O God] See note on Ps. xlv. 6.

of righteousness] Befitting Him whose style was to be "King of righteousness" (vii. 2).

9. *therefore*] Cp. Phil. ii. 9, "*Wherefore* also God hath highly exalted Him" (lit. "super-exalted;" *the word used in* Ps. xcvii. 9).

even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.

[b] Psal. 102. 25. Isai. 34. 4. 10 And, [b]Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of thine hands:

11 They shall perish; but thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment;

12 And as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.

[c] Psal. 110. 1. Matt. 22. 44. 13 But to which of the angels said he at any time, [c]Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool?

14 Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?

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thy God] On the day of His resurrection, Jesus said, "I ascend unto my Father and your Father, to *my God* and your God" (John xx. 17). And St Peter, when about to speak of the power of Christ's resurrection, begins (1 Ep. i. 3) "Blessed be *the God* and Father *of our Lord Jesus Christ*."

the oil of gladness] By which the Priestly King was consecrated, and which He in turn was to pour out upon His people (Isai. lxi. 1—3). Comp. note on Ps. xlv. 7.

thy fellows] Whom He condescended to associate with Himself by "partaking" of their nature (compare ii. 14). Among them He stood pre-eminent, "fairer than the children of men" (Ps. xlv. 2), "filled" with the joy of God's countenance (Acts ii. 28), as befitted the one everlasting High-priest. (Compare note on x. 21.)

10. Ps. cii is the prayer of one who, amidst the overthrow of the Davidic kingdom, longed for the great event to which Pss. xcvi—xcviii refer;—the coming in of Messiah's kingdom, when He should "appear in His glory" (*v.* 16), and kings and nations should serve Him (*vv.* 15, 22). Before, however, that kingdom, in which righteousness should have an abiding home (cp. 2 Pet. iii. 13), could be inaugurated, the heavens and earth, which had been framed to be the scene of man's probation, should "wax old" and be "changed" (*vv.* 11, 12). His kingdom, on the contrary, should be immoveable (cp. ch. xii. 26—28, Isai. li. 5—8, Dan. vii. 14). Though heaven and earth passed away, His word of promise should stand; "the children of His servants should continue, and their seed should be established before Him" (*v.* 28). To "appear" thus "in glory," to "create" a people for His praise (*v.* 18), and to receive the homage of the nations, belonged, according to the whole analogy of the Old Testament scriptures, to Messiah. Comp. Matt. xxiv. 35.

Thou, Lord] So the LXX.; inserting the word "Lord," in accordance with *vv.* 1, 12 of the Psalm. The whole Psalm (as the title says), was "poured out *before the Lord;*" and the name "Lord" occurs in *vv.* 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22. He, who would manifest Himself in glory upon earth,—of whom, when thus manifested, it might be said, "*Thy years* are throughout all generations" (*v.* 24), "*Thy years* shall have no end" (*v.* 27),—was the very same that had "laid the foundation of the earth," and had "made the heavens." Cp. *v.* 2 above.

11. *They shall perish*] The material world is only as the scaffolding used during the building up of God's eternal temple. When this shall be complete, the scaffolding, being no longer needed, shall pass away.

12. *fold them up*] So the LXX. (borrowing, probably, from Isai. xxxiv. 4). The Hebrew has, "*change them;*" pointing to a work similar to that by which, when "this corruptible shall *put on* incorruption," we shall "be changed" (1 Cor. xv. 51, 52).

13. *to which*] Rather (as in *vv.* 7, 8, in contrast with *v.* 5), **in regard to which.**

Sit on] Ps. cx. 1; quoted again in x. 12, 13 (cp. i. 3, viii. 1, xii. 2). No created being could thus share the throne of the Eternal. By this verse our Lord finally silenced His Jewish adversaries (Matt. xxii. 41—46). It is quoted by St Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 25; and by St Peter, Acts ii. 34. A later verse in this Psalm is the basis on which the main argument of our Epistle rests. (See ch. v. 6, 10, vi. 20, vii. 1—24.)

until I make] Rather, "until I have made."

14. *ministering*] Not, ruling; cp. *v.* 7, "His ministers."

sent forth] Continually—ever afresh—sent forth (pres. part.) on His errands (cp. Gen. xxiv. 7; Exod. xxiii. 20).

to minister for] Rather, **unto service, on account of.** Their *office* is to act as God's ministers. In the *discharge of* this their office they are ever performing deeds of lowly, diligent, service on behalf of men who, to the end of their days on earth, are only "*waiting for*" God's "salvation" (cp. Gen. xxviii. 12, xlix. 18). The words rendered, "unto service," are used in Acts xi. 29 and 1 Cor. xvi. 15, of ministering to the temporal needs of "the saints" at Jerusalem (cp. 2 Cor. viii. 4,

ix. 1, 12). So then,—the Angels are God's almoners to His poor human children.

who shall be heirs] "who are hereafter to inherit," or, to obtain *lasting possession of* (see on *v.* 4).

salvation] The all-including term, under which prophecy had spoken of the blessings of Messiah's kingdom (see Ps. xcvi. 2, xcviii. 2, 3; cp. 1 Pet. i. 10, 11). This "salvation" would endure after the heavens had "vanished away" (Isai. li. 6, 8).

The emphatic word "salvation" (with which ch. ix also terminates) furnishes the key-note to the following chapter (*v.* 3, "so great salvation;" *v.* 10, "captain of their salvation").

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. I. 3, 6, 7.

3. The word *ἀπαύγασμα*, which is here used, occurs in Wisd. vii. 26; where wisdom is spoken of as "the *brightness* (or, radiance) of the eternal light."

3. Schöttgen quotes the Rabbinic treatise, Sohar-Chadash, as saying "The blessed Creator by His strength sustains (or carries, סבל) the worlds" (העולמות, =*τοὺς αἰῶνας*).

6. The language used of our Lord's first Advent is, that He *came into the world* (*τὸν κόσμον*, ch. x. 5); not that He was *introduced into possession of the earth* (*τὴν οἰκουμένην*). This latter is to take place at His second Advent, which is the subject of Ps. xcvii. 1, 5, 6; cp. xcviii. 2, 4. The word *οἰκουμένη* is the one used in Ps. xcvi. 10, xcvii. 4, xcviii. 7, 9. Cp. Introd. III. Sect. 2, § vi.

The word *ὑπερύψωσε* is used in Phil. ii. 9 to describe the exaltation of Jesus; and in Ps. xcvii. 9 we have *ὑπερυψώθης ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς θεούς*.

6. The words quoted in the text are identical with the second clause of Deut. xxxii. 43, as given in the Vatican MS. of the Septuagint. (The Alexandrine has *υἱοὶ* for *ἄγγελοι*.) The Seventy, by inserting this clause (adapted from Ps. xcvii. 7), meant, no doubt, to indicate that they took the concluding verse of the great prophetic ode to refer to the establishment of Messiah's kingdom. That they were right in so doing, we know from St Paul's quoting the verse in Rom. xv. 10, as well as from his here adopting their modification of Ps. xcvii. 7.

Observe that, in the Seventy's paraphrase of Deut. xxxii. 43, while the commencing words, *εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοὶ*, are exactly as in Isai. xliv. 23 (cp. xlix. 13), they yet correspond to the *εὐφρανθήτωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ* of Ps. xcvi. 11.

7. Thus the expression "flaming fire" serves to link together the Psalms that are quoted in *vv.* 6, 7 (Ps. xcvii. 3, ותלהט ... אש; civ. 4, אש להט). Another phrase in verse 1 of Ps. civ, הוד והדר, is found also in Ps. xlv. 4 (as well as in Ps. xcvi. 6);—supplying a link between the quotations in *vv.* 6—9.

CHAPTER II.

1 *We ought to be obedient to Christ Jesus,* 5 *and that because he vouchsafed to take our nature upon him,* 14 *as it was necessary.*

THEREFORE we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, † Gr. *run* lest at any time we should † let *them* slip. *out as leaking vessels.*

CHAP. II. Salvation achieved by the *Son of God*, who is incomparably superior to the angels,—that has been set forth in ch. i. The point next to be expounded (see on i. 4) will be, that, in order to accomplish this work, the Saviour became truly *Son of man*, and for a while was "made lower than the angels;" humbled even to the "suffering of death." Before, however, he speaks on this topic (*vv.* 5—18), the writer inserts a practical reflexion:—How diligently ought we to listen to the words of such a Saviour (*vv.* 1—4)!

1. *Therefore*] Since He, by whom God has spoken to us (i. 1), is so immeasurably exalted.

the more earnest heed] Or, "more abundant heed." The Hebrews knew how solemnly Moses had entreated Israel to obey the law; far more weighty was the obligation that was now laid on them by the Gospel.

the things which we have heard] Lit. "the things that have been heard;" which God has "spoken to us by His Son" (i. 1). Cp. 2 Tim. iv. 17, "that all the Gentiles might *hear*" (the Gospel message). So in iv. 2, "the word of hearing" is parallel to "glad tidings."

lest at any time...] Rather, "lest **peradventure we drift away** (from them)." The verb occurs in Prov. iii. 21: where it seems to mean, *to let oneself drift away from an object so as to lose sight of it;* as a careless boatman might float past his destination,—perhaps, to fall into rapids.

2 For if the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompence of reward;

3 How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard *him;*

4 God also bearing *them* witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and [1]gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will?

[1] Or, *distributions.*

5 For unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come, whereof we speak.

6 But one in a certain place testified, saying, [a]What is man, that thou art mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him?

[a] Psal. 8. 4.

7 Thou madest him [1]a little lower

[1] Or, *a little while inferior to.*

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2. *by angels*] **through** angels, as agents (see on Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii 19). Similarly in *v.* 3; "**through** the Lord."

was stedfast] Rather, **was found** stedfast. It was proved, in actual experience, to be so, by the punishments which overtook the men who violated it (as in Num. xiv, xvi, xxv).

disobedience] Or, "refusal to obey;" a term which implies high-handed, contumacious, disobedience (cp. Deut. xvii. 12; Isai. lxv. 12; Matt. xviii. 17). The term "transgression" is more general.

3. *escape*]—the penalty which must fall on those who refuse to hear God's word. Man cannot be neutral in the presence of God's word. Comp. xii. 25; Rom. ii. 3.

so great] If the state of mankind was such that only the *Son of God* could save them, what hope can there be for any who neglect the salvation which He effected? Cp. on i. 14.

began to be spoken] He, who was the sole "author of salvation" (ch. v. 9), was also its first preacher; announcing it both during His earthly ministry (Matt. ix. 35, Luke viii. 1, John vi. 39—58), and more formally after His resurrection (Mark xvi. 16, Luke xxiv. 46, 47).

confirmed] On the Day of Pentecost the Apostles were enabled to testify of Christ in such a way that thousands in Jerusalem believed on Him.

unto us] the Hebrews. The writer had already associated himself with his readers in *vv.* 1, 2; as he does also in vi. 1, x. 25, xii. 1. Probably some of those to whom he was writing had been present when Peter spoke of the things which he "had seen and heard" (Acts iv. 20). Paul himself, the pupil of *Gamaliel*, was very likely to have been so.

Obs. St Paul at Antioch of Pisidia, *in addressing Jews*, makes a similar appeal to the testimony of those who "came up with Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem:—*who are His witnesses*," he says, "*unto the people*" (Acts xiii. 31). Cp. Introd. III. Sect. 3, § iii.

4. *bearing them witness*] Or, "bearing witness with them;" cp. Mark xvi. 20.

signs...wonders...miracles] As in Acts ii. 22 (cp. 2 Cor. xii. 12). The "wonders" may, perhaps, refer to such cases as the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira, and the infliction of blindness on Simon Magus.

gifts] Lit. (as marg.) "distributions;" referring to the *variety* of the spiritual gifts that were imparted (1 Cor. xii. 11; cp. Rom. xii. 3).

according to his own will] This clause points to the wonderful nature of the fact here spoken of; that God should thus have taken *men* to be fellow-workers with Himself (cp. 1 Cor. i. 1, &c.). Strange indeed; but He had so willed it,—in pursuance of His "eternal purpose" regarding mankind (Eph. iii. 10, 11).

5. *For unto...*] Rather, "For **not unto angels did He subject**." God had employed angels to propound His Law; but after the Incarnation the angels stood in a different relation to men. Men were now associated with the Lord of Glory as the angels could not be. *Such has been His will:—For not to angels did He*, in His revealed word, *subject that future world, of which we are now speaking;*—that new earth, to which Ps. xcvii refers (see on i. 6), in which God will "make known," in its full development, His great "salvation" (Ps. xcviii. 2). Comp. 1 Cor. vi. 3.

to come] "that shall be;" the same word as in i. 14 ("shall be"), vi. 5, ix. 11, x. 1, xiii. 14.

6. *But*] God has not subjected the world to come to angels; *But*, on the contrary, to man: as appears from Ps. viii, which speaks of *all* as subordinated to man;—to man, who had become inferior to angels, but should eventually surpass them; being "crowned with glory and honour."

testified] The Psalmist *bore witness* to the great revealed truth, that here on our earth, and by means of that human nature which is now so humiliated, God would manifest His glory in a higher way than it had been exhibited in the heavens or among the hosts of heaven. Is this future exaltation of man incredible? No; for we already see One, who wears our nature,—who endured the deepest suffering of

than the angels; thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands:

8 Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet. For in that he put all in subjection under him, he left nothing *that is* not put under him. But now we see not yet all things put under him.

9 But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels ‖ for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour; that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man.

‖ Or, *by*.

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which that nature is capable,—"crowned with glory and honour." What has been accomplished in Him is a pledge that God's purpose regarding our race shall not miscarry. As Jesus is already exalted above the angels, so in due time shall they be, whose nature He has assumed.—The argument drawn from the Psalm holds good whatever meaning be given to the fifth verse, "Thou madest him a little lower...;" but is much the more forcible when the proper meaning of *humiliation* is given to the verb which is rendered "made lower." (See Additional Note.)

7. *the works of thy hands*] Including, as *v.* 3 of the Psalm expressly says, *the heavens* (cp. Ps. cii. 25, quoted in ch. i. 10); so that the "all" of the next clause is unlimited.

8. *For*] This looks back to *vv.* 5, 6. Not to angels is that future world to be subjected, but, on the contrary, as Ps. viii testifies, to man. *For*, in that (according to the Psalm) God "subjected *all*" to man, "He left nothing unsubjected to him." Thus the holy angels will be of lower rank than the beings whose nature has been so glorified by the Incarnation; and the evil angels will no longer be left at large, unrestrained and "insubordinate" (which is the strict meaning of the word here rendered "unsubjected;" see 1 Tim. i. 9, "disobedient," Tit. i. 6, 10, "unruly"). The "enemy," who had so long held the children of men in "bondage" (*v.* 15), will then be "quelled" (Ps. viii. 2), "bruised under the feet" of God's elect (Rom. xvi. 20; 1 Cor. xv. 26, 27).

But now...] Such had been the prospect held out by the Psalm. But what do we actually *see*, when we look at man's present condition? So far as *visible facts* go, man is yet in a state of degradation. The "enemy and self-avenger" (Ps. viii. 2) is not yet quelled. With the eye of faith, however (*v.* 9), "**we behold** Jesus," the Son of man, already possessed of the universal dominion which in this Psalm is attributed to man.

9. *made...lower*] Clearly the word here denotes the obscuration of a prior dignity,—the transcendent dignity of the "Son of God."

for the suffering] Rather, **because of the suffering**. This clause is to be read with what follows (so Theophylact, Estius, Luther, Calvin, and nearly all recent commentators). The first half of the verse may be rendered thus: **But Him that was for a short time made lower than the angels, (even) Jesus, (Him) we behold crowned, because of the suffering of death, with glory and honour.** The words of the Psalm which spoke of man's being "made lower than the angels," were eminently, and in the most pathetic sense, applicable to Jesus; but in Him (most joyful paradox!) the "diminution" formed *the very ground* of His exaltation. Compare Phil. ii. 9: "*Wherefore* also (because He had emptied Himself of glory, *v.* 7) God hath highly exalted Him." The position of the Name, "Jesus" (cp. iii. 1, vi. 20, xii. 2, 24, xiii. 20) gives it great emphasis; "Jesus,"—*the Nazarene* (Acts ii. 22), "whom Israel crucified" (ib. *v.* 36).

the suffering of death]—that kind of suffering, which belongs to death, which is involved in the act of dying (the noun "suffering" being here intransitive, as in the next verse). The same contrast of "glory" and "suffering" occurs in Rom. viii. 17, 18, 1 Pet. i. 11, iv. 13, v. 1.

that he...] This is to be taken as a comment on the whole scene which has just been presented to the eye of faith. The Son of God had been humbled even to *death-suffering*, and then *on that very account* had been crowned with glory. What was the purpose of this great mystery? It was, **that so, by the grace of God, He might taste death on behalf of** every man. This was the explanation of that strange fact. The arrangement had its origin in the spontaneous action of Eternal Love,—"the *grace* of God" (Rom. v. 15; Tit. ii. 11). To work out that purpose of Eternal Love,—"the will of God" (ch. x. 7, 9),—was the end for which Jesus became man. In Him the "grace of God" was manifested (John i. 14, 17). Not, therefore, in consequence of some arbitrary decree, hurling against an innocent being the punishment which was due to the guilty, but in pursuance of the "grace" of which He Himself was the exponent, did Jesus "taste death for every man." (On a various reading here, see Additional Note.)

taste death] Drinking that mysterious cup of bitter agony, which at length issued in death.

for every man] Rather, **on behalf of**

10 For it became him, for whom *are* all things, and by whom *are* all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings.

11 For both he that sanctifieth and

every man; so that His death-suffering had beneficial consequences, which were available for every individual of the race. Comp. John xi. 50, 2 Cor. v. 15; where the same preposition is used (see Additional Note).

10. In saying that God permitted Christ to die on behalf of man, do we attribute to Him anything that is unseemly or unfitting? No. If He, who is the *Final*, as He is the *Efficient*, Cause of "all things,"—*for whom* and *by whom* they exist,—determined to raise *many* (Rom. v. 19) from among mankind to be His *sons*, partakers of His own *glory* (comp. Ps. viii. 1, 5), *it became Him*, it befitted His wisdom and goodness, to provide, that He who was to be "the Captain (or, Author) of their salvation" should be qualified for His high office "**by means of** sufferings." The salvation, which He was to bestow on them, was not to be accomplished by an exercise of *power* merely. The ability, which He would give them to become "sons of God" (John i. 12), was of a spiritual kind; carrying along with it filial obedience. Was it not "fitting," then, that He should exhibit in His own person the type of character to which they were to be conformed (Rom. viii. 29)? Only in virtue of His absolute perfection of obedience could He win salvation for men (cp. ch. v 8); was it not "fitting" that such obedience should be exhibited in His endurance of that death which was the penalty of man's disobedience? How otherwise could He be in a complete sense "the First-born among many brethren" (Rom. viii. 29)? To secure this end, then, the infinitely wise and good God "withheld not His own Son" from suffering, "but gave Him up for us all" (ib. *v.* 32). There was no reason, therefore, why the Jew should shrink, as he did, from the thought of a "suffering Messiah" (Acts xxvi. 23).

in bringing] Or, "seeing that He brought." His purpose of bringing many to "glory" had been already intimated in Ps. viii.

to make...perfect] To raise Him to that glorious completeness, which would fully qualify Him for His work (v. 9); and so, to *consecrate* Him, as the same word is rendered in vii. 28 ("the Son, who is *consecrated*," and invested with plenary authority as High-priest, "for evermore"). So the word is used in Lev. xxi. 10, "He that is HIGH-PRIEST *among his brethren* (see on x. 21), upon whose head the holy oil was poured, and that was *consecrated* to put on the garments" (which were "for *honour and glory*," Exod. xxviii. 2, LXX.). Cp. Lev. viii. 33, xvi. 32. That we are to attach this idea of "consecration" to the word in the present passage seems evident from the "sanctify" of *v.* 11. In ch. v. 9, also, there is an immediate transition from the mention of His "being made perfect," to His being viewed as High-priest.

captain] The same word occurs in xii. 2 ("*Author*"), Acts iii. 15 ("*Prince* of life"), v. 31 ("*Prince* and Saviour"). He opens the way, by which His people march to salvation. He advances before them as their High-priest; they follow Him, a priestly host, clad in the "beauties of holiness" (Ps. cx. 1—4).

through sufferings] *Through* them, because in the endurance of them He exhibited that perfect obedience, by which God was for ever glorified (cp. John x. 17, xvii. 4, 5). Had He ascended at once to heaven from the Mount of Transfiguration, there would have been no such vindication of God's wisdom in creating man or of His holiness in saving man.

11. Wonderful as this Divine arrangement was, yet it was *fitting*. "*For* both He that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one," or "from one;" from one Father (cp. John xx. 17). Infinitely as the Son of God—in His whole Divine-human personality—is exalted above the "many sons," yet is this title "sons of God" no mere figure of speech. They are really "born of God" (John i. 13); really to share in "His eternal glory" (1 Pet. v. 10; cp. 2 Thess. ii. 14). The Consecration Prayer offered by our Lord, before He went forth to "taste death for every man," is addressed to the *Father* (John xvii. 1, 5, 11, 21, 24, 25; in *v.* 11, "Holy Father;" in *v.* 25, "Righteous Father"). In it, speaking of His disciples, He says, "*Thine* they were, and *Thou* gavest them Me... And *for their sakes* I sanctify Myself *that they also may be truly sanctified*." Compare 1 Pet. i. 3: "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ... hath begotten us again to a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead."

sanctifieth] through the efficacy of His all-perfect self-oblation (cp. x. 10, 14). In chh. x. 29, xiii. 12, this sanctification is spoken of as effected by "the blood" of Jesus; so that it might be thought to refer simply to the removal of the guilt of sin, which shut men out from communion with God. But that we are not to take this narrow view is evident from ix. 13, 14; where the "sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh" has for its correlate, "cleanse your conscience from dead works to serve the living God." Real sanctification implies admission to real communion with God; which can be only through the Holy Ghost imparted by Christ to His people.

they who are sanctified *are* all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren,

12 Saying, I will declare thy name unto my brethren, in the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee.

13 And again, [b] I will put my trust in him. And again, [c] Behold I and the children which God hath given me.

[b] Psal. 18. [c] Isai. 8. 2. 18.

14 Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he

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for which cause] Because those whom He is sanctifying and leading to salvation are "from one" Father with Himself. The expression, "*He is not ashamed to call them* brethren," points (as in xi. 16) to the infinite disparity there is between them and Him in regard of His Divine nature.

12. *Saying*] Ps. xxii. 22. Our Lord appropriated this Psalm to Himself, while He was sounding the lowest depths of suffering (Matt. xxvii. 46). The verse here quoted occurs immediately after the Sufferer has been delivered. In it He claims the "great congregation" (cp. *v.* 10, "many sons") as His *brethren*. So the risen Saviour at once on Easter Morning said, "Go, tell *My brethren*" (Matt. xxviii. 10); "Go to *My brethren*, and say unto them, I ascend unto *My Father and your Father*" (John xx. 17). He nowhere so addressed His disciples until He had become "the First-born from the dead." Then, and not before, they were made "sons," "heirs of God *through Christ*" (Gal. iv. 5, 7).

I will declare thy name] So in John xvii. 26, "I have made known unto them *Thy Name*, and *will make it known*;" even that Name, which He had used in His suffering, *My God* (Ps. xxii. 1, 2, 10); which it was said God's "First-born" would use: "He shall call me, Thou art *My Father, My God*, and *My strong salvation*" (Ps. lxxxix. 25, 26). That "Name" had been His support, as it is the support of every one who obeys His voice (Isai. l. 10, "let him trust in the Name of the Lord").

will I sing praise unto thee] Returning thanks to God now, as truly as before He had offered supplication to Him. So fully did He manifest the spirit of *filial dependence*.

13. *And again*] The two next passages refer, not to the special statement at the end of *v.* 11, which has been substantiated by the first quotation; but to the general assertion, "He that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all *of One*." They exhibit (in prophetic type) the "Captain of salvation" standing among those whom God had given him, and professing His entire *dependence on God*.

I will put my trust in him] The words occur in three places (in the LXX.): 2 S. xxii. 3, Isai. viii. 17, xii. 2. Many commentators suppose the reference to be to Ps. xviii., which is certainly Messianic (see Rom. xv. 8, 9), and in many ways strongly resembles Ps. xxii (see below). It is more probable, however, that the words are taken from Isai. viii. 17; so that here, as in x. 30, we have quotations from two consecutive verses separated by "And again." It should be borne in mind, that from ch. vi onward Isaiah is to be viewed as the "Apostle," or Envoy, of "the Lord of Hosts" to Israel; and not only so, but as specially *consecrated* to the office by an act in which he was "purged" from sin (vi. 6—9), as the high-priest was, symbolically, on the Day of Atonement. He stands, then, as *the Apostle and High-priest* of the new Israel; of those who are God's "disciples" (viii. 16, cp. liv. 13), who worship Him in holy fear, and find Him "a sanctuary," or fountain of sanctification, to them, when both the houses of Israel stumble through unbelief (ib. 13—15). He whose name, Isaiah, signifies "the salvation of the Lord," confesses in the midst of this new community, of which he is commissioned to be the leader, that he is supported wholly by faith in his God. He uses the same language of dependence which is employed by the Church a little afterwards (xii. 2).

Obs. 1. In the hour of deepest darkness He who was to be "the Lord's salvation to the whole earth" (Isai. xlix. 6) received, from those who were putting Him to death because He said "I am the Son of God," this testimony: "*He trusted in God* that He would deliver Him" (Matt. xxvii. 43).

Obs. 2. In John vi. 37—46 the union of Divine, saving, power in Jesus with creaturely dependence is made singularly clear; and the ideas represented by the two passages quoted here from Isai. viii are both distinctly insisted on: (1) Jesus is the Author of "everlasting life," but it is to those who are *taught of God*, who have *learned of the Father*, *v.* 45; (2) He is the "bread of life" to all who come to Him; but it is added, "all that *the Father giveth me* shall come to me" (*vv.* 35, 37).

Behold...] See the note on Isai. viii. 18. In His consecration-prayer (cp. on *v.* 11) Jesus repeatedly speaks of those who believed on Him, as "given" Him by the Father (St John xvii. 6, 9, 11, 12, 24),—who had also given to Him "power over *all flesh*" (*v.* 2; cp. v. 28).

14. *the children*] Those to whom God promised to be "a sanctuary" (Isai. viii. 14); and for whom the mysterious names of Isaiah's sons predicted a "return" from captivity and

also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil;

15 And deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage.

16 For verily † he took not on *him*

† Gr. *he taketh not hold of angels, but of the seed of Abraham he taketh hold.*

the spoiling of their enemies. How was this promise of deliverance and sanctification to be made good? The prophetic word supplied an answer (ix. 4—6). The oppressor's yoke should be broken by one, who should be bestowed upon Israel;—"*a child*" and yet "the Mighty God."

Already, therefore, in mystic scene, it had been declared that a spiritual Israel should be raised up, to whom, after the sanctuary at Jerusalem was laid desolate, "the Lord Himself" would be a fountain of sanctification. Seven centuries and a half before the birth of Christ, Isaiah had spoken of that "holy seed" as already "given" to him. God's promise, then, was clear;—a sanctified Israel was to spring forth from the carnal Israel. The "children given by God" were "partakers of" human nature; *forasmuch, then, as* this nature must be sanctified, He Himself, the Sanctifier, "became flesh and dwelt among us;"—"*Son*" of God, yet "*given*" by God for man's salvation (John iii. 16).

are partakers...took part] Two different verbs. *They were sharers of* **blood and flesh** (corr. R.), which belonged in common to the race. He, of His free choice, *took part* in these; so making mankind His brethren. He was thus able to perform towards them a brother's part,—redeeming them from bondage to the great oppressor (Lev. xxv. 47—49).

he also himself likewise] Rather, **he also in like manner**;—with such close correspondence that in all *substantial* points He was made like unto "His brethren" (for sin is not of the substance of human nature); and so, although He was not, like them, subject to death, yet He was capable of dying.

destroy] Rather, **bring to nought**; frustrating his policy and *utterly disabling him* (the verb is the same that is used in 1 Cor. i. 28, xv. 26, 2 Tim. i. 10, 1 John iii. 8). When Jesus by His "obedience unto death" had made reparation to the majesty of the Divine Law for man's sin, the devil lost his power as *accuser* (Rev. xii. 10), and death, instead of being terrible, became to the faithful a messenger of peace. Sin, the sting of death, being "taken away" (John i. 29), death was no longer able to injure such as were in Christ.

had the power of death] or, "held the empire of death;" seeming to be absolute ruler over this earth, which by his malice he had turned into a "region of death-shade" (Isai. ix. 2). Was not every human being who died, or who, while living, cowered before the thought of death, a proof of Satan's triumph? When Jesus Himself died on the cross, did not the empire of death appear to be definitively and irreversibly established? Yet by that very death Satan was for ever disabled and his triumph proved to be illusory. From that moment "grace reigned through righteousness unto eternal life" (Rom. v. 21). "Jesus Christ the Righteous" was man's "*advocate* with the Father" (1 John ii. 1);—who could "lay anything to the charge" of those, whom He claimed as His own (Rom. viii. 33), who through Him were "sanctified" (*v.* 11)?

15. *And deliver them who*] Rather, **and might release all those, who** (lit. those, as many as).

all their lifetime] The expression in the original (a very unusual one) appears to mean "throughout the whole of their (so-called) *living*." (See Additional Note.)

subject to bondage] liable to that bondage, which follows from the sense of unforgiven sin. This description was applicable to many even of the Old Testament saints. They did not as yet possess the "spirit of adoption" (Gal. iv. 3—7, 24).

16. *he took not on him...*] Rather, **He layeth not hold of angels, but He layeth hold of Abraham's seed.** The verb is the same that is used in Matt. xiv. 31; where "Jesus stretched forth His hand and *laid hold of*" Peter, to *save him from perishing* in the waters. In ch. viii. 9 (= Jer. xxxi. 32) it is used of God's *laying hold of* Israel's hand, *reclaiming him out of the bondage* of Egypt. (Additional Note.) The connexion between this and the two preceding verses will, therefore, be of this kind. Jesus took part in blood and flesh, thus becoming capable of death; His purpose being that by death He might atone for man's sin, and so liberate those who were in continual fear of death. *This was fitting;* "*for* verily," if we refer to Scripture (to which the present tense points, as in *v.* 11), we find that such is the character of those, on whom the Divine Saviour lays His hand, claiming them as His own. Those, whom He rescues, are not angels; whose simply spiritual nature allowed of no such penalty as death, and therefore of no such redemption as is effected by a payment of that penalty. Not angels, but "Abraham's seed," does He "lay hold of" (Isai. xli. 8, 9, see the note there); and says to them "*Fear not;* for I am with thee" (ib. 10, 13, 14). This "laying hold of" Abraham's seed was signified by that typical drama on Mount Moriah, in

the nature of angels; but he took on *him* the seed of Abraham.

17 Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto *his* brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things *pertaining* to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.

18 For in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted.

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which God interposed to rescue Isaac from death by means of a substituted victim.

Obs. 1. Thus the very thing in which men were "made lower than the angels," their mortality (see Additional Note on *v.* 7), was that which made their salvation possible.

Obs. 2. As in Abraham's seed "all the nations of the earth were to be blessed," so He who "laid His" redeeming "hand" on Abraham's seed did thereby, virtually, rescue from bondage all mankind (cp. Gal. iii. 7, 29).

17. *Wherefore*] Lit. "Whence;" showing that *vv.* 17, 18 flow from *v.* 16 in the way of consequence. Since He claims a right to rescue Abraham's seed,—to redeem them as His brethren,—*it behoved Him*, for the full and effective discharge of the work He had undertaken, *to be made* **in all things** (iv. 15) *like unto* them; not only taking upon Him "the form of a servant," but also submitting "to death" (Phil. ii. 7, 8).

be] or, "become;" through the process of trial to which He was subjected (ch. v. 8).

merciful and faithful] A double qualification: (1) *having compassion* for the weaknesses of men; (2) and yet *faithful* (or, "trustworthy") in regard to all that was requisite for procuring reconciliation between the holy God and sinful men. His faithfulness to God, which had been proved by His enduring the extremity of suffering, also assured *men* that they might rely on Him as *faithful to their interests*. In Him "*mercy and truth* met together" (Ps. lxxxv. 10; cp. lxxxix. 1, 2, 14).

high priest] The Greek word occurs only once in the O.T., in Levit. iv. 3 (the Hebrew word there being simply "priest"). Comp. on x. 21. The *idea* of His high-priestly functions had been already presented in *v.* 11; the sacrifice being Himself (*vv.* 9, 14).

in things pertaining *to God*] As in ch. v. 1, Exod. xviii. 19, LXX. ("Be thou for the people *to God-ward*, that thou mayest bring the causes unto God").

to make reconciliation for] In the original, one word; the same that occurs in Ps. lxv. 3; where it stands for the Hebrew word which is commonly rendered "make an atonement for," but in Dan. ix. 24, "make reconciliation for." (See Note below.) Only by atoning for sin could He restore man to his proper relation to God.

of the people] Levit. xvi. 24 (on the Day of Atonement); comp. ch. vii. 27.

18. He is qualified to be both "merciful and faithful;" *for* He is able both to pity those that are tempted and to give them real help:—the ground of each qualification being given in the clause, "in that He **hath suffered, being Himself tempted.**" In that *He Himself* was subjected to temptation, He can sympathize. In that He continued firm under the utmost pressure of temptation, and "suffered" (in the same absolute sense as in ix. 26, xiii. 12), He is "perfected" as the "Captain of our salvation" (*v.* 10). Comp. 1 Pet. iii. 18; "Christ hath once suffered for sins...to bring us to God." We are not, therefore, to dilute "He *is able* to succour" into "He *has learnt* to succour," but to give the word "able" its full force; as in vii. 25, "He *is able* to save to the uttermost." Compare iv. 15.

them that are tempted] A description of mankind at large; who are all undergoing probation. Yet the thought was one that would be specially welcome to the Hebrew Christians in their existing trials.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. II. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17.

7. "Madest him a little lower than the angels." The two principal questions are, (1) whether βραχύ τι here denotes "a little (in degree)," or, "a little time:" and (2) what is the nature of the humiliation (ἐλάττωσις) here spoken of.

I. Although βραχύ τι is capable of either meaning, yet it more frequently signifies "for a short time." So it is used in a passage which well illustrates the text,—1 Pet. v. 10, "The God of all grace, who hath called us to His *eternal glory* by Christ Jesus, after that ye have *suffered a while*, make you perfect." The Hebrew word also (מְעַט) often has this meaning (*e.g.* Ps. xxxvii. 10, Hos. i. 4).

II. The humiliation, or privation, or diminution (compare the strikingly similar 'deminutio capitis' of Roman Law), would seem to refer to man's *mortality*. This holds good, whether we look to the Septuagintal "madest him lower than the angels," or to the Hebrew, "Thou madest him fall short of God." For (1) in Luke xx. 35, 36 the "children of the resurrection" are described as "equal to the angels" because they "can no more die;" and (2) in Rom. iii. 23 it is said

of fallen men that they all "come short of (ὑστεροῦνται) the glory of God" (ὑστερέω in the LXX. frequently representing the word חסר, which is used in Ps. viii. 5). In *v.* 9 of this chapter it is plain that the "being made lower" must signify *humiliation*;—a humiliation which involved "the suffering of death."

Both the Hebrew and the Greek verbs are *privative* in meaning, and therefore not suited to be used of God's forming man *originally* in an inferior state. But they entirely fall in with the thought of his sinking into an abnormal and degraded state.

8. Two different verbs in *vv.* 8, 9 are both rendered by "see," in A. V. The verb in *v.* 8 (ὁρῶμεν) is the common verb for seeing with the eye. That in *v.* 9 (βλέπομεν) is often used of mental perception (as in iii. 19, x. 25; Rom. vii. 23).

9. Instead of χάριτι Θεοῦ, "by the grace of God," Origen and other early writers, both Greek and Latin, read χωρὶς Θεοῦ, "apart from God." To this various senses have been given—as, "deserted of God;" or, "without affecting the Godhead;" or, "(for all,) God alone except." Theodore of Mopsuestia went so far as to declare the reading χάριτι Θεοῦ to be *unmeaning*. Yet it is now accepted by almost all the critical editors.

9. The controversy as to whether ὑπέρ, in cases like this, be equivalent to ἀντί, may be fairly solved thus. The prepositions of themselves suggest different ideas; but to *die* "on behalf of a person" readily suggests the idea of dying "in his stead." This is evident from the use of the verbs ὑπερθνήσκω and ὑπεραποθνήσκω in classical Greek. Thus in Eurip. 'Alc.' 698 we have ὑπερθνήσκειν σέθεν to represent the same act which in 446 had been described by τέθνηκεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ.

When we hear of "one man's dying for (ὑπὲρ) the people, *that the whole nation perish not*" (John xi. 50, cp. xviii. 14), it is difficult to avoid the thought of a *vicarious* death.

When it is urged, "that, if He died for (ὑπὲρ) all, then all died" (2 Cor. v. 15), we naturally add, "yes, died representatively *in Him their substitute*."

Yet a comparison of two such passages as 2 S. xviii. 33 and John xiii. 37 may show that each preposition still retains its own distinct phase of meaning.

10. It is observable that

(1) In ch. v. 7—9 Christ's "being made perfect" is antithetic to "*in the days of His flesh*" (which itself is meant to illustrate His ability to "sympathise with our *infirmities*," ch. iv. 15).

(2) In vii. 28 it is antithetic to "men that *have infirmities*."

It is probable, therefore, that the τελείωσις of ii. 10 is antithetic to the ἐλάττωσις of *v.* 9; and so, as the latter consisted in His assuming a nature that was capable of dying, the former must consist in that nature being transfused with "the power of an endless life,"—the basis of His priesthood (ch. vii. 16).

11. The preposition (ἐκ) is the one used in John i. 13 ("born...*of God*"), vi. 46 ("save He that is *of God*"), 1 Cor. i. 30 ("*of Him* are ye in Christ Jesus"), 1 John iv. 4 ("ye are *of God*, little children").

13. Psalm xviii speaks of One who was raised out of the depths of suffering, from the midst of the "snares" of death and Hades, to be the "head of the nations" (*v.* 44);—One, who was righteous and pure before God (*vv.* 20, 24) and in whom God "had delight" (*v.* 19); but who ascribed His "salvation" to God (*vv.* 2, 35, 46), calling Him "My God" (*vv.* 2, 6, 21, 28, 29), and professing that He would "give thanks" to Him "among the nations" (*v.* 49).

15. Τὸ ζῆν has this phase of meaning in the well-known τίς δ' οἶδεν, εἰ τὸ ζῆν κ.τ.λ.; "Who knows if *that we call living* be not in truth death, and that we call death be not in truth living?" Compare also 2 Macc. vii. 9; where τὸ παρὸν ζῆν is in contrast with the ζωὴ of eternity.

16. The view here taken of the word ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι may be confirmed both from classical Greek, and by means of the LXX. (assisted by the Hebrew).

I. In Plato, 'Legg.' XII. § 7, the word is used in the sense of *claiming as one's own* (Liddell and Scott), and in Lysias, 'in Timon.' p. 98 (as is pointed out to me by Rev. J. P. Tweed), it is used in the sense of "laying one's hand on a person in the way of claiming a right to rescue him from violence or imprisonment" (in the words of the editor of the 'Oratt. Att.' "aliquem injectâ manu vindicare et raptori ereptum ire"). It is evident that this technical sense gives a greatly increased force to the ἔνοχοι δουλείας of *v.* 15.

II. The Hebrew verb, for which the LXX. uses ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι in Jer. xxxi. 32 (Hebr. viii. 9), is החזיק. This is used in Lev. xxv. 35, where the Israelite is bidden to "relieve" or lay a strengthening hand on, the *poor brother* (cp. Hebr. ii. 11, 17), whose "hand faileth,"—who is too feeble to help himself. But here the LXX. has ἀντιλήψῃ, the same word as in Isai. xli. 9. (Observe too that ἐβοήθησα occurs twice immediately afterwards, *vv.* 10, 13; as βοηθήσαι does in Hebr. ii. 18.)

Inferentially, indeed, the expression contains the thought of "*taking on Him the nature*" of those whom He would rescue:—for only thus could He be so identified with them, that He could *claim them as His own*.

17. The word used of the Levitical priest's "making reconciliation" is ἐξιλάσκεσθαι. The word here used is ἱλάσκεσθαι; which elsewhere

is used only of God's "showing mercy" or "forgiving," but never (as here) with an accusative after it. In Dan. ix. 24, however, we have the expression *ἐξιλάσασθαι ἀδικίας* in the description of Messiah's work. It would seem, therefore, that the Apostle had employed a form of words, which befitted only the Mediator between God and man;—on man's part seeking for, on God's part bestowing, expiation of sins.

CHAPTER III.

1 Christ is more worthy than Moses, 7 therefore if we believe not in him, we shall be more worthy punishment than hardhearted Israel.

WHEREFORE, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus;

2 Who was faithful to him that † appointed him, as also Moses *was faithful* in all his house.

† Gr. *made.*

1 Sam. 12. 6.

CHAP. III. In chh. i and ii it has been shown from the O. T., *first*, that Messiah was immeasurably superior in dignity to the angels, through whom the law was given; and *secondly*, that He was to take part in man's nature and suffer in it for man's salvation. Thus He is qualified to stand between God and man; making atonement to God for the sin of man, and sanctifying man that He may draw near to God. In other words, man has in Him precisely what he needed, a "merciful and faithful High-priest" (ii. 17).

Here, then, we have reached the principal topic of the Epistle, the High-priesthood of Christ. Before this, however, is discussed, another preliminary remark must be made. The thought might occur to a Hebrew; "But, granting all that has been urged concerning Christ, must we not still recognize the authority of the Law, given by Moses as God's envoy,—which Law is, in fact, our title-deed to the possession of the Holy Land?" This is disposed of in chh. iii, iv; where it is shown that Moses was but "a servant in God's house," bearing witness to One who should come after him; and that Canaan was only a type of the Rest which is in reserve for the people of God. If they who disbelieved God's word as given by Moses were excluded from Canaan, how careful should we be not to neglect the Gospel message? how earnest in "holding fast our (covenant) profession" (iv. 14)! looking to Christ not only as God's *High-priest*, to procure forgiveness of sins, but also as God's Envoy, whose voice we are to obey.

1. *holy brethren...*] members of the family, which Christ, the firstborn from the dead, has sanctified (ii. 10, 11); and who are "called" to be heirs of a heavenly inheritance (ix. 15; cp. Eph. i. 18; Phil. iii. 14).

consider] or "contemplate;"—fix your minds on Him.

Apostle and High Priest]—*in one.* Moses had been God's "apostle" (Exod. iii. 10—16), to lead Israel out of Egypt and to give them God's covenant; but the maintenance of the covenant was provided for through the high-priesthood, which was for the "sanctification" of the people. The "heavenly" covenant was mediated by Christ; who was not only "Apostle" (John x. 36, xvii. 3), to offer to men the terms of eternal life, but "High-priest" also, to sanctify His redeemed people, and in such wise to maintain their communion with God, that the Covenant of Life should be perpetual.

profession] As in iv. 14, x. 23. It is the correlative of "covenant." God of His own grace establishes His immutable Covenant; but man on his side must assent to, and accept, the terms of the Covenant. At Sinai God had said "If ye will *hear my voice*, ye shall be to me a special people" (Exod. xix. 5). The people's "profession" (by which they "passed into the covenant," Deut. xxix. 12) was, "All that the Lord saith we will do, and we *will hear*" (Exod. xxiv. 7). In the baptismal covenant the act that ratifies our "profession" is, the "answer of a good conscience towards God;" which was made possible for us "through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead" (1 Pet. iii. 21).

Christ Jesus] The correct reading appears to be, **Jesus** (alone, as in iv. 14, vi. 20, vii. 22, x. 19, xii. 2, 24, xiii. 12).

2. *Who was*] Rather, **Who is**; or, "As being."

faithful] Both in revealing, and in performing, His Father's will (John x. 18, xii. 49, 50, xvii. 4, 8).

appointed] Lit. "made;" as in 1 S. xii. 6, "The Lord that *made* Moses and Aaron." Neither an envoy nor a high-priest can be self-constituted (comp. ch. v. 4).

in all his house] God's house (or household). Quoted from Num. xii. 7; where Moses is spoken of as superior to any of the prophets. They had only subordinate parts of God's will made known to them, and that obscurely; but with Moses God spake "face to face," so that he "beheld the similitude of the Lord," and had a pattern of the true House and Temple of God shown to him on mount Sinai. That pattern he reproduced faithfully in the Tabernacle, which he con-

3 For this *man* was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch as he who hath builded the house hath more honour than the house.

4 For every house is builded by some *man;* but he that built all things *is* God.

5 And Moses verily *was* faithful in all his house, as a servant, for a testimony of those things which were to be spoken after;

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structed and fitted up;—"according to all that the Lord commanded, so did he" (Exod. xl. 16—29). The two ideas, "house" and "household," so run into one another, that we may say, the Tabernacle built by Moses *symbolized* the congregation of Israel. Compare Exod. xxv. 8, where God says, "Let them make me a sanctuary, *that I may dwell* [not, *in it*, but] *among them.*" In all the arrangements respecting this household, Moses acted as a faithful steward of God's mysteries (cp. viii. 5, ix. 19). Jesus likewise was faithful in regard of "all God's House;" but this House was the spiritual, "heavenly," Temple, which He built, which He sanctified, over which He is set as High-priest (ch. x. 21).

Obs. 1. In Exod. xxix. 42—46 God's "dwelling" among Israel is closely connected with Aaron's entering upon his priestly functions. So the Church of God, in which He dwells by His Spirit, was not constituted, until Jesus had been consecrated High-priest (Acts ii. 33).

Obs. 2. The history of Israel's "call" to occupy Canaan and of their disobedience (the subject of *vv.* 7—19) follows immediately after the narrative which is here referred to (see Num. xiii, xiv).

3. *For*] Consider *Him;* "for" well does He deserve all your attention.

For this man...] "For **He hath been** accounted;" both in the prophecies concerning Him, and in God's actual exaltation of Him (ii. 9). (1) *In prophecy*, it was foretold, that He should *build the Temple of the Lord*, and should *bear the glory*, and should "sit and rule upon His throne," and should be "a Priest upon His throne" (Zech. vi. 12, 13). (2) *Actually*, He has been seated "at the right hand of the majesty on high" (i. 3), in the glory which He had "with the Father before the world was" (John xvii. 5); and this as the *reward* of His work (ch. xii. 2).

Obs. In Rev. v. 12 millions of angels are heard saying, "*Worthy* is the Lamb that was slain to receive...*honour and glory* and blessing."

more glory] Rather, "*a higher* glory" (Vulg. "amplioris gloriæ"); comp. xi. 4 (*more excellent*), Luke xi. 31, 32 (*greater*).

than Moses] So in 2 Cor. iii. 7—iv. 6 we have a contrast between the "glory" of Moses and that of Christ. After his descent from the Mount temporary rays of light shone from the face of Moses; but Christ is "the image of God," and "in His face" is given "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God."

inasmuch as] Or, "according as." The difference between Jesus and Moses is not one of degree merely, but of kind. Moses was, indeed, faithful in regard to the whole of that house, which he erected, by God's command, to be the outward means by which God would "dwell" among Israel. But that house was, confessedly, typical only. The true "House of God" was "the Church of the Living God" (1 Tim. iii. 15), built of "living stones" (1 Pet. ii. 5). He who is "the Wisdom of God" (1 Cor. i. 24) had long before constructed that house ideally (Prov. ix. 1); and His human nature was "the Rock," on which He, "the Christ, the Son of the Living God," actually built His Church (Matt. xvi. 16—18). How vast the difference, then, between Moses and Christ!

builded] constructed and furnished:—the same word as in ix. 2 ("made"), 6 ("ordained," or, arranged), xi. 7 ("prepared"). Cp. Isai. xl. 28; Wisd. xiii. 4.

more honour] Whatever glory the house may have, the "honour" of it belongs to the builder.

than the house] Moses was, after all, but one of God's household; though he was so highly honoured in the kind of service that was entrusted to him.

4. *For every...*] "I say, he that hath builded the house; *for*"—where you have a house, material or spiritual, you must needs *have* a builder.

by some man] Rather, **by some one.**

all things] For that universal Temple which Christ has built, and to which by our "heavenly calling" (*v.* 1) we belong, embraces *all things* (ii. 8; cp. Eph. i. 10). The builder of such a Temple must be *God.* He only, who was "constituted heir of *all things*" (i. 2), and who "upholdeth *all things* by the word of His power," could have designed and built that House.

5. *to be spoken after*]—by the great Prophet of the Church. The "house" built by Moses is called in Num. ix. 15 "the tent of *testimony*," and in x. 11 "the tabernacle of *testimony*." This title represented the character of the work, which Moses did as "a servant" in God's house and family. The whole dispensation was ministerial, bearing witness to the future Christ (Gal. iii. 24). Moses, when

6 But Christ as a son over his own house; whose house are we, if we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end.

7 Wherefore (as the Holy Ghost saith, [a] To day if ye will hear his voice,

[a] Psal. 95. 7.

8 Harden not your hearts, as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness:

9 When your fathers tempted me,

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he was preparing to die, foretold the coming of a Prophet to whom they were to "hearken in all things" (Deut. xviii. 15—19, Acts iii. 22); and, after death, he was present "in glory" on the Holy Mount, when a voice came forth from the cloud of light, "saying, *This is my beloved Son... ; hear ye Him.*"

6. *Christ as*] Rather, **Christ (is faithful) as Son over His house**:—the "His" still referring to the "Son;" as "whose" in the next clause evidently does. Christ could say; "All things are delivered unto me of my Father" (Matt. xi. 27). That trust He administered faithfully; being "Head over all things for the Church which is His body" (Eph. i. 22, 23). In ch. x. 21, where He is spoken of (not as "Son," but) as "*High-priest*," we have "over *the house of God*;" because as High-priest He represents the people in their relation to God (ch. ii. 17). (See Additional Note.)

whose house are we, if] *We are* so; and so shall continue, if... Compare the "If" of *v.* 14, of Col. i. 23, and of the Psalm quoted in the next verse; "He is our God, and *we are* the people of His pasture and the sheep of His hands: *To-day,—if ye will hear His voice.*" In Zech. vi. 15, after the vision of the "Priest upon His throne" (see on *v.* 3), it is added; "and it shall be, *if ye will hear His voice.*"

the confidence] Rather, "**our** confidence." It is the same word as in x. 35 (but *not* as in *v.* 14 below). In x. 19 the word is rendered "boldness" (marg. "liberty"). It denotes "freedom of speech;" here the freedom which befits children in addressing a father. The Syriac uses the same words (modified) as in 2 Cor. iii. 18, "We all *with open face* beholding the glory of the Lord;" thus furnishing an excellent comment on the passage. Cp. 2 Cor. iii. 12, "Seeing we have this *hope*, we use great *boldness*."

rejoicing of the hope] Rather, "rejoicing of **our** hope;" the hope of the future inheritance in glory. Comp. Rom. v. 2, "We *rejoice in hope* of the glory of God."

unto the end] Not satisfied with having been brought out of the house of bondage and admitted into covenant with God; but advancing with steady perseverance, through trial and conflict, till we enter the promised rest.

7. *Wherefore*] The A. V. makes what follows down to *v.* 11 to be parenthetic. This is in itself unlikely; and *v.* 12 has every sign of being an independent sentence (the word for "Take heed" being the same as in xii. 25, "See"). It is better, therefore, to suppose an ellipsis (as in 1 Cor. i. 31, cp. ii. 9; Rom. xv. 3, 21); "Wherefore (the case stands with us) as the Holy Ghost saith."—In the Hebrew the clause "To-day...voice" belongs to *v.* 7; and that this is the right connexion, is shown by the change of *person* in *vv.* 8—11: "*His* voice," but, "tempted *me*," &c.; the verses 8—11 being, in fact, *His voice*. The last clause of *v.* 7, then, is an emphatic statement, at once, of the *present privilege* of those whom the Psalm addresses, and of the *condition* under which alone the privilege would be permanent (cp. on *v.* 6). It re-echoes the words spoken at Sinai, "Now, therefore, *if ye will hearken unto my voice*" (Exod. xix. 5; cp. xxiii. 22).

Obs. The words quoted from the xcvth Psalm follow naturally on the reference which was made in *v.* 5 to Deut. xviii. 15—19. *Christ* is that prophet, of whom Moses spake: hear Him. His household ye are, if ye stedfastly adhere to His promises.

To day] A slight pause is to be made between this and what follows (cp. iv. 7). "To-day" you may claim your inheritance as God's people; "to-day" you may rest by the "still waters" of God's pasture. "To-day;"—though it is so long since Moses said to the generation that was to enter Canaan, "Hear, O Israel, thou art *this day* to go over Jordan...Understand, therefore, *this day*, that the *Lord thy God* is He which goeth over before thee." (Deut. ix. 1, 3; cp. xxix. 10, 12.)

8. *in the day*] Rather, "**as** in the day." The names "Massah" (temptation) and "Meribah" (provocation) both occur in Exod. xvii. 7. But the name "Meribah" here probably (as in Deut. xxxiii. 8) refers to the incident mentioned in Num. xx. 13. Since this occurred in the 39th year after the Exodus, the combination of the two names shows that Israel's hardness of heart lasted throughout their sojourn in the wilderness (cp. Deut. ix. 7). It was this "hardening of the heart" against the past evidence of God's love to them which led to their "*tempting* God," that is, asking for new and arbitrarily chosen proofs of His presence (Exod. xvii. 7; cp. Num. xiv. 11).

9. *When*] Rather, **Where** (as in Deut. viii. 15, LXX.).

forty years] In the Psalm these words stand

proved me, and saw my works forty years.

10 Wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and said, They do alway err in *their* heart; and they have not known my ways.

† Gr. *If they shall enter.*

11 So I sware in my wrath, †They shall not enter into my rest.)

12 Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God.

13 But exhort one another daily, while it is called To day; lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin.

14 For we are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence stedfast unto the end;

15 While it is said, To day if ye

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at the beginning of the next verse. So, indeed, they are quoted below in *v.* 17; which proves that the transposition was here made intentionally. In effect, this variation supplies a commentary on *vv.* 9 and 10 of the Psalm:—"as they put Me to the proof continually throughout the forty years (cp. Amos v. 25); so throughout the forty years My displeasure with them abated not."

Obs. It has been often remarked that a probationary period of forty years occurred between the Crucifixion and the "days" foretold in Luke xix. 43. (At the probable date of this Epistle (A.D. 64), thirty-five of those years had already elapsed. Cp. x. 25.

10. *grieved*] Rather, **sore displeased.**

and they] Rather, "**but** they." They wander, after their own imaginations, in search of happiness: but they have not known (or regarded) my ways, which would have conducted them to true rest and peace. So in Isai. lix. 8 (Rom. iii. 17), "*the way of peace* have they not *known*." Cp. Luke xix. 42, "Oh that thou hadst *known*, at least in *this thy day, the things of thy peace.*"

11. *So*] Rather, **As** (iv. 3). The old Psalters, Gallican and Roman, have "sicut" (Estius), and similarly the Syriac. During these forty years, though they hardened their heart against My discipline (cp. Jer. v. 3, 4), yet they found My sentence against them come true. It was even "as I sware unto them" at the beginning.

my rest] The place where He caused the tokens of His gracious presence to abide (Ps. cxxxii. 14; Isai. xi. 10). There the people were to find *their* rest (Num. x. 33; cp. Deut. xii. 9). Not as though exclusion from Canaan involved deprivation of God's higher rest to such as loved Him; as was made plain by the sentence on Moses (cp. Deut. iii. 23—27); any more than the entrance into Canaan conferred *ipso facto* the enjoyment of that rest.

12. *Take heed*] Cp. Deut. xi. 16.

in any of you] Cp. xii. 15; Deut. xxix. 18.

an evil heart] The phrase is used in Jer. iii. 17, vii. 24, xi. 8, xvi. 12, xviii. 12; in speaking of apostatizing Judah. In all five passages it is preceded by the word, which signifies "stubbornness" (see on Jer. iii. 17). Cp. Num. xiv. 27, 35.

of unbelief] swayed by unbelief. So we read in Num. xiv. 11, "How long will it be ere they *believe me?*" The word, however, contains in it the notion of "unfaithfulness" or disloyalty; which agrees with the next words, "in departing (or revolting, see Deut. xxxii. 15; cp. Num. xiv. 9) from the living God (x. 31);" from Him who "lives for ever" (Deut. xxxii. 40), so that His promises and threatenings are alike certain. Comp. Num. xiv. 21, "As truly as I live" (LXX. "I live, and Living is My Name"). The Living God had now manifested Himself in His Son. To go back from faith in "the Son of the Living God" (John vi. 69), to trust in the effete symbols of the Law, was to revive in a subtler form the idolatry of former ages.

13. *exhort*] Or, "encourage;" as Joshua and Caleb endeavoured to cheer the desponding Israelites (Num. xiv. 7—9).

while it is called To day] Or, "so long as the name, To-day, is used;"—so long, therefore, as our probation on earth lasts. Cp. 2 Cor. vi. 2.

hardened] As in *v.* 8.

the deceitfulness] The wiliness with which it makes its serpent-like approaches (cp. 2 Thess. ii. 10).

of sin] Especially, the sin of unbelief; clothing itself under the garb of a reasonable regard to probabilities as set against God's express command (Num. xiii. 28—33).

14. *are made*] Rather, "**have been** made." Take heed to yourselves (*v.* 12) and encourage one another (*v.* 13); for we have been already constituted "partakers (see *v.* 1) of Christ" (lit. "the Christ"), and have a share in the privileges which belong to His body, the Church, **if only** (cp. 1 K. viii. 25, marg., 2 Chro. vi. 16) we do not sever the relation between Him and ourselves.

hold...stedfast...] Or, "*hold fast* the beginning of our confidence *firm* unto the end" (as in *v.* 6 above). The "beginning of" their "confidence" was, that which they exhibited in the early days of the Church. The word here rendered "confidence" (as it is in

will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation.

16 For some, when they had heard, did provoke: howbeit not all that came out of Egypt by Moses.

17 But with whom was he grieved forty years? *was it* not with them that had sinned, whose carcases fell in the wilderness?

18 And to whom sware he that they should not enter into his rest, but to them that believed not?

19 So we see that they could not enter in because of unbelief.

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2 Cor. ix. 4, xi. 17; cp. Ps. xxxix. 7) is used of *that which supplies a solid foundation*, and hence, of the *realizing* power of faith (xi. 1, "substance"). Here it is in contrast with the "unbelief" of *v.* 12.

15. *While it is said*] Rather, **In that it is said** (as in viii. 13, cp. ii. 8). The "if only" of *v.* 14 is justified by a renewed appeal to the *conditional clause* of Ps. xcv. 7. Comp. on *v.* 6.

16—19. The exposition of these verses has been obscured from its not being borne in mind that, although the Apostle is *cautioning* the Hebrews, yet the basis of his exhortation (as addressed to men under temptation, ii. 18, iv. 15) is of an *encouraging* kind: "Consider your merciful and faithful High-priest. Hold fast your filial boldness and the rejoicing of your hope. For you are fellow-members of Christ; you have a promise of entering into rest; you have had glad tidings brought you. Only," he urges, "remember that Israel's example proves how unavailing your privileges will be, unless you *obey* the voice that speaks to you."

For some, of those Israelites, **after** *they had heard, did provoke: but not all they who came out of Egypt by Moses;* for in Num. xiv. 29—33 there is a strong and vivid contrast drawn between those who "murmured against" God and the "little ones" whom God would bring into the land of promise. "Not all:" for then God's promise would have been made void: whereas (cp. iv. 6) "some must enter in." *But* (*v.* 17) if "not all" provoked, who were they that did? *with whom was He grieved forty years? was it not with them that sinned* (Num. xiv. 19, 40) *whose carcases fell in the wilderness* (*ib.* 29, 32)*? and to whom sware He..., but to them that* **were disobedient** (see Num. xiv. 43, Josh. v. 6, LXX.)? That *some* fell, was sufficient for the admonition of the Hebrews; yet they needed not to be discouraged; for none fell except the faithless and disobedient.

Thus *vv.* 16—19 are in unison with *vv.* 12—14.

(1) The cautionary, *any one of you*, in *vv.* 12, 13 is abundantly justified by the indefinite "some" of *v.* 16; while the restrictive "but not all" showed that none of "the little ones who believed in Christ" need be discouraged. And

(2) The causes of danger mentioned in *vv.* 12, 13, "unbelief," "rebellion," and "sin," are reproduced in *vv.* 17—19.

For a further examination of the passage, see Additional Note.

17. *carcases*] Lit. "limbs;" as though referring to the bones that lay scattered about in the desert.

18. *believed not*] **disobeyed**; see above.

19. *So we see*] Rather, "**And** we see;" or, "We see also." We "perceive" it from the sequel of the history. From what follows in the chapter which records the sentence of wandering, we see clearly that they "were *unable* to enter in;" were *incapacitated* for doing so. They made the attempt, but were driven back "discomfited" (Num. xiv. 40—45). This self-willed invasion was no less the fruit of infidelity than their former withdrawal had been. In each case, instead of believing God, they acted in defiance of Him (*v.* 41). We see, then, that their unbelief not only at first hindered them from *attempting* to enter, but also afterwards made them *unable* to enter when they made the attempt.

because of unbelief] This is the emphatic term on which the exhortation in ch. iv hangs. They were not excluded (observes Dr Owen) for their sin in making the golden calf at Horeb, great as that was; but for a sin "that men are very unapt to charge themselves withal," the sin of unbelief.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. III. 6, 16.

6. The reference of αὐτοῦ in *v.* 6 has been a matter of doubt from very early times. Jerome, who left the Vulg., "tanquam filius in domo *suâ*," gives it, in his *Ep. ad Damasum*, § 5, "ut filius in domo *ejus*."—It has been objected that the Church is nowhere called "Christ's house;" but, since He is its builder (Matt. xvi. 18), it may certainly be spoken of as *His*. The sequence of the clauses in *v.* 6 seems to require us to refer οὗ to Χριστός.

16. Most modern commentators follow the Syriac version, and read τίνες γὰρ interrogatively, but this involves some very serious difficulties.

1. The natural meaning of "For, who did,

after hearing, provoke?" would be, that *none* had done so (cp. Rom. ix. 19).

2. Some, therefore, have proposed to make a new sentence begin with *v.* 15, and to render *τίνες γάρ* as "who then?" Such a use of *γὰρ*, however, in introducing an apodosis, appears to be unexampled.

3. The *ἀλλ' οὐ* has to be taken in a sense equally without parallel. The passages quoted in support of it are in reality quite different. To resemble them the sentence ought to be of this kind: "For who did provoke? *Nay, did not all rather cheerfully obey?*"

4. The *δὲ* of *v.* 17, which has its usual force if the preceding verse be affirmative, is unexplained.

But indeed there is no reason whatever for making the change. The supposed objection to saying "*some* provoked," arises from the assumption that "*all who came out of Egypt* did provoke;" which is not only untrue in fact, but would be adverse to the whole tenor of the context. The questions in *vv.* 17, 18 are equivalent to saying, "It was *only* those who sinned,—*only* those who disobeyed,—that were excluded." Compare 1 Cor. x. 1—18; "*All our fathers* were...*baptized unto Moses* (cp. Heb. iii. 16 *b*), and "*all* drank of that spiritual Rock, which...was Christ" (*ὁ Χριστός*, cp. Heb. iii. 14, *τοῦ Χριστοῦ*); "*but with the greater part of them* God was not well pleased, for they were overthrown in the wilderness." The use of "some" here, and of "the greater part" there, is only in accordance with the design of the writer in each case. The danger of the Corinthians was from over-boldness; that of the Hebrews from timidity. "*Some*" was sufficient for his purpose here; and his willingness to *minimise* the charge brought against Israel would help to conciliate his readers, as showing plainly that he had no wish to disparage the work achieved by Moses. We have parallel instances in "What if *some* did not believe?" (Rom. iii. 3), and "*Not all obeyed* the Gospel" (*ib.* x. 16);—those who believed and obeyed being, in fact, only a "remnant" (*ib.* xi. 5).

Obs. The writer's delicacy and *economy of statement* are evident throughout this section. How easy, for instance, would it have been for him to have noticed the fact that *Moses and Aaron* were not allowed to enter Canaan, and this "because they believed not" God (Num. xx. 12); or again, that the commendation given to Moses, the *Apostle*, involved a reproof of Aaron the *High-priest* (ib. xii. 8, 9).

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The rest of Christians is attained by faith.* 12 *The power of God's word.* 14 *By our high priest Jesus the Son of God, subject to infirmities, but not sin,* 16 *we must and may go boldly to the throne of grace.*

LET us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left *us* of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it.

2 For unto us was the gospel preached, as well as unto them: but † the word preached did not profit them, ‖ not being mixed with faith in them that heard *it*.

† Gr. *the word of hearing.*
‖ Or, *because they were not united by faith to.*

CHAP. IV. **1.** This verse is in closest union with iii. 12—19; from which it is an inference.

Let us...fear] For there is a salutary fear, which springs from faith (Phil. ii. 12, 1 Pet. i. 17—19);—which is the safeguard of hope, and an incentive to diligence.

a promise being...] Rather, **while there (still) remaineth a promise.** So long as the period of probation lasted, the promise continued in force. All who would might avail themselves of its offers.

his rest] When the xcvth Psalm used these words (instead of saying "the land of promise"), it made provision for a higher application of Israel's early history. They, who were "partakers of the heavenly calling" (iii. 1), knew well what that rest was. They looked forward to the "heavenly Jerusalem" (xii. 22).

should seem] He would not have any of them (through loss of active love or neglect of Christian communion, vi. 12, x. 25) *give reason for its being thought* that they had "fallen short of" (cp. xii. 15) that promise.

to come short] "to **have fallen** short."

2. *For...*] Rather, **For indeed we have received glad tidings;—as they also did.** A slight pause should be made after "tidings." *Let us fear* lest any miss that Rest, even while the way to it is still open. For certainly we *are* in the position of men to whom a joyful message has been brought; as they also were; *but* (their example shows that a passive reception of God's promises is not enough, for) the word which they heard proved to them unavailing. Compare Acts xiii. 32: "We declare unto you (or, *bring you glad tidings regarding*) *the promise* made to our fathers; that God hath fulfilled the same to us their children, in that he raised up Jesus from the dead."

the word preached] Lit. "word of message" (see Additional Note).

not being mixed...] Or, "seeing that it was not mixed" (so the Syriac). The message entered their ears, but there was no inward faith to appropriate and assimilate it (see Note below). It was no better than food put into the mouth of a man whose vital powers were insufficient for turning it into life-blood.

in them] Lit. "to them;" in their case.

3 For we which have believed do enter into rest, as he said, As I have sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest: although the works were finished from the foundation of the world.

4 For he spake in a certain place of the seventh *day* on this wise, And God did rest the seventh day from all his works.

5 And in this *place* again, If they shall enter into my rest.

6 Seeing therefore it remaineth that some must enter therein, and they to whom [1] it was first preached entered not in because of unbelief:

[1] Or, *the gospel was first preached.*

7 Again, he limiteth a certain day, saying in David, To day, after so long a time; as it is said, To day if

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3. *For*] This looks back to the whole of *vv.* 1, 2. Let none of us come short of that promised rest (*v.* 1); for the gladdening invitation to enter it has been sent to us, and only needs that we receive it in faith (*v.* 2). *For we, which have believed, do enter into (His) rest;* not, "have entered;" yet "*are entering;*" as it was said; "Hear, O Israel; thou *art passing over* this day" (Deut. ix. 1). The "Captain of their Salvation" has already entered; and has opened a way by which they may follow. That is what they are intent upon. By faith they already enter into rest. For both the Old and the New Testament teach, that "salvation" begins in this present life. God spoke of Himself as being already Abraham's "great reward" (Gen. xv. 1); and to all who walked in the "*old paths*" of Abraham's faith and obedience there was given the promise "*ye shall find rest* unto your souls" (Jer. vi. 16);—a promise which afterwards received so great an accession of glory from being published afresh by the Son of God (Matt. xi. 28, 29). Indeed, Ps. xcv implied that this *rest* was attained (in some sense) by all who obeyed God's voice; since God was "their God," and they "the people of His pasture" (*v.* 7) whom He led by the "rest-giving waters" (Ps. xxiii. 2).

as he said] The words quoted ("as I **sware**, &c.," see iii. 11) show, that the rest spoken of was one which had to be reached through obedient faith by the men of later times; and it was denominated "God's rest," *although* His own "rest" had been complete from the time when the world was formed (Gen. ii. 1—3). But if man is to "enter into" God's rest, it must be by his being brought into conformity with the mind and will of Him, who made all things, at the first, "very good;" and who will again "rejoice in His works," when sin shall no longer mar the face of the earth (Ps. civ. 30—35). God's sabbatical rest made it certain that such a period should at length come; for He then blest all His earthly creation, man included. But God's blessing cannot be inefficacious. Therefore a time shall arrive when the curse which fell on our earth shall be removed (Rev. xxii. 3). Indeed, they who are "partakers of Christ" (iii. 14), being "redeemed from the curse" (Gal. iii. 13), do already possess "an earnest" and pledge of that final rest in the gift of the Holy Spirit.

4. *spake in a certain place*] Or, "hath spoken somewhere."

from all his works] From the works *which He had made;* yet not from *working* (John v. 17),—especially, not from carrying on that work of "blessing" and "sanctification," of which the Sabbath was a means, as well as a type.

5. *again*] Almost (as in Matt. iv. 7), "on the other hand." Comp. on i. 6.

6. *it remaineth*] Or (for clearness), "it still remaineth;" as a future thing, apart from that Rest which followed the work of Creation (cp. *v.* 9, x. 26).

must] Rather, **should**. The rendering "must" appears to give to "remaineth" too much of the logical sense, "it results from these premises."

to whom it was first preached] Rather, **who first received the glad tidings.**

unbelief] Rather, **disobedience** (cp. iii. 18); the disposition which springs from unbelief, as obedience does from faith (xi. 8).

7. *Again, he*] Rather, **He again** (putting a comma at the end of *v.* 6).

limiteth] Rather, **marketh out** (ὁρίζει);—moving forward the *horizon* of His invitation so as to include a later generation in it.

in David] The Holy Spirit (iii. 7) spoke "in" or "by" David. Cp. i. 1; 2 S. xxiii. 3, "The Spirit of the Lord spake by me" (LXX. "in me"). Others take "in David" to be the same as, "in the Book of Psalms" (see Introd. to Ps. xcv).

after so long a time]—when Israel had been 400 years in occupation of Canaan. The promises made to David, after the ark had been brought up to Sion, were like the dawning of a *new day* in Israel's history. A fresh appeal was made to their faith. Now, after so long a period of failure, they might enter into the full realization of their privileges, as "the people of God's pasture."

as it is said] Rather, "as hath been before said" (namely, in iii. 7, 15).

ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.

‖ That is, *Joshua.*

8 For if ‖ Jesus had given them rest, then would he not afterward have spoken of another day.

‖ Or, *keeping of a sabbath.*

9 There remaineth therefore a ‖ rest to the people of God.

10 For he that is entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his own works, as God *did* from his.

11 Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of ‖ unbelief.

‖ Or, *disobedience.*

12 For the word of God *is* quick,

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8. *For*] David "after so long a time" addressed the men of his generation in language like that which Moses had used to those who were "passing over Jordan" under Joshua (see on iii. 7). This is not surprising: *For* Israel's occupation of Canaan did not bestow on them "that Rest" of God which is in reserve for the faithful.

Jesus] Rather, **Joshua** (cp. Acts vii. 45). It was true that under Joshua the Lord had given Israel "rest" from all their enemies round about (Josh. xi. 23, xxi. 44). But it was plain that this was not the *chief* aim set before Israel; or we should not find David, four centuries later, warning the people against forfeiting the "rest" which was offered to them. That must have been a further and higher rest.

9. *There remaineth*] Or (*v.* 6), "There still remaineth;"—is still to be looked for hereafter, over and above that rest in the land of Canaan. This inference follows, since the Holy Ghost speaks in the Psalm (cp. iii. 7) to *us*. "For the word of God is *living*," and has present relation to us (*vv.* 12, 13).

a rest] Rather, **a sabbath-rest**; lit. "a keeping of sabbath;" when the "people of God" (cp. Ps. xcv. 7, c. 3; ch. xi. 16, 25), the "Israel of God" (Gal. vi. 16), shall obtain rest from all that trouble them (2 Thess. i. 7), and when "all enemies shall be put under the feet of" *Jesus* (i. 13), the "Captain" of the Lord's Host (cp. ii. 8, 9). Then, at last, the faithful shall "*enter into* the joy of their Lord" (Matt. xxv. 21, 23).

Obs. 1. The word "Sabbath-rest" may contain a reference to the first *Sabbatical year*, which was kept by Joshua after his six years of war (Josh. xiv. 10); when the "land had rest from war" (*ib.* 15).

Obs. 2. The group of Psalms, to which Ps. xcv belongs (xcii—civ), appears to have a Sabbatical character. The first of them is expressly headed "A Song for the Sabbath-Day;" and a Jewish treatise (*Eliyahu Rabba* quoted here by Delitzsch) says of this title: "The Sabbath pointed to is that which will give rest from the sin which now rules in the world, the world's Seventh Day [a Sabbatical millennium]; which shall be followed by the after-Sabbath of the world to come, wherein is no more death, nor sin, nor punishment of sin; but only enjoyment of the wisdom and knowledge of God."

10. *For*] The rest which awaits the people of God is rightly called a *Sabbath-keeping*; *For he that* (=every one that, Rom. vi. 7) *is entered into His* (God's) *rest*, *hath* **rested** (as in *v.* 4) *from his works*, **even as** *God did from* **His own**. Such a one "rests from his labours" (Rev. xiv. 3). "*Thenceforth* there is laid up for him the crown of righteousness" (2 Tim. iv. 8). The "good works" of God's new creation (in working which the believer's will was in accord with the grace of God, Phil. ii. 12, 13) are then completed. He ceases from working, even as God did when His works were *finished* (Gen. ii. 1, 2).

Obs. So He, from whom the "many sons" derive their sanctification (ii. 10, 11), and to whom they are conformed (Rom. viii. 29), before He entered into His brief sabbath-day rest, said, "It is finished" (John xix. 30, cp. xvii. 4).

11. *labour*] Rather, **give diligence** (as in 2 Pet. i. 10).

fall] Used absolutely, as in Rom. xi. 11, 1 Cor. x. 12.

example] Or, "pattern;" typical form. Though the revelation given us be so much more glorious, yet our probation is *analogous* to theirs.

unbelief] Rather, **disobedience** (*v.* 6).

12. *For*] I say, the same typical form; *For* the word of God, which tries us, as it tried them (*v.* 2), has to do with the interior principles of action; searching into men's hearts to see whether they are truly obeying God.

the word of God] Not (as in Rev. xix. 13) the personal Word; to whom, indeed, the description, "sharper than any two-edged sword," is not appropriate (see Rev. i. 16, xix. 15; cp. Wisd. xviii. 15); but, as in John xii. 48, that word which is the abiding expression of the mind and will of God (Isai. xl. 8, 1 Pet. i. 25, Tit. i. 2, 3; cp. note on *v.* 2); and in particular the word of *promise* (*v.* 2). The promise of "good things to come" searched out the motives of men in old times; it does so still.

quick] Rather, **living**. That word did not speak to one generation and then die out. The "word" of the "living God" could not become a dead letter. As His creative word continues immanent in the natural world from age to age, so does His word of Promise in

and powerful, and sharper than any twoedged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and *is* a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.

13 Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight: but all things *are* naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do.

14 Seeing then that we have a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast *our* profession.

15 For we have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in

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the spiritual world (cp. Ps. cxix. 89—91; Acts vii. 28; 1 Pet. i. 25).

powerful] Rather, **active**; effective in operation (cp. 1 Thess. ii. 13).

sharper] So sharp is it, that it dissects the whole inward nature; not only "to the **disparting** *of the soul and* **the** *spirit*," but so as to reach the most hidden parts of both,—yes (by a bold metaphor), their *vertebræ and spinal marrow* (see Additional Note). The message of Revelation lays bare the various affections and habitudes of the spiritual and psychical natures.

a discerner of] "able to *discriminate*" their character with judicial accuracy. Cp. John xii. 48.

thoughts and intents...] Its busy, anxious, *revolvings of thought* (cp. Matt. ix. 4, xii. 25), and its fixed and settled *modes*, or *lines*, *of thought*.

13. The sentence, which in its first part had described the "word" of God, now proceeds to speak of God Himself.

naked] The sophisms, with which men think to cloke their misdoings, are of no avail before Him (Gen. iii. 8—11).

opened] Or, "exposed;" lit. "with the neck bent back." A naked man may bend down his head and cover his face with his hands. Not even this last resort of shame may avail at the Great Tribunal.—Many ancient writers suppose that the word contains a reference to animals, whose head was thrown back when they were to be slaughtered. But there seems to be no adequate philological ground for this.

the eyes of him] Rather, **His eyes**; with a slight pause after it; giving still more of impressive solemnity to the concluding words.

with whom we have to do] The words are taken by the Syriac, and by most ancient commentators to mean, "unto whom we must give account." But their range is both wider and deeper: "with whom our concern is;" which is well expressed by A. V. They, to whom the word of God has come, cannot avoid adopting a certain attitude towards it; accepting or refusing its conditions: and this determines their actual *relation* to God. The thought of our *relation* to God, which in ii. 17 had occurred in connexion with the high-priestly office of Jesus, prepares the way for a return to the consideration of that subject.

14. *Seeing*...] Rather, **Having, therefore** (as in x. 19). In iii. 1 he had asked them to contemplate "the Apostle and High-priest" of their profession. The comparison which had been instituted between His *Apostolic* dignity and that of Moses had led the writer to trace out the terrible consequences which must follow from refusing to "hear His voice,"—that soul-and-spirit-searching voice. Now, therefore, he can proceed to speak of the provision which has been made for the comfort of all faithful souls in our Lord's high-priestly functions.

great high priest] As transcendently exalted in His high-priestly, as He is in His apostolic, office. Comp. xiii. 20.

is passed into] Rather, **hath passed through** (as in 1 Cor. xvi. 5). Jesus passed through the created heavens into "heaven itself" (ix. 24); as the high-priest of Israel passed through the Holy Place into the Holy of Holies, in which God's symbolic "resting-place" was (see on iii. 11). *There*, then, in heaven is God's true "Rest;" into which we, by our "heavenly calling" (iii. 1), are invited to enter. *There* our compassionate High-priest is already seated, making the "throne of majesty" (i. 3) to be a "throne of grace" (*v.* 15).

Jesus] Typified by him (*v.* 8) who led Israel into Canaan; but incomparably mightier, for He is *the Son of God*.

our profession] By which we vowed that our relation to God should be that of willing service (cp. on iii. 1).

15. *we have not*...] as might have been feared, if we looked only at His *greatness*.

be touched...] Or, "have compassion on" (as in x. 34).

infirmities] v. 2, vii. 28; the weaknesses incident to our frail humanity (comp. 2 Cor. xii. 5, 10). All these Jesus took upon Him (Matt. viii. 17; cp. 2 Cor. xiii. 4).

but was] Rather, "but **one that hath been**."

like as we are] Lit. "in the way of resemblance" (cp. ii. 14, 17).

all points tempted like as *we are*, *yet* without sin.

16 Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need.

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yet *without sin*] This is a material part of the consolation which is here suggested. Jesus was tried by the Tempter to the utmost; but, though His human soul understood the full force of the motives which were presented to it, to draw Him into sin, He remained entirely **apart from sin** (as in ix. 28). There was no vulnerable point *in Him* (John xiv. 30). He was *tempted;* therefore He can have sympathy. He was *sinless;* therefore He is fitted to be our Advocate.

16. *come* (vii. 25)] or, as in x. 22, "draw near;" approaching as accepted worshippers.

boldly] Lit. "with freedom of speech" (as in iii. 6); not fearing to confess our weaknesses.

the throne of grace] Symbolized by the Mercy-seat, on which the God of Israel sate enthroned between the Cherubim (cp. on Isai. xvi. 5). Thence we may **receive** *mercy* for the forgiveness of our sins, and also **may find** *grace*, to "establish our hearts" (xiii. 9) that we may "serve God acceptably" (ch. xii. 28), in spite of our infirmities (2 Cor. xii. 9).

to help in time of need] A good rendering, though somewhat free. Lit. "for seasonable help;" with a reference to Ps. ix. 9, where the LXX. has, "*a helper in seasonable times* in trouble."

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. IV. 2, 12.

2. The ἀκοή here, following upon εὐηγγελισμένοι, must be taken in the sense of "message," or "report;" as in Isai. liii. 7, "that publisheth the message (εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοήν) of peace." Cp. Isai. liii. 1; which in Rom. x. 15, 16 is coupled by St Paul with the passage just quoted. The phrase λόγος ἀκοῆς occurs also in 1 Thess. ii. 13; and the "word of hearing" is there asserted to be "in truth *the word of God* (λόγον Θεοῦ), which worketh effectually (ἐνεργεῖται) in them that believe;" a passage which illustrates *v.* 12, ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ...ἐνεργής.

2. The word rendered "mixed" is twice used by Greek poets in a manner which illustrates its use here.

Πενία δὲ συγκραθεῖσα δυσσεβεῖ τρόπῳ.
(Soph. 'Fr.' 681.)

Τὴν τοῦ λόγου μὲν δύναμιν οὐκ ἐπίφθονον,
ἤθει δὲ χρηστῷ συγκεκραμένην, ἔχειν.
(Menander, ap. Stob. XLV. 8.)

Both passages speak of something entering into combination with a man's moral character, and being thereby modified in its action.

Instead of the received reading, συγκεκραμένος (supported by the Peshito and Itala), the great majority of MSS. (including A, B, C, D, but *not* ℵ) have συγκεκραμένους or συγκεκερασμένους ("because they were not mingled by faith with those who heard it"). This variation has the support of the Coptic, Æthiopic, and Armenian versions; and of Irenæus, Theodorus, Chrys., and Theodoret. Yet it is rejected by Tischendorf, De Wette, Lünemann, Delitzsch, Moll, Riehm, and others. The usage of the verb (see above) and the whole tenor of the context conspire to show that the Received Text is correct.

12. For the reference of the clause ἁρμῶν τε καὶ μυελῶν to the spinal vertebræ, cp. Hom. 'Il.' xx. 483. For a metaphorical application of the word μυελός see Eurip. 'Hipp.' 255 (καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς).

CHAPTER V.

1 *The authority and honour of our Saviour's priesthood.* 11 *Negligence in the knowledge thereof is reproved.*

FOR every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things *pertaining* to God, that he

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CHAP. V. The subject introduced in iv. 14—16,—our Lord's qualification for acting as our High-priest,—is now more formally discussed. The idea embodied in the high-priest of Israel was that of one who was (1) empowered by God (2) to represent the people in their relation to Himself, and to make atonement for their sins; but who (3) in spite of this elevation was fitted for dealing gently with them that went astray, because he himself was "encompassed with infirmities." This whole idea, which is set forth in *vv.* 1—4, was perfectly realized in Jesus. He was appointed by God (*vv.* 5, 6); He passed through the deepest experience of human suffering (*vv.* 7, 8); He was constituted the "author of eternal salvation to all that obey Him" (*v.* 9). The particular way in which this "salvation" was effected (corresponding to the "offering for sins" of *v.* 3) is explained

may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins:

[1] Or, *can reasonably bear with.*

2 Who [1]can have compassion on the ignorant, and on them that are out of the way; for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity.

3 And by reason hereof he ought, as for the people, so also for himself, to offer for sins.

4 And no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as *was* Aaron.

5 So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an high priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to day have I begotten thee.

6 As he saith also in another *place*, Thou *art* a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.

7 Who in the days of his flesh,

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in chh. viii—x; after ch. vii has first exhibited the superiority of Christ's priesthood to that of Aaron.

1. *every high priest*] under the Law;—Aaron and his descendants (viii. 3).

taken] Rather, **being taken.** This is the first point to which attention is called;—he is taken from among men. The command given to Moses was: "*Take* thou unto thee Aaron, thy brother...*from among the children of Israel*" (Exod. xxviii. 1). Cp. vii. 28.

ordained for men] Or, "appointed on the behalf of men;" to represent them in their relation to God (cp. ii. 17). This representative character of the high-priest was signified by the twelve precious stones upon the breastplate, and by the names engraven on the shoulder-pieces of the ephod (Exod. xxviii. 12, 21).

gifts] The word is used of oblations in general; so that it includes burnt-offerings (Lev. i. 2, 3), meal-offerings (ib. ii. 1, 4), and peace-offerings (ib. iii. 1, 2): comp. ch. viii. 3, ix. 9. Here, in contrast with "sacrifices," it may be taken to denote the meal-offerings and incense.

2. *have compassion on*] "deal gently (or, forbearingly) with." Standing before God, he admits the full demerit of his and the people's sins;—in his dealings with man, he is ready to make all reasonable allowance for **those who are in ignorance or error.** The sin-offering of the Law was for those who sinned "through ignorance," from inadvertence or under a misapprehension (Lev. iv. 2, v. 17). The "erring" are those who have "gone astray" from God's ways (Ps. cxix. 176), yet not deliberately;—not as "heart-wanderers" (Ps. xcv. 10).

Obs. The first intercession offered by the great High-priest was for those who "knew not what they did" (Luke xxiii. 34; cp. Acts iii. 17; 1 Cor. ii. 8; 1 Tim. i. 13).

compassed]—as with bonds (Acts xxviii. 20). Underneath the gorgeous robes of office there were still the galling chains of the flesh.

3. At the end of *v.* 2 there should be only a comma;—*for that* **he also** *is compassed with infirmity, and* **because thereof is required,** on the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 6—14), first of all to make atonement for his own sins.

4. *honour*] Or, "office." The words, "to himself," are emphatic;—amounting to, "by his own act;" as a thing to which he has a personal claim: (see Note below).

but he that is...] or (according to a better reading), **but (only) when he is called** *by God.*

5. *Christ*] "the Christ" (as in iii. 14). He who, at His baptism, was "anointed with the Holy Ghost" (Acts x. 38) and declared to be the Son of God, did not "glorify Himself," nor ascend at once out of the waters of Jordan to heavenly glory. No: He awaited His Father's will; which was, that He should be consecrated to His Royal Priesthood "through sufferings" (ii. 10).

but he] Rather, **but He (glorified Him).** Cp. John viii. 54: "It is My Father that glorifieth me." See also John xvii. 1, 5; Acts iii. 13.

6. *As*] Rather, **Even as:**—bringing into parallelism (as Delitzsch observes) 'those two unique utterances of the Psalter;' "Thou art My Son," and, "Thou art a Priest for ever."

When Jesus *rose* "the first-begotten from the dead" (cp. on i. 5), He was fully constituted the high-priestly administrator of "the everlasting covenant" (see on xiii. 20). When He ascended to God's right hand, He clothed Himself "with honour and majesty" (cp. on ii. 10), and entered upon His administration.

order] Or, "style." The word must not be thought of as referring to an "order" of priesthood. On the contrary, it was an important element in the "style" of Melchizedek, that he had neither predecessor, assistant, nor successor; but stood absolutely alone.

7. *Who*] The construction of *vv.* 7, 8 is in strictness, "*Who*, in the days of His flesh,...Son though He was, *yet learned* obedience."

his flesh] He had taken part in *flesh* (ii. 14) that He might be capable of suffering. Cp. 1 Pet. iv. 1.

when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard [1] in that he feared;

[1] Or, *for his piety.*

8 Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered;

9 And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal sal-

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when he had...] Rather, **having with strong crying and tears offered up entreaties** *and supplications* (cp. Sirach xxxvi. 17, li. 9—12) *unto Him that was able to save Him from death, and* **having** *been* **heard**, &c. By that gracious answer He was taught to practise *obedience*, even when it seemed to demand more than human nature could perform.

offered up] The word has the sense of *sacrificial* offering in *vv.* 1, 3 (cp. ix. 9, 14, x. 12, xi. 4). It probably has that sense here too; see *Obs.* 1, below.

crying] as of one in extremity, crying for help (Job xxxiv. 28, Ps. xviii. 8, Jonah ii. 3, LXX). Such was the cry of Jesus, when "being in an agony, He prayed the more earnestly" (Luke xxii. 44). "Tears" are not actually mentioned in the Gospel narrative; but could scarcely have been absent in that night of agony;—the antitype of Jacob's night of "wrestling," when "he *wept* and *made supplication*" (Hos. xii. 4), and "prevailed."

able to save him from death] This was expressed in His prayer: "*Abba, Father, all things are possible unto Thee;* take away this cup from Me: nevertheless, not what I will, but what Thou wilt." The "cup" was that bitter potion which He "tasted for every man" (ii. 9); a death not merely of shame and torture, but one in which the horror of the innumerable sins of men pressed upon Him as "a burden too heavy to bear;" while all the "power of darkness" assaulted His human soul, and the sense of God's presence was withdrawn from His spirit. That appalling ordeal was viewed by the Son of Man with natural apprehension. Nature cannot anticipate coming anguish without dread. A *holy* nature could not but shrink back from the prospect of suffering an obscuration of the light of God's countenance. Under that feeling of *holy, filial, fear*, Jesus prayed to Him who was *able* (cp. Dan. iii. 17), if He saw fit, to "*save Him from* that hour" (John xii. 27; both the verb and the preposition are the same): but He did so with entire submission to His Father's will. And although (in the infinitude of Divine love) the Father "withheld not His own Son" from death, yet, in answer to His prayer, He relieved Him from that *apprehension.*

heard in that he feared] Rather, *heard to the removing of his fear* (see below); so that the fear departed, and He went forth, "knowing all things that should come upon Him" (John xviii. 10), and endured all, not only with entire obedience, but with unclouded hopefulness (xii. 2). The answer to His prayer was made, partly in that "an angel appeared from heaven, *strengthening* Him" (Luke xxii. 43; cp. Isai. xli. 10, xlii. 6), but chiefly in that He was enabled to "set His face like a flint" throughout His actual sufferings.

Obs. 1. The "fear" here spoken of illustrates the statement that our High-priest was "tempted in all points" in a manner corresponding to our temptations; so that He can "sympathize with our infirmities" (iv. 15). He, indeed, remained "without sin," so that He had no need to offer "for sins of His own" (*v.* 3, vii. 27). But this "supplication," which Jesus *offered up*, may be looked upon as *analogous* to that first act of the high-priest on the Day of Atonement. It was the act by which He was definitively qualified to stand forward as High-priest to "make atonement for the sins of the people." That perfect resignation of Himself to His Father's will, amidst "strong crying and tears" (as though He were an agonizing victim), was rewarded by deliverance from the weakness which belonged to His innocent humanity. After that, He went forward to be the "propitiation" for the sins of the world with unwavering self-devotion.

Obs. 2. This experience especially fitted Him to comfort those, who (without servile fear of death, from which they are delivered, ii. 14, 15) might shrink from the hour of nature's dissolution, or (still more) from the prospect of martyrdom.

8. *Though he were a Son*] Rather, "Son though He was;"—on two occasions declared by a voice from heaven to be God's "beloved Son, in whom" He was "well-pleased" (Matt. iii. 17, xvii. 5). Between Him and the Father was uninterrupted identity of will; but, in order that He might be qualified as man for the high-priesthood of humanity, He "learned" to practise "obedience," even "obedience unto death" (Phil. ii. 8).—Something may be learnt as to what was involved in Christ's obedience from a consideration of Matt. xxvi. 53; "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to *My Father*, and He shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?"

9. *being made perfect*]—so that in Him, "the First-born," the Divine ideal of humanity was completely realized (cp. on ii. 10). Thus "perfected," He was qualified to stand as Second Head of our race, the author of "eternal salvation" (Isai. xlv. 17),—the one meritorious and efficient cause of salvation

vation unto all them that obey him;

10 Called of God an high priest after the order of Melchisedec.

11 Of whom we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered, seeing ye are dull of hearing.

12 For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which *be* the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat.

13 For every one that useth milk [†] *is* unskilful in the word of righteousness: for he is a babe.

14 But strong meat belongeth to them that are [‡] of full age, *even* those who by reason [‡] of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.

[†] Gr. *hath no experience.*

[‡] Or, *perfect.* [‡] Or, *of an habit*, or, *perfection.*

(Acts iv. 12),—"to all them that obey Him," submitting themselves to Him with entireness of faith, and following His commands, even as He obeyed the Father. Cp. John xii. 26.

10. *Called...*] Rather, **addressed by God as** High-priest. This is closely connected in thought with the "*eternal* salvation," that precedes. "Salvation" is the correlate of "righteousness." To secure our "eternal salvation," we have a High-priest, who not only by His sacrifice for sin fulfilled the typical requirements of the Aaronic high-priesthood, but who is also "a high-priest after the style of Melchizedek (the King of Righteousness)". Cp. Isai. li. 6, 8; Dan. ix. 24.

11. *Of whom*] Rather, **Concerning whom**; that is, concerning Christ, viewed as the eternal High-priest (cp. vi. 1). Or, "Concerning which."

many things...] More nearly: "much to say, and that not easily expounded in words,"—in such words as were on a level with their state of intelligence.

ye are] Rather, **ye are become** (as in *v.* 12); implying that they had not always been so.

dull of] Or, "sluggish in" (cp. vi. 12). The words of Christ, which once had possessed so deep an interest for them, now fell on listless and inattentive ears. He *tells* them this, that he may rouse them out of their torpor. Moses had done the like in Deut. xxix. 4.

12. *when for the time...*] Rather, "**whereas by this time** (*lit.* on the score of time) ye ought to be **even** teachers, ye **again** have need (1 Thess. iv. 9) that one teach you **what** the first **rudiments** (in Gal. iv. 9, "elements") of the oracles of God **are**;"—what they amount to, what they involve (as in Acts xvii. 19, "*what* this doctrine *is*"). They had fallen back, it would seem, upon a naked literal view of the meaning of Scripture, and looked on Christianity as little more than a supplement to the Legal Dispensation; not as the fruit, on the appearance of which the blossom passes away.

the oracles of God] His express utterances recorded in Holy Scripture (Rom. iii. 2; Acts vii. 38). Such divine words must needs have a profound significancy.

strong meat] Rather, **solid food**. The same distinction is drawn in 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2. The meaning of the figure there is explained by a comparison of ii. 6, "we speak wisdom among them that are *perfect*" (the word which here in *v.* 14 is rendered, "of full age"): this wisdom being such that to the "natural" man it was foolishness, because he could not "discern" it (ib. 13, 14).

13. *For*] This introduces (not a *proof* that the thing asserted in *v.* 12 was true, but) a development of *what was implied in* the figurative language just used. What had been a metaphor now becomes, in effect, an allegory. *For every one that* **is fed on milk understandeth not that which is spoken about** *righteousness;* he is not capable of perceiving the nature of right and wrong; *for he is* **an infant**; whose moral sense has not yet been called into exercise.

The *application* (which is not given) is obvious. As an infant is swayed, not by conscience, but chiefly by the gestures, looks, and voices of those who are in charge of it, so those who are in an *infantile* state as regards religious attainments are chiefly moved by rites and ceremonies and positive enactments. On the other hand, as they whose moral nature is matured are guided by their own quick perception of "good and evil," so persons of ripened Christian intelligence habitually strive after that "righteousness of God" (Rom. x. 3, Phil. iii. 9) which the "High-priest after the order of the King of Righteousness" has to bestow.

14. *But...*] Rather, *But* **solid food** *belongeth to* **men of ripe age**. The last term (generally rendered "perfect") is one which readily lends itself to the allegory; being the word used in Phil. iii. 12, 16 of such as have attained to true "righteousness."

of use] Rather, **of habit**:—the only place where the word is found in the New Testament. Its occurrence here is in keeping with the *ethical* character which we have assigned to the illustration.

senses] Their faculties of perception; as we speak of a moral *sense* (cp. Phil. i. 9).

exercised] Or, "fully trained" (xii. 11).

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. v. 4, 7, 13.

4. Schöttgen quotes (from the *Bammidbar Rabba*): "Moses said to Korah,...If Aaron took this office *to himself* (לעצמו)."

7. The literal rendering is that which is given in the *Itala:* "exauditus a metu,"—"heard *from* fear." The preposition is the same as in xi. 34, "They were strengthened *from* (or, to the removal of) weakness;" and in x. 22, "having our hearts sprinkled *from* (to the removal of) an evil conscience." We have a strikingly similar use of εἰσακούω in Aquila's version of Ps. xxii. 21, "*From* the horns of the wild-oxen *Thou heardest me.*" Indeed, in Ps. liv. 16 the LXX. actually use this verb εἰσακούω for הושיע (which Hebrew word occurs in Ps. xxii. 21 *a*), "I *cried* unto the Lord, and He saved (LXX. *heard*) me." (Cp. Job xxxv. 12.) The noun εὐλαβεία is used by Josephus ('Ant.' XI. 6), where he speaks of Artaxerxes laying his sceptre on Esther's neck, and so *releasing her from her fear;* that fear being *a vivid apprehension of the danger which she incurred deliberately out of love for her kinsfolk*, that she might *save them by her intercession from the doom which had already gone forth against them.*

The use of εὐλαβεία here by Josephus is the more remarkable, as a Jewish comment (*Megillah*, f. 15) represents Esther to have cried "Save me from the lion's mouth:" (cp. in the Septuagintal addition, Esther iv. 17, ἐνώπιον τοῦ λέοντος).

On this view, then, the expression has a full justification. On the other hand, there appears to be no instance given in which ἀπὸ indicates the *ground*,—the procuring or meritorious cause,—*on account of which a person has something done to him by another* (passages like Matt. xxviii. 4, Luke xxii. 45, not being in point).

13. In considering the precise meaning of this verse, we should observe that there are such compounds as ἀπειρόκαλος and ἀπειρόκακος. This appears to suggest that the λόγου δικαιοσύνης, which follows ἄπειρος in *v.* 13, is to be referred to the same order of things as the καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ of *v.* 14; in other words, that it must be taken immediately in its ethical, not its theological, application. The drift of the allegory was made sufficiently plain by *v.* 12 and vi. 1.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *He exhorteth not to fall back from the faith,* 11 *but to be stedfast,* 12 *diligent, and patient to wait upon God,* 13 *because God is most sure in his promise.*

THEREFORE leaving [1] the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God,

2 Of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of re-

[1] Or, *the word of the beginning of Christ.*

CHAP. VI. The word "perfection" in *v.* 1 shews how closely this chapter coheres with the preceding. The warning is extremely solemn. To be a child is one thing; to sink back from the intelligence of manhood into childish imbecility is another. Israel under the Law was in a state of childhood (Gal. iv. 1, 3): but Christians have put away "childish things." For them to return to the "weak and beggarly elements" of Judaism (Gal. iv. 9) were to "fall from grace" (ib. v. 4; cp. ch. xii. 15).

Obs. The tendencies, which are here reproved, took shape, at a later period, in the *Ebionite* sects;—the name (which signifies, "beggarly") being given them in allusion to the meagreness of their theological teaching.

1. *leaving*] As a builder *leaves* the foundation, when it is once well laid; not perpetually disturbing and re-laying it, but advancing to the superstructure, *for which* the foundation was laid.

the principles of...] Lit. "the word of the beginning (ch. v. 12) of Christ;"—comprising the elementary truths which were preached during our Lord's earthly ministry, before He had suffered, risen, ascended, and sent down the Holy Spirit.

let us go on] Rather, **let us press on.** He speaks inclusively, of himself and his readers (as in ii. 1, 3, iv. 1, 11, 14).

perfection] "ripeness" of spiritual character (in Col. iii. 14, "perfectness").

the foundation of] This "of" indicates the materials, of which the foundation was composed. These are of a threefold character:—(1) Two inward acts, which were requisite for admission to Covenant relations; (2) Instruction concerning two ecclesiastical acts, by which the privileges of the Covenant state were conferred; (3) Instruction concerning two Divine acts, by which the promises and threatenings of the Covenant will be at last carried into effect.

repentance...and...faith] At the very commencement of His preaching the words of Jesus were, "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel" (Mark i. 13).

dead works] works not quickened by the love of God; tainted with selfishness, which is spiritual death (comp. ix. 14; Eph. v. 14).

toward God] Rather, "**in** God;" (same preposition as in Rom. iv. 5, Acts ix. 42).

surrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment.

3 And this will we do, if God permit.

4 For *it is* impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost,

5 And have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come,

6 If they shall fall away, to re-

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2. *Of the doctrine...*] Rather, "**of teaching concerning** baptisms **and the** laying on of hands, **and the...and the;**" so that "teaching" may refer to all that follows in the verse.

baptisms] It would be needful to distinguish the Legal "washings" (ix. 10; cp. Mark vii. 4) and the Jewish baptism of proselytes, as well as John's baptism, from baptism into the Triune Name. Comp. Acts xix. 3—5; where also mention is made of "laying on of hands" (*v.* 6; see also viii. 17). By baptism a man was incorporated into Christ's Body, the Church. By "laying on of hands" he was consecrated to his individual office as a member of the Body.—On the ancient "laying on of hands," cp. Gen. xlviii. 14; Num. xxvii. 18.

resurrection...judgment] Both of them extending to all mankind (Acts xvii. 31, xxiv. 15). The judgment is "eternal," because its consequences are so (cp. "eternal redemption," ix. 12).

All the points which are here enumerated had their place also in the Elder Dispensation. There was a danger lest the Hebrew Christian should be satisfied with recurring to these fundamental points to the neglect of all higher, distinctively evangelical, teaching.

3. *this*] The pressing on to perfection. He undertakes, for himself and them, to press forward, "**if only** (iii. 14) God permit" (1 Cor. xvi. 7), by prolonging to them their day of grace.

4. The solemn "if only" of *v.* 3 is here commented on. There may be cases, in which men have sinned so fearfully against the light, that God withdraws His grace from them.

for those] Rather, **as regards those.** The actual construction of *vv.* 4—6 appears to be: "It is impossible *to renew again unto repentance* those who have been once...." But it is desirable on many grounds to follow the order of the Greek; especially as the conditional clause at the beginning of *v.* 6 and the explanatory clause at the end would otherwise be deprived of their force.

were...] Rather, **have been...***have tasted* **...have been** *made.*

once] That is, "once for all;" already suggesting *why* it is "impossible" to renew them. For men, who have received "the light (or, illumination) of the glorious gospel of Christ" (2 Cor. iv. 4), and have "fallen away" from it, in hatred of the light, there remains no *other* source of illumination (cp. x. 26).

enlightened] See x. 32 ("illuminated"), Eph. i. 18 (cp. iii. 9, v. 14). Compare Acts xxvi. 18, 1 Pet. ii. 9.

The four clauses which follow are to be taken as an expansion of the first; showing what was involved in the "enlightening" there spoken of.

the heavenly gift] Probably, that special gift of the Holy Spirit which was "sent down from heaven" (1 Pet. i. 12) upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. Cp. Acts ii. 38. Of that special gift many thousands of the Jewish Christians had "tasted." They were, also, "partakers (cp. iii. 1, 14) of the Holy Spirit," as the Sanctifier of the whole Body of the Church.

5. *tasted*] Slightly different, in construction and in meaning, from the "tasted of" in *v.* 4. They *tasted of* that special Apostolic gift: they *tasted how good* the "word of God" (Rom. x. 17) was. For the expression "good word," see Josh. xxi. 45; Jer. xxix. 10, xxxiii. 14. (Cp. 1 Pet. ii. 3.)

world to come] Not the same words as in ii. 5:—lit. "the coming age" (Isai. ix. 6, LXX). In the supernatural endowments of the early Church, the influences of the *invisible* (and as yet *future*) *world* might be said to have penetrated into this present visible system.

6. *If they shall fall away*] Rather, **and (yet) have fallen away;** as revolters or deserters (see Ezek. xiv. 13, LXX.).

to renew them again] God had "sent forth His Spirit" with new creative power, and had "renewed the face of the earth" (Ps. civ. 30; cp. *vv.* 7, 8, below). If any "did despite to that Spirit of grace" (x. 29), there was *no other* means of spiritual renewal possible. God's ministers can only work in harmony with the arrangements of the Gospel Economy. Jesus is "exalted...to give repentance and remission of sins" (Acts v. 31): if any turn away from Him, man is powerless to renew them. It is plain that this in no way justified the Montanists and Novatians in refusing to receive penitents back into the Church. The *fact* of their repentance proved, that such were *not* of those for whom renewal and repentance had become impossible. They no longer "put Christ to open shame."

to themselves] so far as they are concerned,

new them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put *him* to an open shame.

7 For the earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them ‖ by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God:

‖ Or, *for.*

8 But that which beareth thorns and briers *is* rejected, and *is* nigh unto cursing; whose end *is* to be burned.

9 But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak.

10 For God *is* not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister.

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ratifying by their own act and deed what the Jews had done when they crucified Him. Jesus had been condemned because He declared Himself to be the *Son of God.* If any fell back to the level of Judaism, what did they, in effect, but assert that Jesus had been justly condemned?

to an open shame] as a blasphemer (Matt. xxvi. 65).

7. The whole of the preceding passage wears the appearance of a warning addressed to a *community.* The privileges insisted upon in *vv.* 4, 5 are such as belonged to the Church generally, rather than specially to individuals. This impression is strongly confirmed by the allegory which now follows (for that it *is* an allegory, the use which is here made of the terms "blessing" and "cursing" shows; cp. Deut. xxx. 1, 19).

For] It is impossible to *renew* such; *For*, consider what is the law of God's spiritual husbandry (1 Cor. iii. 9), as it is set forth in the Old Testament (Isai. v. 1—6, 24; cp. Deut. xxix. 23).

the earth] Rather, **the land** (cp. Deut. xxviii. 8, 12).

drinketh in] Rather, **hath drunk in** (cp. Deut. xi. 11).

the rain] Comp. Isai. v. 6, Ezek. xxxiv. 26:—analogous to the "*heavenly* gift" of *v.* 4.

herbs] Or, "herbage." In Exod. ix. 22, 25, the word includes wheat, barley, and flax.

by whom...] Rather, **on whose account** (i. 14), **indeed, it is tilled.** As of old so much loving toil was bestowed upon Israel, not for its own aggrandisement, but in order that all nations might be blessed through it; so now the Hebrew Church at Jerusalem had received that "gracious rain" (Ps. lxviii. 9) of Pentecostal gifts with the like intent. If it brought forth abundant harvests, from which the bread of life might be communicated to a famishing world, it would be itself richly rewarded; such land **"is a partaker** (cp. ch. xii. 10, 2 Tim. ii. 6) *of blessing from God"* (Ps. xxiv. 5). This can scarcely be understood, unless we take the passage allegorically. As long as Israel had remained true to its national vocation, it had enjoyed its own share of Divine blessing (cp. Deut. xxviii. 8). So would it be with the Hebrew Church, *if it diligently hearkened to the voice of the Lord its God* (Deut. xxviii. 1, 2).

8. *that which beareth...*] Rather, **if it bear** *thorns and briers* (Isai. v. 6; Prov. xxiv. 30, 31), **it is** *rejected;* or, "reprobate" (Jer. vi. 30).

whose end] If that end be not averted by timely reformation (comp. Jer. v. 31; Ezek. vii. 3).

to be burned] As a consequence of the judicial curse (Deut. xxix. 20—23).

9. *better things*] Lit. "the better things;" the better of the two alternatives just described in *v.* 7; namely, fruitfulness rewarded by blessing.

accompany] Or, "go along with." Their lives were visibly such as *harmonized with* God's invisible plan of salvation. The word is used in Ezek. x. 16 of the wheels, which, "when the Cherubim went, *went along with* them."—He had already stated (in the verse which immediately preceded this digression, ch. v. 9) what the necessary "accompaniment" of salvation is on man's part: "He became the author of eternal salvation *to all them that obey Him.*"

10. He was persuaded that they would receive the blessing of salvation; *for God* was *not unrighteous*, **that He should forget,** or fail to reward, their loving deeds.

your work...] or, (according to the better reading) *your work,* **and the love which**;—the words "labour of" having come into some MSS., doubtless, from 1 Thess. i. 3. Their *work*, being true and real work, though done amidst despondency, should be rewarded (Jer. xxxi. 16). The love which they had *shewed*, or **manifested** (comp. 2 Cor. viii. 24), in relieving their distressed brethren, He would look on as directed *towards His Name;* claiming what was done to His servants as done to Himself (Matt. xxv. 40; Prov. xix. 17).

ministered] in relieving their temporal wants (2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 1).

the saints] The "holy brethren" (iii. 1)

11 And we desire that every one of you do shew the same diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end:

12 That ye be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

13 For when God made promise to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself,

14 Saying, Surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee.

15 And so, after he had patiently endured, he obtained the promise.

16 For men verily swear by the

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in Judea (Acts xi. 29) or in Jerusalem itself (Rom. xv. 26).

11. *And*] Rather, **But.** He had been speaking to them as a Church (see on *v.* 7): "*But*" he wishes that *every one of* them, individually, should **manifest** *the same diligence* in works of love, which he had commended in them as a community. That this is the true sense of the passage appears from 2 Cor. viii. 16, "*the same earnest care;*" the word there rendered "earnest care" (cp. 2 Cor. vii. 12, "care") being the one for which "diligence" stands in the text.

to the full assurance] This *result* (cp. the preposition in v. 14, ix. 13, 1 Cor. x. 4) would follow of itself. Their benevolent activity, if it had no immediate reward, would *tend to* the exercise and strengthening of their hope; every deed of disinterested charity being, in fact, rewarded with a livelier anticipation of what God had in store for them. Thus the fruit-bearing soil would have a "blessing from God" (*v.* 7). Cp. 2 Pet. i. 8—11.

the full assurance] "the full energy (or, development);" comp. x. 22, "*the full assurance* of faith." Of itself the word denotes simply the *completeness with which the faculty produces its own proper fruit* (see Additional Note). Cp. 1 Pet. i. 13, "hope perfectly."

unto the end] iii. 6, 14 (Rev. ii. 26). This refers, not to the "diligence" only, or to the "hope" only, but to the whole of what precedes. Let their practical charity and their religious hope continue acting and re-acting upon each other even to the end.

12. *be not*] Rather, **become not.** In ch. v. 11 he had charged them with being of "sluggish" ears. Now that he has roused their hearing, he warns them not, at any rate, to become "sluggish" in heart. The word is the same in both passages, and means "torpid," or inert, or insensible; as hearts would be, which had lost their "first love" and, with it, their energy of hope.

followers] Rather, "imitators" (as in 1 Cor. iv. 16, xi. 1).

patience] which enabled them to bear up under the burden of *long-deferred hope.* The *verb* is used in *v.* 15, "having patiently endured." In x. 36, xii. 1 the word which is rendered "patience," refers rather to the *endurance of pain or suffering* (2 Cor. i. 6).

inherit the promises] The reference would seem to be, in part, to their own immediate predecessors in the faith (xiii. 7, *whose faith imitate*), but also (as the following verses imply) to the saints of former ages. In Acts xxvi. 6—8 St Paul speaks of "*the promise* made to the fathers" (unto which promise the twelve tribes so earnestly desired to come) as being, *the resurrection of the dead.* And in Acts xiii. 32, 33, he says, "We declare unto you glad tidings, how that *the promise* which was made unto the fathers, God *hath fulfilled* the same, in that He hath *raised up Jesus again.*" Of that promised resurrection the faithful, as they rest in Paradise, are the *assured* heirs (cp. on xi. 39, xii. 23).

13. This requirement of "faith and patience" in order to an attainment of the promises is no new one. *For*—is it not set forth clearly in the history of Abraham? The greatest event in his life (which itself occurred after forty years of patient waiting) was the promise of a *future* blessing; a blessing to be won (as the figurative transaction on Moriah showed, cp. xi. 17—19) through a resurrection from the dead. On that oath—which revealed to him "the day of Christ," the fountain of blessing (John viii. 56)—Abraham stayed himself in faith and patience; and so, entering into rest, he attained the promise (cp. xi. 8, 10, 16).

14. *multiply thee*] In Gen. xxii. 17, it is, "I will multiply thy seed." The shortened form may involve a reference to Isai. li. 2, "I blessed him, and *multiplied him.*"

15. *And so*] In the strength of that promise confirmed by an oath, he went on to exhibit the full energy of hope unto the end. The terms of the oath were such as might well stimulate hope. It began, *For because thou hast done this thing;* as much as to say, "I am *not unrighteous to forget this work* of thine *and the love thou* hast *shewed toward My name.* Thou hast not withheld thine only son from Me; be sure My love shall not fall short of thine. I too will not withhold My only Son (Rom. viii. 32), but will give Him up to death, to bring about the fulfilment of My solemn promise, that in thy seed all the families of the earth shall be blessed."

obtained] The word used in ch. xi. 34, Rom. xi. 7. Age after age Abraham in Para-

greater: and an oath for confirmation *is* to them an end of all strife.

17 Wherein God, willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, † confirmed *it* by an oath:

18 That by two immutable things, in which *it was* impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us:

19 Which *hope* we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the veil;

† Gr. *interposed himself by an oath.*

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dise found the promise advancing, in its various parts, towards completion; and, when Christ triumphed over death, he obtained in Him the gift of eternal life.

Obs. This incident of Abraham's history is connected with chh. iii and iv by the words, "because thou *hast hearkened to My voice*" (Gen. xxii. 18).

16. *the greater*] Rather, **that which is greater.**

and an oath...] Rather, *and an oath* **is unto them an assured end** [lit., an end for sure adjustment] **of all controversy.**

17. *Wherein*] Rather, **In regard whereof**; in consideration of the fact that an oath puts a stop to all controversy.

the heirs of promise] Not Abraham and Isaac only, but their spiritual seed, who are "heirs according to the promise" (Gal. iii. 29).

immutability] In respect of which the Covenant with Abraham stands contrasted with the Sinaitic (cp. vii. 12, xii. 27).

counsel] Or, "plan;" the great scheme of Redemption (comp. Acts xx. 27).

confirmed it by an oath] Rather, **intervened as mediator by an oath.** The two parties to the Covenant of Blessing were God and man. How was this Covenant, then, to be guaranteed? Where was one to be found who could represent the interests of each party, and guarantee to each party the stability of the Covenant (cp. Note below)? Clearly no created being could do this. None but God Himself could so act. By His oath He undertook thus to mediate. When He said, "*By myself* have I sworn," He engaged His own holiness and truth to the fulfilment of His promises. In appealing to Himself by an oath, He, in fact, took on Him the office of Mediator; pledging Himself to do all that was necessary for giving the Covenant eternal validity (xiii. 20). If this could be done in no other way than by giving His only Son to lie on the Altar of Atonement, even this should be done. Accordingly "the oath sworn to Abraham" (Luke i. 73) was actually made good in the person of "Jesus, the Mediator of the New Covenant" (xii. 24), who "laid hold on the seed of Abraham" (ii. 16). After He had sealed the Covenant with His blood, it was impossible that anything could vitiate it. When God raised Him from the dead, He in fact declared to Him: "In Thee are all the families of the earth delivered from the curse, because Thou hast hearkened to My voice."

Obs. 1. When Moses ventured to intercede on behalf of Israel at Sinai, he took his stand upon the oath made to Abraham (Exod. xxxii. 13). The covenant which he himself had mediated had been broken. How, then, could he plead for a fulfilment of its conditional promises? He could only rest his intercession upon God's own mediatorial oath.

Obs. 2. The stress laid here on God's *oath* prepares the way for the discussion of Ps. cx. 4 (which has been already referred to at v. 6) in the next chapter. Indeed, what is the oath in Ps. cx but a renewal, in a more definite form, of the oath to Abraham?

18. *two...things*] Two *actual facts* (cp. x. 1 *b*, xi. 1 *b*); the original *promise* (Gen. xii. 3; cp. xviii. 18), and the confirmation of it by *oath* (xxii. 18).

in which] Or, "in regard to which."

consolation] Or, "encouragement;" incitement to persevering diligence (in xii. 5, xiii. 22, "exhortation").

fled for refuge] as to an asylum, Num. xxxv. 25, 26 (Grotius), or as storm-tossed mariners to a harbour of safe anchorage (Bengel, Wordsworth).

to lay hold upon] Therefore the "hope" must be something that is not of our originating. Yet being "laid hold of" it becomes ours; ours to "hold fast" (iii. 6), and to employ as an anchor. This relation between the objective and the subjective in Christian hope arises from its very nature, since it is the outward object which *creates* the subjective energy (1 Pet. i. 3). Yet this hope is *set before us* (xii. 2), as a thing to be attained through faith and obedience.

19. This hope is as an "anchor of the soul," cast upward into *that within the veil*, the heavenly *Holy of Holies* (see Lev. xvi. 2, 12, 15,—in the rules for the Day of Atonement); where it finds firm holding in the "immutable counsel," which forms the basis of the "Mercy-seat."

sure and stedfast] Strong in substance and tenacious in its hold.

20 Whither the forerunner is for us entered, *even* Jesus, made an high priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.

20. *Whither...*] Rather, *Whither,* **as forerunner, Jesus is for us entered**;—as our "Leader" (ii. 10); and to act *for us*, or, on our behalf (as in v. 1, vii. 25); in such sort that His entrance ensures ours also (x. 19; John xiv. 2, 3).

made] Rather, **having become**;—having at length fulfilled that so long mysterious oracle of Psalm cx.

an high priest] The discourse has come back to the point from which it diverged in ch. v. 10; having in the mean time roused the most earnest attention of the reader.

for ever] In the original these words stand emphatically at the end of the clause;—"having become high-priest after the order of Melchizedek *for ever*;"—so striking the key-note of ch. vii (see *vv.* 3, 16, 17, 21, 24, 25, 28).

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. VI. 11, 17.

11. The verb (πληροφορέω) occurs in 2 Tim. iv. 5, "*make full proof of* thy ministry;" so as to *realize the full amount of fruit* which thy ministry should produce (cp. Acts xii. 25, Col. iv. 17, where we have πληροῦν τὴν δ.): and again in *v.* 17, "that by me the preaching might be *fully known*;" or, be *made known over the whole of its intended field of operations.*

17. When Josephus ('Ant.' IV. 6, 7) speaks of the young Israelites, who engaged to marry the Midianite damsels, as "*swearing* and making God the *mediator* of what they undertook to do," he means that they appealed to Him as the God of truth and righteousness to *maintain the integrity* of their covenant, making Himself its responsible guardian.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *Christ Jesus is a priest after the order of Melchisedec,* 11 *and so, far more excellent than the priests of Aaron's order.*

FOR this Melchisedec, king of Salem, priest of the most high God, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings, and blessed him;

2 To whom also Abraham gave a tenth part of all; first being by interpretation King of righteousness, and after that also King of Salem, which is, King of peace;

3 Without father, without mother, † without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God; abideth a priest continually.

† Gr. *without pedigree.*

4 Now consider how great this

CHAP. VII. The writer now proceeds to unfold the typical significancy of Melchizedek's history.

(1) He was *King and Priest in one;* like the Messiah of Pss. ii, xlv, cx, and like the typical *Jozedek* of Zech. vi. 13.

(2) When Abraham, shortly after God had put him in formal possession of Canaan (xiii. 14—17), had routed the invaders of the land, Melchizedek went forth to meet him, and *blessed* him;—as the Righteous King of Ps. lxxii is declared to be a fountain of blessing (*v.* 17).

(3) Abraham ackowledged him as God's Priest by *giving him tithes* from all the spoil.

(4) His name and title are significant; for he was both King of *Righteousness*, and *then* (for the order is important, Isai. xxxiii. 17, Rom. v. 1) "King of *Peace*" (cp. Ps. lxxii. 3); righteousness and peace being the chief ends that were to be attained through a priesthood (cp. Rom. iv. 25, v. 1).

(5) Melchizedek stands in the Scripture narrative with no mention of father, mother, or pedigree, of the beginning or end of his life; and the suppression of these details adapts him for standing as a type of the Son of God.

1. *For this Melchisedec*] The predicate is at the end of *v.* 3, "abideth a priest continually."

2. *Salem...peace*] Such is its meaning in the name *Jerusalem*, "home (or, foundation) of peace." If, as is generally agreed (cp. on Gen. xiv. 18), Salem and Jerusalem are the same city, then (as Mr Dale remarks) the mountain, on which Abraham received *the oath of Blessing* from God, was in the district over which Melchizedek reigned.

3. *descent*] Rather (as in marg.), **pedigree.** The Levitical priesthood was strictly genealogical (see Ezra ii. 62, 63).

made like] The sacred narrative regarding Melchizedek was so ordered, both in what it said and in what it left unsaid, that the historical picture is singularly fitted to represent in typical outline the Son of God. "We know of no beginning or end in either case;

man *was*, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the spoils.

5 And verily they that are of the sons of Levi, who receive the office of the priesthood, have a commandment to take tithes of the people according to the law, that is, of their brethren, though they come out of the loins of Abraham:

‖ Or, *pedigree.*

6 But he whose ‖ descent is not counted from them received tithes of Abraham, and blessed him that had the promises.

7 And without all contradiction the less is blessed of the better.

8 And here men that die receive tithes; but there he *receiveth them*, of whom it is witnessed that he liveth.

9 And as I may so say, Levi also, who receiveth tithes, payed tithes in Abraham.

10 For he was yet in the loins of his father, when Melchisedec met him.

11 If therefore perfection were by the Levitical priesthood, (for under it the people received the law,) what

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in the one, because none are recorded; in the other, because they do not exist" (Chrys.).

The death of *Aaron*, on the contrary, has attention called to it in a very pointed manner, Num. xx. 23—29.

continually] Or, "in perpetuity;" without any term to the continuance of his office.

4. *the patriarch*] "the head of our race." In the original this stands, with marked emphasis, at the end: "Abraham gave tithe **of the best of the spoil**—(even he), the patriarch." This occurrence is commented on in the next six verses in the following order:

(1) *vv.* 5—7. The Levitical priests received tithes, not from foreigners on the ground of an acknowledged superiority, but from their brethren on the ground of a compulsory legal enactment. Abraham, on the other hand, paid tithes to Melchizedek, not on account of any legal claim, but voluntarily; out of respect for one who was his superior, and who had freely bestowed a blessing upon him in God's name.

(2) *v.* 8. The Levitical tithes are paid to dying men; Melchizedek is set before us only as "living."

(3) *vv.* 9, 10. In the person of Abraham the Levitical priesthood virtually paid tithe to Melchisedek.

On these grounds it is inferred that the Melchizedekan style of priesthood (referred to in the Psalm) is one which is superior to the Aaronic.

5. *they that...*] Lit. "those who being of the sons of Levi receive...;" that is, who receive the priesthood *on the ground of* their descent from Levi. The priests had a tenth of the Levites' tithe (Num. xviii. 26). Ultimately, therefore, it was from "the people."

according to the law] By positive enactment, not because of any personal superiority.

6. *whose descent...*] Lit. "that is not registered in pedigree from them;" the form of expression being chosen to carry the mind on to the antitype.

received] Lit. "hath received." That is the position in which he stands before us in history.

blessed...] This is a very distinctive part of Melchizedek's action: and what he did in words, the Antitype did in reality. "Through Jesus Christ the blessing of Abraham" has "come on the nations" (Gal. iii. 14). The attitude in which He was last seen by the Apostles signified that His work in heaven would be to pour out blessings on the faithful (Luke xxiv. 51): so eliciting ever-renewed benedictions from men towards God (Eph. i. 3; 1 Pet. i. 3); even as Melchizedek, after saying "Blessed be Abram," added "Blessed be God."

7. *And without all contradiction*] Rather, **But without any controversy.**

8. *here*] In the Levitical system.

it is witnessed...] He is set before us in the Scriptural record simply as *living;* no mention being made of his birth or death. As in *v.* 3, the features of resemblance presented by the type depend on the *silence* of Scripture.

9. *as I may...*] Rather, **so to speak.** Though not literally, yet *virtually*, he did so. The interview with Melchizedek took place at least fourteen years before the birth of Isaac.

11. *If therefore*] Rather, "If however." The argument in *vv.* 5—10 had only reached so far as to prove, that a priesthood of the Melchizedekan order must be superior to the Levitical. The writer proceeds to draw from the fact, that Messiah is described in the Psalm as a Melchizedekan Priest, yet weightier consequences.

(1) *vv.* 11—14. The prediction of another kind of priest implied that the Levitical priesthood was set aside as imperfect, and consequently that the whole Legal constitution was so too. (2) *vv.* 15—19. This imperfection becomes more evident when we consider that their consecration rested on mere carnal ordinances, not, as His did, on the power of an

further need *was there* that another priest should rise after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron?

12 For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law.

13 For he of whom these things are spoken pertaineth to another tribe, of which no man gave attendance at the altar.

14 For *it is* evident that our Lord sprang out of Juda; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood.

15 And it is yet far more evident: for that after the similitude of Melchisedec there ariseth another priest,

16 Who is made, not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life.

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endless life. (3) *vv.* 20—22. The superiority of Christ's priesthood appears from the fact that He was constituted Priest (as the Abrahamic covenant itself was constituted, vi. 13—17) by a Divine oath. (4) *vv.* 23—25. In consequence of this He retains His priesthood in unbroken continuity; always able and ready to save.

perfection] The restoration of man from his present fallen condition to a state of fitness for communion with God (*v.* 19, ix. 9, x. 1, 2, 14). Cp. on ii. 10.

for under it...] The parenthesis emphasizes the term "Levitical priesthood." *If,* **however, there had been** *perfection* **by means of** *the Levitical priesthood* (as might have been expected, *for under it the people received its legal constitution*). When Moses ascended Sinai he at once received instructions to prepare a tabernacle and to ordain the priesthood. Then, and not before, God promised to dwell among Israel as *His people* (Exod. xxix. 45).

that another...] Rather, *that* **a priest should arise of a different kind,** *after the order of Melchizedek, and not be called after the order of Aaron.*

12. Surely he would have been designated "after the order of Aaron:"—*For,* **if the priesthood be** *changed,* the consequence can be nothing less than a change of the Law; which was established on the supposition of that priesthood's being in existence. To remove Aaron from standing before God was to remove Israel (whom he represented, see on ch. v. 1) from the position which it held under the Law, as God's people.

The writer leaves the argument in its hypothetical form, but goes on to enforce the statement that the Person addressed in Ps. cx did not belong to the tribe of Levi.

13. *he of whom*] It was admitted by the Jews that their Messiah (addressed in Ps. cx) was to be the Son of David (Matt. xxii. 42). But the reference here is to Him whom the Hebrew Christians confessed to be Messiah: for, instead of "pertaineth to," we should translate, **is a member of** (lit. "hath taken part in;" cp. ii. 14).

another tribe] Rather, **a different tribe.**

gave] Rather, **hath given.**

14. *evident*] Rather, **manifest**; as a matter of fact (cp. Rom. i. 3; Rev. v. 5). The Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke were, probably, both of them at this time in circulation.

sprang] The figure is taken from a plant (comp. Ezek. xxix. 21, "bud forth"). The derived noun is used in Jer. xxiii. 5; Zech. vi. 12, 13 ("the Branch"); the latter of which passages is closely related to Ps. cx.

of which] Rather, **in regard to which.** Many authorities instead of "priesthood" have "priests." The crime which filled up Judah's iniquity, and ushered in the sentence of judicial hardening upon it (Isai. vi. 1—11), was King Uzziah's assumption of priestly functions.

15. *it is yet...*] Or, "yet more abundantly is it evident;"—namely, the imperfection of the Levitical priesthood and its consequent abrogation. In *vv.* 11—14 the argument had rested upon the simple fact that Messiah was not to be of Aaron's line. In what now follows the inference is drawn from *the eternal duration* of His priesthood.

for that] Lit. "if;"—if (as is the case): nearly as in Acts xxvi. 23.

another] "a different."

16. *a carnal commandment*] The rites used at Aaron's consecration were of an outward kind; bathing, offering the flesh of animals, touching his right ear, hand, and foot with blood, placing the fat and bread in his hands. Those "carnal ordinances" (ix. 10) could have no intrinsic value. They were performed simply because they were *enjoined* (see Lev. viii with its oft-repeated, "as the Lord commanded").

power] The word is used twice in reference to the Eternal Priest in Ps. cx. In virtue of it, (1) He triumphs over all enemies (*v.* 2), —even over the last enemy of all, Death; (2) He draws to Himself a holy and devoted people; pure, bright, and numerous as the morning dew (*v.* 3).

endless] Rather, **indissoluble.** It is only natural that a time should come, when a

17 For he testifieth, Thou *art* a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.

18 For there is verily a disannulling of the commandment going before for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof.

19 For the law made nothing perfect, ‖ but the bringing in of a better hope *did;* by the which we draw nigh unto God.

‖ Or, *but it was the bringing in.*

20 And inasmuch as not without an oath *he was made priest:*

21 (For those priests were made ‖ without an oath; but this with an oath by him that said unto him, [a] The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou *art* a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec:)

‖ Or, *without swearing of an oath.*

[a] Psal. 110. 4.

22 By so much was Jesus made a surety of a better testament.

23 And they truly were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death:

24 But this *man*, because he continueth ever, hath ‖ an unchangeable priesthood.

‖ Or, *which passeth not from one to another.*

25 Wherefore he is able also to

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system of positive institutions should be *dissolved.* Not so with regard to the living, life-giving, energy conferred on the Eternal Priest; which was manifested first of all in His resurrection from the tomb (cp. Rev. i. 18; John v. 26, xvii. 2).

17. *he testifieth*] Or, according to another reading, "it is testified of him."

18, 19. The rendering of these verses needs to be entirely recast. **For there taketh place, on the one hand, a disannulling of the previous commandment, because of its weakness and unprofitableness (for the Law made nothing perfect), and, on the other, the bringing in of a better hope;** *by the which....*" The office of the Levitical priesthood was only to pioneer the way for the coming of the true Priest. It was "weak;" leaving men "without strength" to contend with sin and death (Rom. v. 6). It was "unprofitable;" rather burdening, than easing, the conscience.

better] higher and nobler (cp. i. 4, viii. 6, ix. 23, xi. 16).

draw nigh] The same word is used in Lev. x. 3; Ezek. xl. 46, xlii. 13, xliii. 19, of priestly approach to God.

20. *not without...*priest] Or, simply; **it was not without an oath.**

21. *For those...*] Rather, **For they indeed were made priests** *without an oath; but* **He**" *him that said*] *Vv.* 2—4 of the Psalm are taken as a continuation of the address "Sit Thou on my right hand" in *v.* 1. The occurrence of "*The* LORD" in *vv.* 2 and 4 is no disproof of the correctness of this; see Ps. cxxxii. 13. The clause "after the order of Melchizedek" is wanting in the best MSS.

22. *By so much*] Since the priesthood of Jesus rested on a Divine oath, and was therefore immutable, the covenant which His priestly work was to conserve must be equally immutable. The Sinaitic Covenant was conditional and temporary; this better Covenant absolute and eternal. It is here implied that Jesus was constituted "surety" by the oath which gave Him the everlasting priesthood. This suretiship, then, must consist in His guaranteeing the fulfilment of God's promises to men. He had this high office, in which He stood as *Surety for God*, conferred upon Him because He had already given Himself to be *Surety for man*, and as such had made satisfaction to God's righteous law for the sin of man (see Note at the end of the Chapter). The union of these two suretiships made Him a perfect *Mediator:* one who could provide that a Covenant of assured blessing for mankind should not be inconsistent with the holiness of the ever-blessed God.

testament] Rather, **covenant.** So A.V. in the similar passages viii. 6 and Gal. iii. 15—18. Such is invariably the meaning of the word in the LXX. (cp. notes on ix. 15); and no other meaning suits the context here (see below). A testament no more requires a surety than it does a mediator (see on ix. 15). A covenant between God and man required both; one who could give security to both parties that the covenant should not miscarry. The death of Jesus satisfied the Divine requirement; His presence in heaven satisfies the human.

23. *were...were not*] Rather, **have been ...are not.** One generation of priests after another has been carried away by death; unable to save themselves and compelled at last to abandon those who had leaned on them for counsel and sympathy.

24. *this man*] Rather, **He** (as in *v.* 21).

continueth ever] Cp. John xii. 34 "(the) Christ *abideth for ever*" (the same words).

an unchangeable priesthood] one "that passeth not" from Him to devolve upon another: or "that passeth not away" (so the Peshito; using the same expression here as in Dan. vii. 14: see Note below). His was *truly* an "everlasting priesthood;" while the Aaronic priest-

save them [1]to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them.

26 For such an high priest became us, *who is* holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens;

27 Who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself.

28 For the law maketh men high priests which have infirmity; but the word of the oath, which was since the law, *maketh* the Son, who is [2]consecrated for evermore.

[1] Or, *evermore.*

[2] Gr. *perfected.*

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hood had only the semblance of a claim to that title (Exod. xl. 15).

25. *Wherefore he is able also*] Rather, **Whence also He is able**;—in virtue of His permanent Priesthood.

to the uttermost] To the uttermost extent of their needs; not, "beginning a good work in them" and then failing them before it is completed.

come unto] The word used in iv. 16.

by him] Rather, "**through** *Him.*"

liveth] *v.* 16; Rev. i. 18; Rom. vi. 9, 10.

to make intercession] As in Rom. viii. 34. This is the great work of our High-priest in heaven (cp. Isai. liii. 12). His intercession surrounds the Throne of Majesty as with a cloud of fragrant incense.

26. The Apostle has shewn the transcendent excellence of Christ's priesthood, as foretold in Ps. cx. He now adds, that a High-priest of such a kind not only realizes the scriptural idea, but *also* is suited to our needs. (The correct reading is, "**also** became us.")

such an high priest] Throughout the chapter, up to this point, the word "priest" (taken from Ps. cx) has been used. The change, which is made here, indicates that the writer is passing on to speak of the Levitical high-priesthood. Incomparably inferior to the priesthood of Christ, it nevertheless foreshadowed it. In itself devoid of efficacy, it finds its existence justified, in that, as a type, it bears unsuspected witness to a glorious reality, in which the Melchizedekan and Aaronic priesthoods are combined.

holy] The word used in Acts ii. 27. It denotes one who is *inwardly* devoted to God; who is godly, and, because godly, pure.

harmless] Or, "benign;" without any touch of evil feeling.

undefiled] Indeed (so the word denotes) incapable of defilement; like that heaven (see 1 Pet. i. 4) to which He has ascended.

separate] Rather, **separated**;—once, continually "enduring the contradiction of sinners" (xii. 3); now, infinitely removed from them: though "He rules in the midst of them" by His sceptre (Ps. cx. 2).

higher...] At the right hand of God Most High (Ps. cx. 1; cp. on iv. 14).

27, 28. It is evident from *v.* 28 ("the word of the oath," "consecrated for evermore") that the writer is still contrasting the work of Him who is spoken of in Ps. cx with that of the Aaronic high-priests. Here, in conclusion, he gives the deepest, the most fundamental, of all the points of distinction between them.

Aaron, on the last day of his *consecration* (Lev. ix. 1—15), before he offered the sin-offering for the people, had first of all to offer for his own sins. And *on each Day of Atonement* it was necessary that he should do the same; which shewed that his *consecration* was only of an external kind, and that, too, unequal to the strain of more than one brief visit into the symbolic Holy of Holies. But not so was it with our High-priest. He abides *always* in the heavenly Holy of Holies; *ever* (*v.* 25) engaged in intercession for us. *Every day* of our mortal lives is for us a Day of Atonement, since He in Heaven "is the propitiation for our sins" (1 John ii. 2). He has no need "day by day" to renew His consecration, "as those high-priests" were obliged to do on each Day of Atonement. The "word of the oath" sealed the eternal validity of that one act of consecration, in which the "undefiled" High-priest offered up once for all His *sinless Self.*

this he did once] *This*, the work last-mentioned, *He did* **once for all**; and that with no preliminary offering for sins of His own, for —He *offered up Himself;* and only a sinless life can be accepted as an atonement for sin. The obscurity which attaches to the *this* in A. V. is materially relieved, if we follow more strictly the Greek (cp. Note below): "*Who* **hath no necessity day by day**, *as those high-priests* **(have), first to offer sacrifices for their own sins, and then for (the sins) of the people**; *for this*"—the offering for the people's sins—"*He did once for all, when* (having no sins of His own) *he offered up Himself.*"

28. *men*] To be emphasized; mere *men*, in contrast with *the Son.* There should be a comma after "high priests."

infirmity] Moral weakness which required that they should seek expiation for their own sins (ch. v. 2, 3).

since the law] Rather, **after** *the Law*. A divine oath, coming later than the Law (which was only *conditional* in its nature), had power to abrogate it.

the Son] See on i. 2.

consecrated] Or, "perfected;" see ii. 10, v. 9;—freed from all semblance of infirmity, and endowed with fulness of glorious power.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. VII. 22, 24, 27.

22. The word ἔγγυος occurs nowhere else in the New Testament or the LXX. In the Apocrypha it is found in two places, 2 Macc. x. 28 and Sirach xxix. 15. The latter supplies a singularly apposite illustration of the suretiship which Jesus undertook for man: "Forget not the thanks due to a surety: for he gave his life for thee" (ὑπὲρ σοῦ).

22. The radical idea of a διαθήκη, as exhibited in Gen. xxi. 22—32, xxvi. 28—31, is that of an averment on oath by two parties that they will maintain a friendly relation to each other. If the two parties to such an agreement are to be God and man, between whom sin and its penalty, death, stand as barriers, it is evident that some Mediator must interpose, who can re-adjust (or rectify, ix. 10) the relation of the parties. To do this, He must be able to make satisfaction to God's justice on the one hand, and on the other to rescue man from death. How such a Covenant could be established, was the problem set before God's servants in old time for the exercise of their faith and hope.

24. The Syriac is in each case ܟܗܢܘܬܗ. The same occurs also in Ps. cxlviii. 6, "He hath given a law, and *it passeth not away*." In both Dan. vii. 14 and Ps. cxlviii. 6 the LXX. has οὐ παρελεύσεται. It seems most probable, therefore, that ἀπαράβατος is to be looked on as a Hebraism (the intransitive form of the adjective, as in εὐπερίστατος). St Athanasius ('c. Arian.' II. 9) gives ἀδιάδεκτος as its equivalent.

27. The correctness of this rendering will be evident, if we consider that

(1) The text has θυσίας, "sacrifices." For the High-priest on the Day of Atonement offered only *one* sin-offering for himself; and therefore the plural shews that the clause, in which it occurs, depends on οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς.

(2) The term τῶν ἰδίων ἁμαρτιῶν must mean, *their own sins*. In order to be connected with ὅς, it should be, ὑπὲρ ἰδίων ἁ., "sins of his own." The article implies that *the sins were there*; and, being there, created a necessity for expiation.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *By the eternal priesthood of Christ the Levitical priesthood of Aaron is abolished.* 7 *And the temporal covenant with the fathers, by the eternal covenant of the gospel.*

NOW of the things which we have spoken *this is* the sum: We have such an high priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens;

2 A minister [1] of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man.

[1] Or, *of holy things.*

CHAP. VIII. The repetition, in *v.* 3 below, of the statement that was made in ch. v. 1, shews that the topic which was there introduced is now to be discussed. Ch. vii had shewn the infinite superiority of Christ's priesthood and the covenant which it conserved to the Aaronic priesthood and the covenant which rested upon it. But now the question occurs: "For what purpose, then, were that elder priesthood and covenant introduced? or in what relation do they stand to the Christian dispensation?" The answer is given in the three next chapters.—They supplied "*figures* for the time then present" (ix. 9); which trained the faithful to think aright of sin and its consequences, and by their very imperfection compelled men to look forward to a future system of spiritual and heavenly realities.

1. *Now of the things...*] Rather, "Now to sum up briefly the things **we are saying**." The following statement refers not only (*v.* 1) to what has been said in chh. v—vii, but also (*v.* 2) to what is coming in chh. viii—x.

We have such...] Rather, **Such a High-priest have we**:"—such as the prophetic word portrayed. Such a one we Christians *have* (cp. iv. 14).

is set] Rather, **sat down** (i. 3, x. 12).

the Majesty] Rather, **Majesty**. The "Throne of Majesty" loses nothing of its essential glory, though His session makes it relatively to us "the throne of grace" (iv. 16).

2. *A minister*] To whom is entrusted the care of God's heavenly Sanctuary, and the work of presenting to God all that the redeemed people of God bring to be offered (see on *v.* 3). Though He be seated at God's right hand, it is not as one who has no active duties.

the sanctuary] So in xiii. 11. In ix. 8, x. 19 it is rendered, *the holiest*. Compare also ix. 12, 24, 25 and Exod. xxix. 30.

the true tabernacle] This seems to correspond

3 For every high priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore *it is* of necessity that this man have somewhat also to offer.

4 For if he were on earth, he should not be a priest, seeing that [1]there are priests that offer gifts according to the law:

[1] Or, *they are priests.*

to the "Holy Place" (or, *first* Tabernacle). Similarly in ix. 11, 12, Christ enters into "the Sanctuary" by passing "through a greater and more perfect *Tabernacle* not made with hands." In both places, it would appear (cp. ix. 24), the "Tabernacle" corresponds to the Heaven in which the "myriads of angels" (xii. 22) worship, and the "Sanctuary" to the uncreated heaven of the "unapproachable light" in which God dwells (1 Tim. vi. 16).

pitched] The word is used in reference to the material heavens ("stretched out," as a tent) in Isai. xlii. 5.

3. *For*] This assigns a reason for the use of the term "minister" in *v.* 2. He is "seated," yet perpetually engaged in holy work. This Melchizedekan Priest *also* realizes whatever was presignified by the Aaronic high-priesthood: and every high-priest (ch. v. 1) is "appointed to offer **both** gifts and sacrifices," *on the behalf of the people and as their representative.* But precisely this is indicated by the term "ministry" (cp. *v.* 6). In ch. v. 1, in speaking specially of *human* high-priests, he had said, "to offer gifts and sacrifices *for sins*." Now that he is about to speak of the office of the heavenly High-priest (who had already established the New Covenant, under which "is no more offering for sin," x. 18), he omits the words "for sins." In *v.* 4 all is summed up in the word "gifts;" for such are all the "sacrifices," which the people of the New Covenant present through their heavenly High-priest; "gifts" offered by a grateful people. (Cp. "Thy people are free-will offerings," Ps. cx. 3.)

wherefore...] Rather, **whence it is necessary that this one also should have somewhat to offer**;" as, in fact, the word "minister" in *v.* 2 implied that He had.

to offer] Which He is *now* to offer, as "Minister" of the heavenly Sanctuary. Evidently this cannot refer to His "offering of Himself," which was made *once for all* on earth (vii. 27, ix. 26, 28, x. 10, 12, 14); and in virtue of which He entered in *once for all* into the heavenly Sanctuary (ix. 12): the covenant promise of "remission of sins" having been *once and for ever* definitely established (x. 16—18, xiii. 20). It must refer to His offering the "gifts and sacrifices" of His people; their prayers (iv. 16), their "sacrifices of praise" (xiii. 15), their works of love (xiii. 16; cp. Eph. v. 2); their oblation of themselves, their souls and bodies (Rom. vi. 13, xii. 1). They "who come unto God through Him," bringing such gifts, find Him at all times ready, as Minister of the Sanctuary, to "present" their gifts, hallowed by His own all-efficacious offering (compare on ch. v. 7) of "intercession" (vii. 25). See Additional Note.

4. *For if he*] Rather, **For if indeed He**" (or, according to another reading, "If, then, He"). The three verses, 4—6, are to be taken together, a colon being placed at the end of *v.* 5; and the "but" of *v.* 6 forming the antithesis to the "if indeed" of *v.* 4. It "necessarily follows," that our High-priest in that "true Tabernacle" has somewhat to offer; since otherwise that which was a leading feature of the Levitical system would have no corresponding heavenly reality. To enable the people to bring their offerings to God continually with acceptance, was the reason why the Aaronic priesthood and the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement were instituted. Now, therefore, that Jesus, having "offered Himself" on earth (as on the altar in the outer court of the Temple), has, by virtue of His blood, "purged" the heavenly things and places (ix. 23) and sate down on the throne of Glory in the Holy of Holies, has He no ministerial work to perform? Will any imagine that His people's gifts are now to be offered through the high-priest of the earthly Tabernacle? in which case the fact that "every (earthly) high-priest is appointed to offer gifts" instead of making the inference drawn in *v.* 3 a "necessary" one, would exclude its *possibility*. Not so. There is no such *interference* between His ministry and theirs; "FOR" they lie in infinitely distant planes. *If indeed* Jesus were yet on earth, no true atonement having as yet opened a way into the heavenly Sanctuary, **He would not even be a priest** at all: since the divinely appointed Levitical system would in that case continue in full force; discharging its appointed duty of testifying to the existence of that *real Tabernacle of God*, in which our High-priest is actually ministering. But, in fact, His true priesthood having now commenced, the typical system is ready to disappear (*v.* 13).

Obs. Here, as everywhere, the *forbearance* of the writer is very observable. For, if it might be said, that Christ "would not even" have been "a priest" here in the earthly tabernacle, with yet greater necessity did it follow, that in respect of "the true Tabernacle" of God, the sons of Aaron *were not even priests*. Instead, however, of drawing this inference, he proceeds to shew what end their divinely appointed ministry did actually subserve.

there are priests] Rather, "there are already **the** priests;"—the appointed priests. Many MSS. omit "priests," making the clause run: "since there are already those who offer."

5 Who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the tabernacle: for, See, saith he, *that* thou make all things according to the pattern shewed to thee in the mount.

6 But now hath he obtained a more excellent ministry, by how much also he is the mediator of a better [1]covenant, which was established upon better promises.

[1] Or, *testament.*

7 For if that first *covenant* had been faultless, then should no place have been sought for the second.

8 For finding fault with them, he saith, Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah:

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5. *Who*] Or, "Men that." While *v.* 4 admitted the exclusive prerogative of the Levitical priests to minister in the earthly Tabernacle, this verse shews what *the nature* of their ministry was.

serve unto...] Rather, **serve that which is a delineation** (ix. 23). Compare xiii. 10, "who *serve* the tabernacle." The tabernacle was only a diminutive outline sketch, which afforded a few hints regarding "the heavenly things (or, places, ix. 23)."

and shadow] Such an outline, dim and obscure, as is given by the *shadow* of an object.

admonished of God] As in Acts vii. 44; where the same passage is referred to.

pattern] Or, "model:" (cp. on Exod. xxv. 9, Acts vii. 44). The word supplies no ground for any inference respecting the *relative dimensions* of this pattern and the tabernacle which Moses was to erect; nor yet as to the nature of the "pattern,"—whether it were presented to the sight of Moses, or only to his mental eye. It is implied, however, that only *a representation* of heavenly things was furnished by it.

6. *But now*]—"now," as the case actually stands: in contrast with the supposition of *v.* 4. Cp. the "But now" of ix. 26, xi. 16.

by how much also] This is an additional way of exhibiting the transcendent superiority of Christ's "ministry." The measure of excellence supplied in *vv.* 4, 5—the difference between an earthly "shadow" and the heavenly reality—appealed more vividly to the reason and imagination. The one which is now to be given—the superiority of the *Covenant* which the heavenly High-priest administers over that which was maintained by the Aaronic priesthood—is more practically impressive.

The Covenant, and the Priesthood by which it is established and sustained, are correlatives. In vii. 22 the superiority of the Christian Covenant was measured by that of the Priesthood, *as determined by* Ps. cx. 4. Here the superiority of Christ's Ministry is measured by that of the Covenant, *as determined by* Jer. xxxi. 31—34.

the mediator] who stands between the parties to the Covenant as one who is alike interested in both, and who gives assurance to both that the Covenant shall be fulfilled. Through His one offering of Himself on earth, human nature was restored to the favour of God. Through His perpetual intercession in heaven, sanctifying grace is poured down upon all "who come unto God by Him."

established] Or, **enacted**:—so that it was the *law*, by which God's dealings with His people were defined; the *constitution*, under which His people were to live (cp. vii. 11).

upon...] on the basis of them. The promises which were directly attached to the Sinaitic Covenant had reference to Israel's occupation of the land of Canaan, and were conditional on their observance of the Law. Those of the New Covenant provided for man's restoration to full communion with God, and (which is especially to be noted) guaranteed that *power* to observe the Law should be bestowed on the faithful.

7. *faultless*] Or, without room for blame. *In itself*, indeed, it was so; "holy and just and good" (Rom. vii. 12), "tending unto life" (*ib.* 10). But in respect of sinful man, it was defective, and "found to tend unto death" (*ib.*). If, then, it was to be blamed, the *ground* of blame was not with it, but with them (see *v.* 8).

sought] by that "everlasting love" of God, from which the New Covenant proceeded (Jer. xxxi. 3).

the second] Rather, **a second.**

8. *For*] This refers to the last clause of *v.* 7, of which the full force is; "Then would not place be sought, *as it now is*, for a second."

with them] the people. "Not with *it*, but with *them*," says St Chrysostom. The censure is contained in the clause, "*because* THEY continued not in My Covenant" (*v.* 9).

make...with] Lit. "accomplish...towards." The verb is not the one which is used here and in *v.* 10 by the LXX. (though it is used by them in Jer. xxxiv. 8, 15). The variation, however, is intentional, since the Septuagintal word is retained in x. 16, 17.

new covenant] Luke xxii. 20, 1 Cor. xi. 25.

9 Not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord.

10 For this *is* the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will [a] [†] put my laws into their mind, and write them [‖] in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people:

11 And they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest.

12 For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more.

13 In that he saith, A new *covenant*, he hath made the first old. Now that which decayeth and waxeth old *is* ready to vanish away.

[a] Jer. 31. 33.
[†] Gr. *give.*
[‖] Or, *upon.*

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9. *with*] So the Hebrew of Jer. xxxi. 32. The Greek here (as in LXX.) is "for," or "unto" (and so also in *v.* 10).

they...and I] Both the pronouns are to be emphasized.

continued not] A very gentle expression indeed. For 900 years they had been constantly guilty of shameful violations of the Covenant.

regarded them not] Or, "withdrew my regard from them." Instead of shewing the tender care for them which He had done, He treated them with cold, *unconcerned*, severity; as an injured husband might see fit to deal with an unfaithful wife. They had broken their vows; but He still retained His rights over them, and (in His marvellous love) He would exercise those rights with sternness (see Additional Note).

10. *will make*] Lit. "will covenant."

after those days] After the commencement of the "days" spoken of in *v.* 8.

I will put] Lit. "putting" (and so the Alexandrine LXX.). We may render, **Putting my laws into their mind, on their heart also will I write them.** Cp. 2 Cor. iii. 3.

will be to them a God] "Giving them" (as Dr Brown observes) "every thing which beings like men can receive from such a Being as GOD."

11. *neighbour*] Or (correct reading), "**fellow-citizen.**" Under the new Covenant all should be "taught of God" (Isai. liv. 13).

12. *For*] The promises contained in *vv.* 10, 11 form the *substance* of the Covenant. That which is here added supplies the ground on which such a Covenant could be established. Before they can "know God," they must first be graciously "known of Him" (cp. Exod. xxxiii. 12—17); so that all which separates between God and man may be removed. Comp. 1 John ii. 12, 13, 2 Cor. iv. 6.

merciful] Or, "propitious;" ready to bestow forgiveness.

unrighteousness] Lit. "unrighteousnesses;" unrighteous acts.

their sins and their iniquities] So again in x. 17. The words "and their iniquities" (which are not found in the LXX. or in the Hebrew) may embody a reference to Exod. xxxiv. 9.

The fact that this remission of sin is specified as characteristic of the New Covenant implied that no such provision had been made by the Old (cp. Acts xiii. 38, 39).

13. *made...old*] Or, "declared...old." Though we are not (as the next clause shews) to introduce here the technical sense of "antiquate," yet that meaning is plainly pointed to.

decayeth...] Rather, "becometh old (cp. i. 11, Isai. li. 6) and decayeth with age."

ready to vanish away] Or, "nigh unto perishing." The word which corresponds to "perishing" is, according to its Septuagintal use, a very strong one; being frequently used for "ruin," "desolation," "destruction" (see Note below).

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. VIII. 3, 9, 13.

3. Cp. Athanasius, 'c. Arian.' II. 7: "When was He made High-priest of our profession, but when, having offered Himself for us, He raised His body from the dead? And *now* He Himself *brings near* those who approach by faith in Him, and *offers* (προσφέρει) them to the Father, ransoming all and making reconciliation (as in Heb. ii. 17) to God-ward on behalf of all."

9. The view, which is taken above, shews how we may reconcile the two renderings of בעל which are given by the LXX. in Jer. xxxi. 32, iii. 14 (see the notes on those pas-

sages); namely, ἀμελέω, "to disregard (or, slight)," and κατακυριεύω, "to act as lord over." When the injured husband withdraws the manifestation of his kindness and uses his rightful power in the way of discipline, he becomes for the time simply "lord." See Hos. ii. 8—16; where the *Baäli* of *v.* 16 corresponds in idea to the בַּעַל of Jeremiah. Compare also Ezek. xvi. 42, 43, 59, 60—63.

13. The expression ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ recalls the κατάρας ἐγγύς of vi. 8. It is observable that the two nouns occur together in 2 K. xxii. 19, "when thou heardest what I spake against this place (Jerusalem) and against the inhabitants thereof, that they should become *a desolation and a curse* (εἰς ἀφανισμὸν καὶ εἰς κατάραν)." The word ἀφανισμός is also used in Jer. xxv. 11, "this whole land shall be *a desolation;*" and Dan. ix. 26 (Theod.), "*desolations* are determined."

When the prophecy in Jer. xxxi was delivered, the seventy years' captivity, spoken of in ch. xxv, had actually begun (see xxix. 10). Although, therefore, the Temple was still standing, it was "nigh unto disappearing."

When the writer of this Epistle quoted Jer. xxxi, the second Temple was, in like manner, still standing, but drawing near to the crisis foretold in Dan. ix.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *The description of the rites and bloody sacrifices of the law,* 11 *far inferior to the dignity and perfection of the blood and sacrifice of Christ.*

THEN verily the first *covenant* had also [1] ordinances of divine service, and a worldly sanctuary.

[1] Or, *ceremonies.*

2 For there was a tabernacle made; the first, wherein *was* the candlestick, and the table, and the shewbread; which is called [1] the sanctuary.

[1] Or, *holy.*

3 And after the second veil, the tabernacle which is called the Holiest of all;

4 Which had the golden censer,

CHAP. IX. In the preceding chapter the apostle had spoken of Christ as now seated in the heavenly Sanctuary, ministering on His people's behalf under a new Covenant; which had for its basis the declaration, "Their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more." Evidently, if this were the case, the Jewish priesthood, sanctuary, sacrifices, and Days of Atonement (however precious in time past) were no longer of any worth. So serious a charge, alleged against a divinely appointed system, required to be more fully substantiated. This is done in the following discussion, ix. 1—x. 18; at the close of which there is a recurrence to the prophecy of Jeremiah. In this section it is shewn, not only that the Tabernacle arrangements, while typical of heavenly things, testified to their own imperfection, but also that their inherent "unprofitableness" had been distinctly stated in the 40th Psalm.

1. *Then verily...*] Rather (correct reading), **Howbeit, that first also**:—the first *Covenant;* which had been spoken of immediately before, in viii. 13. Although it was soon to be swept away, yet it had been provided by Divine wisdom to answer certain valuable ends.

ordinances] To which every worshipper was bound to conform.

a worldly sanctuary] Rather, **its sanctuary pertaining to this world**; belonging wholly to this visible, temporary, order of things (cp. Tit. ii. 12 "worldly").

The two points here introduced are treated of in the inverse order; the *sanctuary* in *vv.* 2—5, the *service* in *vv.* 6—10.

2. *tabernacle*] The writer nowhere mentions the Temple. He is speaking of the Levitical system, and will take it at its best;—as it was in the time of Moses (see on *v.* 4). The existing Temple had neither the glory of the Shekinah, nor so much as an ark, in it.

made] Or, as in iii. 4, "built." The tabernacle is first mentioned as a whole; and then its two portions are referred to separately.

the shewbread] Lit. "the laying out (or, setting forth) of loaves;" in two rows, Lev. xxiv. 6.

sanctuary] Or, "Holy Place."

3. *the second veil*] The *first* veil being that which hung at the entrance of the Holy Place (Exod. xxvi. 36).

4. *golden censer*] Rather, *golden* **altar of incense**. So the Itala ("altare"), and so Calvin, Estius, Owen, Lünemann, Bleek, and Delitzsch. The A. V. followed the Vulgate ("thuribulum"), as also did Aquinas, Luther, Bengel, &c.; influenced, no doubt, by the fact that the altar of incense stood in "the Holy Place." This fact, indeed, was, as Josephus says ('J. W.' v. 5), "notorious to all men;" nor does our text assert the contrary. It only makes the altar *belong to* the Most Holy Place; which is expressly affirmed in 1 K. vi. 22 (not correctly rendered in A. V.), "the altar *that belongeth to the oracle.*" In Exod. xl. 5, also, this altar is made to stand in a direct relation to the ark

and the ark of the covenant overlaid round about with gold, wherein *was* the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant;

5 And over it the cherubims of glory shadowing the mercyseat; of which we cannot now speak particularly.

6 Now when these things were thus ordained, the priests went always into the first tabernacle, accomplishing the service *of God*.

7 But into the second *went* the high priest alone once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself, and *for* the errors of the people:

8 The Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing:

("before the Ark of Testimony"); cp. Rev. viii. 3. On the Day of Atonement the altar of incense was connected with the mercy-seat in a very marked way, (1) by the fact that the "blood of the sin-offering of atonement" was sprinkled on both of them (Lev. xvi. 15—19; cp. Exod. xxx. 10); (2) by the fact that "the censer" from off it (so the words imply) was taken into the Holiest (Lev. xvi. 12).

It seems incredible then that this altar should not be mentioned in *vv.* 2—4; while the difficulty attaching to its being spoken of as belonging to the Most Holy Place is scarcely appreciable. Though locally situate in the Holy Place, it did *in its nature and idea* appertain to the Most Holy; and on the Day of Atonement was (as we have seen) distinctly associated with the Ark of the Covenant. (See Additional Note.)

round about] "in every part;" inside as well as outside (Exod. xxv. 11).

golden pot] So the LXX. in Exod. xvi. 33. That this and Aaron's rod were placed inside the ark, might be inferred from Exod. xvi. 34 and Num. xvii. 10, in which it is commanded that they should be put "before the Testimony;" for this "Testimony" (the Law on the Two Tables) was "put into the ark" (Exod. xxv. 16). The circumstance that there was nothing in the ark, when it was placed in Solomon's Temple (1 K viii. 9), except the Two Tables, is mentioned as if it were something remarkable.—Was it not also *significant?* That outwardly gorgeous temple was without the two great memorial symbols of Divine energy which had existed in the lowly tabernacle.

5. *of glory*] According to Jewish tradition there was a visible glory—the Shekinah—resting upon the Cherubim. According to Jerome, God's "dwelling upon the cherubim" was simply a fact revealed to, and to be apprehended by, faith. It would seem, however, from Lev. xvi. 2, that there was some visible appearance on the Day of Atonement.

shadowing] Rather, **overshadowing**. Their uplifted wings and bowed heads indicated the mysterious sanctity of the "Mercy-seat;" which was the very heart of the Holy of Holies, the meeting-point of God and man (Exod. xxv. 22). The word rendered "mercy-seat" is literally "propitiatory" (cp. Rom. iii. 25, where the same word is used).

Obs. The tables of *the Law*, and the *Mercy-seat* surmounting them, correspond to the promises of the New Covenant mentioned in ch. viii. 10, 12. The first, "Putting *my laws* into their mind, on their heart also will I write them" (on the "fleshy tablets of their heart," 2 Cor. iii. 3), is surmounted by the second, "I will be *merciful* to their unrighteousnesses."

particularly] That is, severally, or, in detail.

6. *went...into*] Literally it is, "Now, these things having been thus arranged, the priests *go in;*" and similarly in *v.* 7, "offereth;" in *v.* 8, "hath not been made...is standing;" in *v.* 9, "are offered." These shew that the writer transfers himself mentally to the Tabernacle period. It is more convenient, however, to retain the past tense in English.

the service of God] Rather, **the services**; the various acts of their ministry, such as lighting the lamps and burning the incense.

7. *alone*] without attendants. Not even a priest was allowed to enter the Holy Place while the High-priest was making atonement (Lev. xvi. 17).

once] Upon one day only. On that day he made two entrances: *first*, with the incense and the blood of the bullock *for himself*, and then, with the blood of the goat, *for the* **ignorances** (cp. v. 2) *of the people.*

offered] Sprinkling it upon, and before, the mercy-seat (Lev. xvi. 14, 15).

8. *The Holy Ghost*] who spake by Moses.

signifying] Clearly indicating (xii. 27).

made manifest] The Old Testament saints had access by faith to the favour and grace of God, and the tabernacle services assisted them in drawing near to Him. But the veil, which was drawn over the mystery of Redemption, was not removed until the true High-priest had come and effected a real atonement.

was yet standing] Lit. "as yet had standing;" or, retained its divinely appointed status. The services of the Aaronic priesthood were

9 Which *was* a figure for the time then present, in which were offered both gifts and sacrifices, that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience;

10 *Which stood* only in meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal [1]ordinances, imposed *on them* until the time of reformation.

[1] Or, *rites* or, *ceremonies.*

11 But Christ being come an high priest of good things to come, by a

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performed in "the first tabernacle," the Holy Place. These depended for their validity on the observances of the Day of Atonement; but those observances intimated most clearly that the way into the Holiest was not yet "made manifest." So far was the Aaronic priesthood from affording to Israel direct access to the "throne of grace" in Heaven, that even the high-priest himself—the "called of God" (ch. v. 4)—was not allowed to enter the symbolic "Holy of Holies" except for two short intervals on one day in each year; when he entered (Jewish tradition says) with fear and trembling, bearing with him sacrificial blood, which had no power to appease the conscience. That "first tabernacle," then, testified that admission to God's presence was *not yet granted.* At the same time, since God Himself had ordained this ceremonial system, it supplied ground for hoping that a complete reconciliation between God and man would in due time take place.

9. *Which*] Or, "Which indeed." This assigns a reason why nothing better could be effected during "the first tabernacle." It was but an acted parable; useful as answering certain disciplinary and prophetic purposes, but incapable of cleansing the conscience.

a figure] Rather, **a parable** (cp. xi. 19); a system of analogical teaching.

the time then present] The "then" is justified by our having used the past tense of the verbs (see on *v.* 6). Lit. "which indeed is a parable for the time present." The meaning of this '*present time*' is ascertained by the contrasted '*time of reformation*' in *v.* 10; according to which it must denote the Levitical period (see Additional Note).

in which] Or, "throughout which." So the Received Text, the Itala, and the Peshito. Others (adopting a well-supported, but perhaps less probable, reading); "in accordance with which (parable);" implying that *ceremonial* sacrifices were in keeping with a *symbolic* tabernacle.

him that...] Whether the ministering priest (cp. viii. 5), or the worshipper whose offering he presented (cp. *v.* 14).

the conscience] Not even the rites of the Day of Atonement, much less the ordinary services, could heal the wounded conscience, or give an assurance of perfect reconciliation with God. They effected what was necessary for the maintenance of an Israelite's *corporate privileges;* and, taken in combination with God's other declarations concerning Himself, they supplied him with a *good hope* of forgiveness, but no more. Cp. on x. 3.

10. *Which stood only...*] Rather (correct reading), "**connected** only with meats and drinks, and divers washings,—carnal ordinances imposed until, &c.:"—the term "carnal ordinances" being in apposition with the "gifts and sacrifices" of *v.* 9. The ceremonial law kept men's thoughts revolving upon material things, as (1) the sacrificial "meats and drinks," of which the priests and people partook; and (2) the "divers washings," enjoined on the priests before they offered sacrifice (Exod. xxx. 19—21), or required in case of defilement contracted by persons or things (Lev. xi. 25, 32).

imposed] Lying on them like a heavy yoke (cp. Acts xv. 10).

reformation] Strictly, "rectification:" the setting things right which have gone wrong. Here the thing to be "rectified" was the relation in which fallen man stands to God.

11, 12. *being come*] Having at last *arrived;* after He had been so long expected (comp. Isai. lvi. 1, lxii. 11). The name "Christ" points to His being the reality, of which the "anointed" priest (Lev. xvi. 32) was the typical prophecy (*v.* 14).

of good things...] Or, "of the good things that were to come" (comp. x. 1). From the beginning these "good things" had been *designed* for man. Prophets had announced their approach (cp. Isai. lii. 7, "bringeth glad tidings of *good things*," LXX.). Christ came to procure and dispense them. They were the things *which He administered as High-priest;*—forgiveness, sanctification, and eternal life.

by a greater...] This and the first part of *v.* 12 are to be read together, as dependent on the clause "entered in..." "Christ..., through a greater and more perfect Tabernacle, **and (not by means of** the blood of goats and calves, but) **by means of** His own blood, entered in...having obtained..." He "*entered in* once into the Holy Place *through a greater Tabernacle, having obtained* eternal redemption *by means of His own blood.*" The "Tabernacle not made with hands" (cp. Acts vii. 48) appears to be best referred (with Lünemann and Delitzsch) to the heavens, *through* which "the Great High Priest passed" (iv. 14; cp. viii. 2, and *v.* 24 below). A large number of commentators, however, both ancient and modern, understand it of our

greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building;

12 Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption *for us*.

13 For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh:

14 How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without [1] spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?

[1] Or, *fault*.

15 And for this cause he is the mediator of the new testament, that

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Lord's human nature, comparing x. 20 (so Chrys., Aug., Theodoret; Calvin, Estius, Owen, Bengel, and others).

of this building] Rather, **belonging to this creation**;—to this creation, which is all of it "made subject to vanity" (Rom. viii. 19—22).

12. *goats and calves*] sacrificed on the Day of Atonement (*v.* 13; Lev. xvi. 14, 15).

once] **once for all** (*vv.* 26, 28).

obtained] by His obedience unto death (*v.* 15; Matt. xx. 28; Eph. i. 7).

eternal redemption] A *recovery* of man's forfeited inheritance (*v.* 15; cp. Eph. i. 14); and such a recovery of it as would *secure it for ever*.

Obs. The word for "redemption" (not quite the same as in *v.* 15) is the one used in Lev. xxv. 23—29, of the purchasing back land or house which had been parted with under the pressure of poverty. Man, who, as a child of God, had been heir of "a house eternal in the heavens" (2 Cor. v. 1), had parted with his privilege. The title, forfeited by sin, was won back by Christ's offering of Himself;—a sacrifice of infinite worth (*v.* 14). Cp. Hos. xiii. 14; Rom. viii. 19, 23.

13—28. The remainder of the chapter is an expansion of the statement which has been made in *vv.* 11, 12:—the fact that our redemption was effected by *the blood* of Christ being illustrated in *vv.* 13—22; while *vv.* 23—28 dwell on the eternal efficacy of His *one* sacrifice.

13. *ashes*] Used in the "water of purification" (Num. xix. 17—19), which is called by the LXX. "water of sprinkling" (in *vv.* 9, 13, 20, 21).

the unclean] Or, "them that have been defiled."

to the purifying] Lit. "unto the purity."

of the flesh] So that a man who had "touched *a dead body*" (Num. xix. 11—16) was no longer debarred from entering the congregation. The disqualification created by the Law might be removed by a legal rite; yet such rite had no intrinsic value. The real purpose of the enactment was to drive men to think of the need there was of being cleansed from the defilement of sin (of which *death* was the fruit), and to awaken in them a hope of God's willingness so to purify them.

14. *of Christ*] Lit. "of the Christ;" of Him who was *anointed* to His priestly office by the Holy Spirit (Acts x. 38: cp. Luke v. 18).

through the eternal Spirit] The anointing of that Spirit (whose energy is the "Fire of love") was as a flame, amidst which He, in the freedom of filial obedience (ch. v. 8, 9), "offered Himself up to God." By that act of holy love He was evidenced to be perfect and *without spot* (cp. Num. xix. 2). For further remarks see Note below.

your conscience] Many authorities have "our." Tischendorf and Tregelles retain "your."

dead works] Works tainted with the corruption which entered man's soul when he lost his love of "the living God." The fact of such corruption is testified by the conscience, whose declarations none can set aside. "No man can restore his own soul to life" (Ps. xxii. 29). Comp. ch. vi. 1.—There may be an *allusion* to the ceremonial pollution noticed on *v.* 13.

to serve] Or, "to worship" (compare *v.* 9, x. 2, xii. 28). The nature of this "rational service" is explained in Rom. xii. 1. They only can offer it duly who have been "sanctified" (cp. Lev. x. 2) through Christ.

the living God] For communion with whom the Old Testament saints thirsted so intensely (Ps. xlii. 2); longing for the time when the hidden mystery, which separated them from the mercy-seat, would be laid open, and full access be granted them to Him "with whom is the fountain of Life" (Ps. xxxvi. 9).

15. *for this cause*] Rather, **by reason of this**;—because of the purifying efficacy of His self-oblation. He was thus qualified to act as Mediator of "the New Covenant" (viii. 8); to secure its perpetual validity. For His sake God can now "be merciful" (viii. 12) to the sins of His people. Through Him the Holy Spirit is sent down to "write" God's laws "on their hearts" (viii. 10).

new testament] Rather, **new covenant**, as in viii. 8, xii. 24. It is evident from x. 15—17 that the passage, which has been quoted

by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions *that were* under the first testament, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance.

16 For where a testament *is*, there must also of necessity [1] be the death of the testator.

17 For a testament *is* of force after men are dead: otherwise it is

[1] Or *be brought in.*

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from Jeremiah, dominates the whole discussion in chh. viii—x. The use of the term "Mediator" of itself shews that we have here to do with the Hebrew idea of a "covenant," not with the Roman idea of a "testament." A mediator is the proper guardian of a covenant (see Gal. iii. 15—20), but has no place in regard to a testament. Neither again does the death of a testator possess any of the sacrificial character which is referred to in *vv.* 15—22 (see further in Note below).

that by means of...] Rather; *that*, **a death having taken place for...** The indefiniteness of the expression is suited to the mysterious nature of the act which is referred to. Christ "tasted death on behalf of every man" (ii. 9). He "died for all;" and so in His death "all (in effect) died" (2 Cor. v. 14, 15). By that "death" the accuser's power was abolished (ii. 15). The penalty due from man for his "transgressions" of God's covenant (Hos. vi. 7) was now paid: and, as regarded Israel in particular, there was "a redemption of the transgressions that were under the first Covenant;" that is, *a ransom*, which more than compensated for those transgressions, and so procured their *remission*. Comp. Eph. i. 7, Col. i. 14; in both of which "redemption" is made co-ordinate with "the *remission* of sins" (as in *v.* 22 below); the ground of the redemption in both passages being "the blood of Christ" (comp. Matt. xx. 28).

under the first]—for which that first Covenant supplied no real expiation. Though "passed over through the forbearance of God," they were not expiated until the second Covenant was established (Rom. iii. 25, 26).

are called] Or, "have been called;"—made "partakers of the heavenly calling" (iii. 1). Cp. 1 Thess. ii. 12.

might receive...] Rather, "**may receive the promise of the eternal inheritance.**" To "receive the promise," here means, to have it fulfilled to them.

eternal inheritance] The "inheritance" (1 K. viii. 36) assigned to Israel under the provisions of the first Covenant was held by them "but a little while" (Isai. lxiii. 17, 18). The inheritance promised in the New Covenant is (like the Covenant itself, ch. xiii. 20) eternal. Cp. 1 Pet. i. 4.

16. *a testament*] Rather, **a covenant.** The statement here made is to be taken (no less than that in *v.* 22) as relative to the subject under discussion; in other words, as referring to covenants between God and man.

there must...] Rather, **there must needs be alleged** (or, supposed) **the death of him that made the covenant.** The term rendered "alleged" is wide enough to include the *representative* deaths by means of sacrifice, which accompanied the elder covenants, as well as that actual death which sealed the New Covenant (1 Cor. xi. 25). See Additional Note.

When God engages to bless sinful man, He recedes from the claims of eternal justice, which has laid the sinner under sentence of *death*. Every such covenant engagement, then, must from the first have rested on the foreseen death of a Mediator to come, who should be God as well as man. And, in fact, the earlier covenants were all accompanied by intimations of the necessity of such a death. So the covenant of "natural mercies" given to Noah was preceded by sacrifice (Gen. viii. 20—22). Isaac, with whom God purposed to establish His great covenant of blessing (Gen. xviii. 19), was rescued from death by the intervention of a divinely provided victim (Gen. xxii. 8—18). The covenant, in virtue of which Israel held possession of Canaan, was ratified by sacrifice (*vv.* 19, 20, below). They, whom God shall gather to Himself at the last day as His saints, are they who have "made a covenant with" Him "by sacrifice" (Ps. l. 5; see on *v.* 17).

In the death of Christ, as Mediator, both the parties to the Covenant had an interest. In that Jesus was, and represented, man, He endured death as the penalty of human sin. In that He was, and represented, God, He paid a ransom, which was sufficient to recover man from death and to open for him the gate of everlasting life.

17. *a testament...*] Rather, **a covenant is stedfast that is made over the dead.** So in Ps. l. 5 the strict rendering is "that make covenant with Me *over sacrifice*" (LXX. "over sacrifices"); the sacrifices being the presupposition, on which the ratification of the covenant proceeded.

otherwise...] Rather, **whereas it hath no force when he that made the covenant liveth.** The "living God" could not, as such, enter into a covenant "of life and peace" with sinful man. He had laid man under sentence of death. No created being could roll away that sentence; for none could "take away the sin of the world." A covenant that promised eternal life to man appeared, therefore, impossible:—unless there could be One in whose person the Godhead and

of no strength at all while the testator liveth.

18 Whereupon neither the first *testament* was ‖dedicated without blood.

‖Or, *purified.*

19 For when Moses had spoken every precept to all the people according to the law, he took the blood of calves and of goats, with water, and ‖scarlet wool, and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book, and all the people,

‖Or, *purple.*

20 Saying, This *is* the blood of the testament which God hath enjoined unto you.

21 Moreover he sprinkled with blood both the tabernacle, and all the vessels of the ministry.

22 And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission.

23 *It was* therefore necessary that

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manhood should meet together (cp. Note on ch. vii. 22); who, suffering death as Mediator, should, *as man*, endure the penalty of man's sin; *as God*, "purchase to Himself a Church by His own blood" (Acts xx. 28). See Additional Note.

That this is the true interpretation of *v.* 17 (resting on the idea of a *Covenant*, not of a *testament*), will be made plain by the three next verses, which *follow upon it in the way of illustration.*

18. *Whereupon...*] Rather, **For which cause neither was the first (covenant).**

dedicated] Or, "inaugurated;" solemnly and formally instituted. In x. 20 the word is rendered, "consecrated."

19. *according to...*] Each separate command was recited by Moses in conformity with the Law which had been communicated to him by God (Exod. xxiv. 3). Thereupon the people promised obedience. But this assent of theirs was not adequate ground for the Covenant to stand upon. The basis on which its ratification rested was provided in the sacrifices that were offered afterwards (*v.* 6).

of calves and of goats] corresponding severally to the "peace-offerings" and the "burnt-offerings" mentioned in Exod. xxiv. 5.

with...hyssop] These accessories are not mentioned in Exod. xxiv. But scarlet wool and hyssop are mentioned in Lev. xix. 6, 7as employed in the sprinkling of blood; and the water was useful for keeping the blood fluid.

the book, and] Rather, *the book* **itself** *and.* We are told in Exod. xxiv. 6, 7, that after Moses had sprinkled *one half* of the sacrificial blood on the altar, he took the book and read it; as if the book had been on the altar. Thus the altar with the book upon it represented God's Justice; which could enter into covenant relations with sinful man only by means of an atonement. The blood sprinkled on the people represented them as sharers in the atoning death.

20. *the blood of the testament*] Rather, *the blood of the* **covenant**; as in x. 29, Exod. xxiv. 8. See also ch. xiii. 20, Zech. ix. 11 (cp. Matt. xxvi. 28, 1 Cor. xi. 25).

which ... enjoined] This refers to "the covenant" (cp. Josh. vii. 11, Ps. cxi. 9). It brings into prominence the specific nature of the Sinaitic Covenant, as *a Law* whose promises were conditional upon the people's obedience (cp. Gal. iii. 17).

God] In Exod. xxiv. 8, "the Lord;" (cp. John vi. 45). "The change avoids any confusion that might have arisen from the evangelical sense of 'the Lord'" (Delitzsch).

unto you] Or, "in regard to you."

21. The Tabernacle, as the abiding symbol of God's being in covenant with the people, was also sprinkled with blood. This, though not actually stated, may be inferred from what is said in Exodus and Leviticus. For

(1) A comparison of Exod. xl. 9—15 and Lev. viii. 10, 12 shews that the consecration of the Tabernacle ran closely in parallelism with that of Aaron; and we know from Lev. viii. 30 that Aaron was sprinkled with blood.

And (2) on the Day of Atonement (when, in fact, a renewal of the original consecration took place, cp. on vii. 27, 28) the High-priest was directed to "make atonement" for the Tabernacle (Lev. xvi. 16); which was done by the sprinkling of blood.

Josephus ('Ant.' III. 8) says expressly, that Moses sprinkled not only Aaron, but the Tabernacle also, with both oil and blood.

he sprinkled...both the] Rather, *he* **in like manner** *sprinkled...the.*

22. *And almost*] The adverb probably qualifies both the clauses. "*One might almost say, that* all purifications are, according to the Law, made with blood, *and that* apart from shedding of blood no remission (or, forgiveness) takes place." For instances of "purification" made by blood, see Lev. xii—xvi; for cases of "forgiveness," Lev. iv, v.

An exception to the rule occurs in Lev. v. 11—13, where a needy person is allowed to present fine flour as a "trespass-offering." But even here a portion was to be burnt on the Altar of Burnt-offering; which was always associated with blood.

shedding of blood...remission] Luke xxii. 20.

23. *necessary*] Both because it was so prescribed by the Law, and because such a provision was in itself fitting (see on *vv.* 16,

the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these.

24 For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, *which are* the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us:

25 Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others;

26 For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.

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17); not, certainly, because the rites themselves had any cleansing virtue (x. 4, 11). Their value arose simply from their being *appointed* by God (Lev. xvii. 11); who was pleased to accept the blood of the slain animal as a vehicle of atonement for the offerer's soul: this efficacy being assigned to it because it typified the blood of the One true Sacrifice for sin.

patterns] Rather, **delineations** (the same word as in viii. 5, "example").

with these] such things as the blood of goats and calves (*v.* 19).

heavenly things] Or, "heavenly places" (as in Eph. i. 20). The relations of Heaven and earth had been disturbed by man's sin. He, who is pure light, without any admixture of darkness (1 John i. 5), had (unchanged in Himself) become in regard to sinful man "a consuming fire" (cp. ch. xii. 18, 29). The Holy Love of God could shine forth in its serene brightness only after that real atonement for sin, which was made by Christ.

better sacrifices] The plural denoting what we should express by, *a better kind of sacrifice.*

24. *is not entered*] Rather, **entered not** (as in *v.* 12).

figures] typical images; differing from the archetypes not less widely than a photograph of the sun differs from the sun.

heaven itself] The heaven of the Divine glory (see on viii. 2).

now] So that *the present dispensation* is one continuous Day of full and perfect Atonement; since God and man now meet together without any cloud between them.

to appear] personally, as our Advocate (see Note below). The Aaronic high-priest entered the Holy of Holies only under a cloud of incense; as one who was unworthy of gazing even on the typical cherubic throne.

25. *Nor yet*] Rather, **And not** (as in *v.* 12;—*vv.* 24, 25 being precisely parallel to *vv.* 11, 12). It was needful that the heavenly places should be purified with a nobler kind of sacrifice (*v.* 23): and so they have been; "for" (*v.* 24) Christ has entered into heaven itself, reconciling man with God; "and" (*v.* 25) His atoning sacrifice is not one that needs to be repeated. The annually recurring entrances into the typical sanctuary were to have no place in the antitype. They were, indeed, due only to the essential imperfection of the type (see on *v.* 8). The Aaronic high-priest, having obtained a glimpse of the possibility of atonement, retired from the Holy of Holies. But, when Jesus entered heaven, it was to stand before God uninterruptedly on our behalf, "and not that He should offer Himself often;" His one self-oblation on the cross (*vv.* 14, 28, x. 10, 12) possessing an efficacy which extends to the whole race of man to the end of time.

with (Lev. xvi. 3) *blood of others*] Or, "with blood not his own:"—so that he cannot rest any claim of personal desert upon it.

26. *For then...*] If His one sacrifice be not available for all coming time, how is it that all God's saints, "from the foundation of the world" (Luke xi. 50), have approached God acceptably (ch. xi. 4) in the use of sacrifices? These were of themselves valueless, and derived their worth simply from being anticipations of the One true Oblation. If His sacrifice had such power in past time as "foreordained" (cp. 1 Pet. i. 20), much more, now that it is actually accomplished, will it suffice for all future ages.

but now]—as the case actually stands.

in the end of the world] Lit. "at the consummation of the ages;" that "fulness of time," towards which all former ages had been converging; in which all things in heaven and earth were to be gathered up into unity in Christ (Eph. i. 10, Col. i. 20).

appeared] Rather, **been manifested** (comp. Rom. xvi. 26; Col. i. 26; 1 Tim. iii. 16; 1 Pet. i. 20; 1 John iii. 5); coming forth from the bosom of the Father to reveal the mysterious purpose which had been "kept unuttered during countless ages" (Rom. xvi. 25; Eph. iii. 9).

to put away sin] Lit. "for the disannulling (as in vii. 18) of sin." His perfect obedience not only abrogated "*the law* of sin," which had prevailed over the whole of Adam's race; but had real value to procure the abolition of the *condemnatory power* of sin, in respect of all those who are identified with Him by loyal obedience.

sacrifice of himself] So that He was priest and victim in one: priest, in His act of self-

27 And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment:

28 So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.

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consecration; victim, in His endurance of a penal death for sins not His own.

27. *as*] Rather, "forasmuch as." Men have but one probationary life assigned them to do their work in. At death each man's work has finality stamped upon it; though its character will not be made manifest until the Day of Judgment. So too was it with Him who was "made in all things like unto His brethren" (ii. 17). Christ's work of redemption was definitely completed by His self-oblation; though the nature of its results cannot yet be made manifest. But at His second appearing the unspeakable grandeur of that work will shine forth in the salvation of all His faithful servants.

it is appointed] The verb properly belongs to *both* the terms which follow. Lit. "there is in reserve (cp. 2 Tim. iv. 8, Col. i. 5) for men once to die, and after that **judgment**."

28. *So*] Rather (correct reading), **So also**.

Christ] "The Christ;" Priest and King. His first coming into the world (x. 5) was to offer His one atoning sacrifice, as Priest. He is now carrying on His mediatorial work in heaven, "a Priest upon His throne." When He re-appears, it will be to bestow His kingly gift of salvation.

was...offered] In the passive. Over against the death that is in reserve for men lies the one offering; demanded by divine Justice, provided by divine Love.

to bear the sins of many] A quotation from Isai. liii. 12. Upon the cross Christ "bare in His own body" the burden of the collective "sin of the world" (cp. 1 Pet. ii. 24, John i. 29). Now He is engaged in dispensing the virtue of His atonement to individual souls;—whose characteristic is that they "look (or, wait) for Him" (Phil. iii. 20). Cp. Isai. xxv. 9: "Lo, this is our God; we have waited for Him, and He will save us."

shall he appear] As in Isai. lxvi. 5. Every eye of man, indeed, shall *see* Him (Rev. i. 7); but "to them that wait for Him He shall appear *unto salvation;*" the completer, as He was the author (ii. 10, v. 9), of their salvation. Cp. Col. iii. 4, 1 Pet. v. 4.

without sin] Standing wholly *apart from it:* no longer, as at His first coming, "made sin for us" (2 Cor. v. 21).

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. IX. 4, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 24.

4. The word *θυμιατήριον* is used as the designation of the Incense-altar by Philo (I. 504), and Josephus ('Ant.' III. vi. 8; 'J. W.' V. v. 5); as also by Clem. Alex., and Origen. A different word (*πυρεῖον*, "fire-pan") is used by the LXX. for "censer" in Lev. xvi. 12. The adjective *χρυσοῦν* is applied to the Altar of Incense in Exod. xl. 5.

9. As regards the preposition *εἰς*, it may be either (1) *for;*—as in *εἰς ἐνιαυτόν*, "for a (whole) year" (Hom. 'Il.' XIX. 32), or (2) *unto;*—a parable designed for those who lived before Christ came.

The *κατὰ* of the next clause (*καθ' ὃν*) will mean "during" or "throughout."

14. Instead of *αἰωνίου*, many cursives have *ἁγίου*; and so the Itala, Vulg., and Coptic versions read. The variation is of no textual value, but is interesting as a testimony to the view which was taken of the meaning of the passage. In modern times many have understood by the "Eternal Spirit," either our Lord's Divine nature, or His human spirit. The use of the preposition *διὰ* seems scarcely consistent with either of these views; but harmonizes with the reference to the Holy Spirit. This reference is further supported by the prominence given to the title Χριστός in this chapter; recurring as it does in *vv.* 11, 14, 24, 28. The great High-priest needed no *baptism* to cleanse Him from sin; but He was *anointed* at His baptism with the Holy Ghost, in preparation for His priestly work. In the power of that anointing He "offered Himself without spot to God."

15. In addition to what has been urged above, observe that

(1) The word *διαθήκη* occurs frequently in the LXX., and always means *Covenant.*

(2) In *vv.* 18—20 we have Exod. xxiv. 8 quoted; where the word certainly denotes a *covenant.*

(3) The *ἐπαγγελία*, here associated with the *διαθήκη*, is used *eight times* in Gal. iii. 14—28 of God's *covenant*-promises. Comp. also ch. vi. 17, viii. 6; Eph. ii. 12; Acts iii. 25.

(4) To speak of "*transgressions* under a *testament*" (*v.* 15) is to join together incongruous ideas: whereas Israel is often said to have "transgressed" God's "covenant" (Deut. xvii. 2; Josh. xxiii. 16; Judg. ii. 20; 2 K. xviii. 12; Jer. xxxiv. 18; Hos. vi. 7, viii. 1).

(5) The return of the Mediator to life was necessary for the establishing of the Covenant (cp. 1 Pet. i. 3, 4): while the return

of a testator to life would invalidate a testament.

(6) The idea of a covenant recurs in xii. 24 ("the Mediator of the New Covenant") and in xiii. 20.

16. The verb, φέρω, is used by Demosthenes (Liddell and Scott) of "alleging," or, bringing forward, "reasons." This, or nearly this, meaning is assigned to the word here by most modern commentators.

The Syriac uses the same word here that it does in ch. xii. 27 (A. V. "signifieth"), John xii. 33, xxi. 19.

The Vulg. has *intercedat*, "should take place;"—the same verb being used in *v.* 15 to represent γενομένου ("morte intercedente").

17. The assertion here made about a "covenant" (like that made in ch. v. 1 about "high-priests") must be taken as limited by the matter in hand; that is, it refers to a *divine* Covenant.

The general idea of a Covenant is, a solemn guarantee given by a person to maintain towards another the relation of peace and goodwill (Gen. xxi. 23, xxvi. 28—31), friendship (1 Sam. xviii. 3, 4), brotherhood (Zech. xi. 14, LXX.), or love (Mal. ii. 14). Plainly, then, *death* is no way necessary to the formation of a covenant between man and man. If any wrong have been done by either party, it must be set right (Gen. xxi. 25, 1 Kings xx. 34); but nothing more is needed. On the other hand, *death* enters of necessity into the idea of a covenant between God and man; since death is the penalty of sin, and sin adheres to all mankind. Sinful man can be brought into communion with the holy God only if provision be made for the forgiveness of his sin, and his restoration to holiness; both of which are provided for by the death of Christ (ii. 11, 17), the Mediator of the New Covenant.

This distinction is brought out prominently by a comparison of Gen. xxi. 22—32 and xxii. 9—13;—

(1) In xxi. 22—32 Abraham and Abimelech made a covenant (διέθεντο ἀμφότεροι διαθήκην); but there is *no sacrifice*.

(2) In xxii. 9—13 the Divine Covenant is made ἐπὶ νεκροῖς. Isaac, representing "the seed of Abraham," is laid on the altar and is reckoned among the dead; "from whence also in a figure" (ch. xi. 19) he was raised. Shortly afterwards a victim provided by God is seen lying dead on the same altar. In the Antitype both the parties to the Covenant meet together.

24. In *vv.* 24, 26, 28 three different Greek verbs are all rendered in A. V. by "appear:"—in *v.* 24, ἐμφανισθῆναι, which is used in Acts xxiv. 1, xxv. 2 almost as a legal term, "to appear personally;" in *v.* 26, πεφανέρωται (see the note on *v.* 26); in *v.* 28, ὀφθήσεται, which means simply to be seen, or become visible.

CHAPTER X.

1 *The weakness of the law sacrifices.* 10 *The sacrifice of Christ's body once offered,* 14 *for ever hath taken away sins.* 19 *An exhortation to hold fast the faith, with patience and thanksgiving.*

FOR the law having a shadow of good things to come, *and* not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices which they offered year by year continually make the comers thereunto perfect.

CHAP. X. With the concluding word of ix. 28, "salvation," the great argument of chh. vii—ix was virtually brought to a close. In *vv.* 1—18 of the present chapter it is recapitulated and enforced. This section has three subdivisions, each of which rests upon a passage of the Old Testament: (1) *vv.* 1—10, of the *perfect sacrifice* of Christ, on Ps. xl. 6—8; (2) *vv.* 11—13, of His *perfect ministry*, on Ps. cx. 1; (3) *vv.* 14—18, of the *perfect Covenant* which He has established, on Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. The ruling thought of the section is seen in *vv.* 4, 10 ("once"), *v.* 12 ("one sacrifice"), *v.* 14 ("one offering"), *v.* 18 ("no more offering for sin").

1. *For*] Only in Christ (ix. 11, 28) was this hope of present forgiveness and final salvation to be found: *For* the Law was utterly powerless to give these. It only furnished a shadowy outline (viii. 5) of **the good things that were to come** (ix. 11).

the very image of the things] In the Gospel we have the full, lifelike, presentation of **the actual things** (cp. xi. 1 *b*). In Christ atonement, sanctification, and salvation, are *facts;* ever present to the eye of faith.

Obs. The delineation of Christ's work given in the Psalms and Prophets went far beyond the shadows of the Law; yet, after all, it remained but a dim outline of things that were *hoped for*, and not as yet accomplished.

with those...] Rather, *with* **the same sacrifices, year after year,** *which.* The reference is plainly to the ever-recurring Days of Atonement. Each of these involved a confession that its predecessor had failed to provide the worshippers with freedom of access to God's presence. The fact, that the same sacrifices had to be reiterated in never-ending succession, shewed that they did not effect a true and final atonement.

the comers thereunto] Or, "those that draw near (with them);" comp. *v.* 22, vii. 25.

2 For then would they not have ceased to be offered? because that the worshippers once purged should have had no more conscience of sins.

3 But in those *sacrifices there is* a remembrance again *made* of sins every year.

4 For *it is* not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins.

5 Wherefore when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body ‖ hast thou prepared me:

6 In burnt offerings and *sacrifices* for sin thou hast had no pleasure.

7 Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me,) to do thy will, O God.

8 Above when he said, Sacrifice

‖ Or, *thou hast fitted me.*

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perfect] restored to complete peace and communion with God (cp. *v.* 2, ix. 9).

2. *once*] "once for all." This purification is provided in the new Covenant; its outward pledge being the "one baptism for the remission of sins." Cp. *v.* 22, ix. 14; Rom. vi. 4—14.

conscience of sins] consciousness of unforgiven sins; such as separated from God and called for fresh expiatory sacrifices. The *one* sacrifice of Christ avails for the uninterrupted purification of all who "walk in the light" (1 John i. 7, ii. 1, 2).

3. *a remembrance again made*] The Greek has simply "a remembering:"—a recalling to mind of sins which, although "passed over through the forbearance of God" (Rom. iii. 25), continued adhering to the people; so that every returning Day of Atonement called for new typical sacrifices, "because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel and because of all their transgressions *in all their sins*" (Lev. xvi. 16; cp. 1 Cor. xv. 17).

The confession of the people's sins was made, not over the head of the slain goat, but over that of the living one: which bore them away, symbolically, to oblivion (Lev. xvi. 21); —put out of sight and passed over, rather than atoned for.

4. *of bulls and of goats*] Still pointing to the Day of Atonement (cp. ix. 12, 13).

take away] The word used in Isai. vi. 7, Zech. iii. 4 (A. V. "caused...to pass").

5. *Wherefore*] Since the legal sacrifices were unable to make any real atonement, the prophetic Psalm represents the Saviour as putting those sacrifices aside, and substituting for them His own perfect obedience and self-oblation.

when he]—the "Christ" of ix. 28. That the Psalm refers to Christ is evident, for

(1) The speaker is one whose coming had been foretold "in the volume of the Book" (*v.* 7); but it was of Christ that "Moses in the Law and the prophets did write" (John i. 45).

(2) In Christ only can *vv.* 8 and 12 be reconciled: "Thy Law is within my heart;" "mine iniquities have taken hold of me" (cp. Isai. liii. 11).

(3) The reference to Christ gives harmony to *vv.* 12—17; in which one who is burdened with numberless "iniquities" solicits no pardon, but appeals to God for help, with the certainty that God "thinketh upon" Him.

(4) The confidence with which the speaker represents his own obedience as the object of Divine complacency, and as effecting the end which the legal sacrifices pointed to, but could not attain, is appropriate to none but Christ.

into the world] Resigning His supra-mundane glory; the glory which He had "before the world was" (John xvii. 5). Cp. John iii. 17, ix. 39, xvi. 28.

Sacrifice and offering] The former of these terms is applied more specially to the "peace-offerings" (Lev. iii. 1, 6, 9, vii. 11—34), the latter to the meal-offering. The burnt-offerings and sin-offerings are spoken of in *v.* 6.

wouldest not] *They* were not the end aimed at in the Divine arrangements. They came in only provisionally, as a means by which men might be trained to draw near to God in lowly, reverential, faith, and so be enabled to obey Him (cp. Jer. vii. 21—23).

a body...] So the LXX.; paraphrasing, as it does elsewhere, in a difficult passage. The Hebrew (cp. note on Ps. xl. 6) is literally: "Ears hast Thou digged unto (or, for) Me;" ears into which Thy word may sink deep. The rendering of the Seventy seems to imply that they understood the passage of Messiah, whose obedience was to be exhibited in the midst of intense bodily sufferings (Ps. xxii. 14, 15).

7. *I come*] Rather, **I am come**; in fulfilment of the many types and prophecies contained in "the volume" of the Law. Comp. John vi. 38.

to do thy will] To work out all God's will concerning Him: but especially, to effect what God had willed respecting the mystery of man's redemption;—that the inviolability of the law of righteousness should be established for ever by that very act which secured the remission of human sin.

8. *Above when he said*] Rather, "Having

and offering and burnt offerings and *offering* for sin thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure *therein*; which are offered by the law;

9 Then said he, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second.

10 By the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once *for all*.

11 And every priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins:

12 But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God;

13 From henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool.

14 For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.

15 *Whereof* the Holy Ghost also is a witness to us: for after that he had said before,

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first said;"—in the earlier words of the quotation. The writer wishes to call attention to the emphatic *Then* of the Psalm ("Then said I"). After the insufficiency of the ceremonial system had been clearly exhibited, *then* the Elect Servant of the Lord came forward to offer the one true sacrifice.

Sacrifice and offering] Or (correct reading), "Sacrifices and offerings."

which] Rather, **such as** (and so in *v.* 11).

9. The true reading here is without the words, "O God."

the first] The legal, typical, offerings.

the second] His own perfect obedience "even unto death" (Phil. ii. 8). *This*, as the appropriate means of saving mankind, was what God willed; what He had willed "before the foundation of the world" (1 Pet. i. 20).

10. *By the which will*] Rather, **In virtue of which will**;—God's will concerning the salvation of men (1 Tim. ii. 4), wrought out by Christ.

are sanctified] Rather, **have been sanctified**, or *consecrated* to God (see note on ii. 11). Compare *v.* 29, "the blood of the Covenant, wherewith (or, in virtue of which) he was sanctified" (cp. Eph. v. 26).

once for all] This may be connected either with "offering" or with "sanctified." The former way of taking it seems to be most in harmony with *vv.* 12, 14, vii. 27, ix. 12, 26, 28.

11. The argument now passes from the Day of Atonement to the daily sacrifices. The same charges apply to these: (1) They are constantly repeated; and (2) Each one of them is inefficacious.

standeth] The word used of the Levitical ministers in Deut. x. 8, xviii. 5, 7; as of servants generally, 1 K. x. 8, 2 K. v. 25.

take away] The word is often used of *stripping off* that which surrounds, or adheres to, a thing. In 1 Chro. xxi. 8, as here, it is applied to the removal of guilt.

12. *But this man, after*] Rather, "But He, when."

for ever,] In vii. 3 and x. 1 the phrase is rendered, "continually" (more exactly, "in perpetuity"). The punctuation given by the A.V. is that of Chrys., Theophyl., Luther, and Lachmann. The rhythm of the Greek, however, is very distinctly in favour of putting the comma after "sins" and joining "for ever" with what follows. So the Syriac: "But this man offered one sacrifice for sins, and sate down at the right hand of God for ever." This supplies a more complete antithesis, also, to the "standeth daily" of *v.* 11.

13. *From henceforth expecting*] or, "Thenceforward waiting;" waiting with long-suffering patience from age to age (as in 1 Pet. iii. 20). In ix. 28, nearly the same word is used of His people's waiting for His return.

14. *perfected for ever*] Brought into a state of complete and uninterrupted communion with God. Cp. *v.* 1, vii. 19.

that are sanctified] That yield themselves to the power of that *consecration* which He had bestowed on them (*v.* 10). Cp. ii. 11.

15. *Whereof...*] Lit. "And the Holy Ghost also beareth witness unto us;" confirming what has been said about the "perfecting" of those who abide under the consecrating power of Christ's Covenant.

said before] The best versions and MSS. have simply "said." Some MSS. and translations supply, before *v.* 17, "Then He saith," or, "He afterwards saith," to complete the sentence which begins, "After that He said." Most moderns suppose that the writer borrows the words "saith the Lord" from the prophetic text, and weaves them into his own statement (cp. on *v.* 9). "After He hath said, This is...days; *the Lord saith*, Putting my laws upon their heart, upon their mind also will I, &c." This has the advantage of giving prominence to the two elements of the prophecy, which correspond to the two parts of the assertion in *v.* 15; sanctification, and

16 This *is* the covenant that I will make with them after those days, saith the Lord, I will [a] put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them;

17 And their sins and iniquities will I remember no more.

18 Now where remission of these *is*, *there is* no more offering for sin.

19 Having therefore, brethren, [1] boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus,

20 By a new and living way, which he hath [1] consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh;

21 And *having* an high priest over the house of God;

22 Let us draw near with a true

[a] Jer. 31. 33.

[1] Or, *liberty.*

[1] Or, *new made.*

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freedom of access to God. To such as have "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" swaying them, "there is no condemnation" (Rom. viii. 1, 2).

18. *remission*] The word used in Lev. xxv. 10 (A. V. "liberty"). Here it corresponds to the "I will remember no more" of *v.* 17. The record of sin should be effaced no less surely than the record of debt was on the coming in of the Jubile-year.

Obs. This "remission of sins" was expressly mentioned by our Lord as the fruit of the "New Covenant," which He established in His blood (Matt. xxvi. 28).

no more] Or, "no longer:"—since there is no further need of it.

19. The THIRD great Argument, which began at ch. v. 1, being complete, an exhortation now follows, similar to that which came in at the close of the Second Argument (iv. 14—16).

boldness] As in iv. 16. There is no longer cause for *shrinking* from God's presence.

to enter into] Lit. "concerning the entrance into." They enjoy present freedom of access to the Mercy-seat (*v.* 22, iv. 16); and they look forward to the time when they shall actually enter the eternal Sanctuary (vi. 19, 20).

by the blood] Rather, "in virtue of the blood" (cp. *v.* 10). This may be connected either with "having boldness," or (more probably) with "entrance" (see ix. 25).

20. *By a new...*] Rather, "By the way which He consecrated (or, dedicated, see ix. 18) for us, a new and living (way)."

The thought contained in the last words of *v.* 19, "in virtue of the blood of Jesus," is here expanded in an allegorical form. The Jewish high-priest was shut out from access to the Holy of Holies by the veil, which hung in front of it. How then did he pass into it on the Day of Atonement? *By what way?* He entered in by the virtue of the sacrificial blood (ix. 7, 25). This alone enabled him to draw aside the veil, which separated between sinful man and the Holy God. The atoning blood formed (for a brief interval) *a way of approach to God.* But, whatever the typical value of this entrance into the Holy of Holies might be, it could not "give life" (Gal. iii. 21). The "living way" of reconciliation was "consecrated for us" by the blood of Jesus. So long as the Word tabernacled in flesh, sin was not atoned for. But, when that flesh was rent, so that the life-blood poured forth from it, the way into the Holiest was "made manifest" (ix. 8), and "dedicated:" a "living" way, endued with "the power of an endless life" (vii. 16); allowing man to enter into communion with the Living God.

a new...way] "New," in the sense of "recent," as being only of late established, after the lapse of so many ages.

through the veil] So that the veil was done away for ever; as was signified by the historical "rending" of the veil of the Temple, which took place at Christ's death (Matt. xxvii. 51). Having once "reconciled us in the body of His flesh through death," He did not resume the "likeness of sinful flesh." The veil disappeared; and in its room was seen the "living way," the glorified humanity of Him who is "the way, the truth, and the life" (John xiv. 6); "*in whom we have boldness and access with confidence* by the faith of Him" (Eph. iii. 12).

21. *an high priest*] Lit. "a great priest;" which is the exact rendering of the Hebrew words (in Num. xxxv. 25, 28, and elsewhere) for which "high-priest" stands in A.V. The expression, which occurs here only in the Epistle, is suited to the present passage; where Christians are viewed as *priests*, who have access into the Holiest and are members of God's family. In the passage of Leviticus, where the dignity of the high-priest is especially dwelt upon (Lev. xxi. 10—12, see on ii. 10), the words translated "He that is the high-priest among his brethren," are strictly, "The priest that is *greater than his brethren.*" This corresponds to what is added here, *over the house* (or, household) *of God* (cp. on iii. 6). Christ is "the First-born among many brethren" (Rom. viii. 29), whom He has "made priests...unto God" (Rev. i. 6). This view throws additional light on *v.* 22, which points out what qualifications we need for "drawing near," as priests, to God.

22. *draw near*] A liturgical term (as in *v.* 1, iv. 16, vii. 25).

heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water,

23 Let us hold fast the profession of *our* faith without wavering; (for he *is* faithful that promised;)

24 And let us consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works:

25 Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some *is;* but exhorting *one another:* and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching.

26 For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins,

27 But a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries.

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with a true heart] The words used in Isai. xxxviii. 3, LXX. (in A. V. "with a perfect heart").

in full assurance of faith] So that our faith may have its complete developement (see on vi. 11); embracing the fulness of Christ's redemptive work.

having...] The perfect passive participles, following an exhortation, must be taken as supplying additional reasons why the exhortation should be obeyed (as in 1 Pet. i. 23, "having been born again"); "*seeing that* we have had our hearts sprinkled...our bodies washed." Both these terms refer to the benefits of the baptismal Covenant: (1) *The heart* is "sprinkled," and so cleansed (see on Isai. lii. 15), "from an evil conscience" (cp. *v.* 2, ix. 13, 14), through the atoning blood of Christ (called in xii. 24, "the blood of sprinkling;" cp. 1 Pet. i. 2), which is applied to the believer by means of baptism (cp. Acts xxii. 16); (2) And *the body* also has its share of blessing; the symbolical washing with "pure water" (comp. Ezek. xxxvi. 25) being a pledge, that the body so washed shall, in the great day of "the Regeneration" (Matt. xix. 28; cp. Tit. iii. 5), be raised to perfect "incorruption" (cp. Rom. viii. 11).

23. *of our faith*] A curious oversight. It should be, *of our* **hope**. Thus in *v.* 22 we have *faith;* in *v.* 23, *hope;* in *v.* 24, *love.*

without wavering] Rather, **that it** (our confession) **waver not**. The word here rendered "hold fast" is not the one which was so rendered in iv. 14, and the meaning is different. There the exhortation was, to *hold fast by* our profession of faith (objectively); here it is, to *maintain in unwavering firmness* the profession of our hope (subjectively).

faithful] and worthy of our trust (xi. 11; 1 Thess. v. 24).

24. *consider one another*] Looking with kindly interest on each other's concerns, so that we may "provoke" one another to a holy rivalry in generous deeds.

25. Such zeal of brotherly love would overcome that fear of persecution which made "some" abstain from the public assemblies of the Church.

the assembling...together] to meet your common Lord and Saviour. This may be taken as implied in the word: for the noun occurs elsewhere, in the New Testament, only in 2 Thess. ii. 1, where it refers to the gathering of the saints to meet Christ at His second coming; and the verb is the one which is used in Ps. cii. 22, "when the peoples are gathered together...to serve the Lord." Every assembling of the Church is a preparation for that final gathering. Cp. also Matt. xxiii. 37, xxiv. 31, where the same word is used.

The inference we have drawn from the term itself is confirmed by the fact that the Apostle here proceeds to speak of "the day;" just as in 2 Thess. ii. 1, 2, he goes on to speak of "the day of Christ."

the day] Cp. 1 Cor. iii. 13. As in James v. 8, 9, so here, there may be an allusion to the approaching visitation on Jerusalem; but the thought of the Last Judgment had been linked on inseparably to that event by our Lord's own prophecy (Matt. xxiv).

26. The *wilful sin* here spoken of must be apostasy (iii. 12, vi. 6); into which those, who forsook the fellowship of the Church, were in danger of drifting.

the knowledge] The word here used implies a degree of real *insight;* genuine "recognition" of the truth.

no more] or (*v.* 18), "no longer." This is the dark side of the truth, of which the consolatory side was presented in *v.* 18. To those who abide under shelter of the one atoning Sacrifice, no other sacrifice is needful; to those who have left that shelter, none other can be of any worth. The old ritual had been of value, so long as it nourished hope in a coming Saviour. To those who receded from faith in Christ, it was a delusion.

27. What remains for them is, during life, *a certain* vague and undefined, but anxious and *fearful,* **looking forward to** *judgment;* and afterwards, inexorable justice. There ought to be a comma at "judgment;" the word for "indignation" being in the nominative.

fiery indignation] Rather, "a fiery jealousy;" with allusion, probably, to Deut. iv. 24. God's

28 He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses:

29 Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace?

30 For we know him that hath said, [b] Vengeance *belongeth* unto me, I will recompense, saith the Lord. And again, The Lord shall judge his people.

31 *It is* a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

32 But call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions;

33 Partly, whilst ye were made a gazingstock both by reproaches and afflictions; and partly, whilst ye became companions of them that were so used.

34 For ye had compassion of me

[b] Deut. 32. 35. Rom. 12. 19.

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justice is "jealous" of whatever tends to obscure the purity of His holiness (cp. Deut. xxix. 20).

devour the adversaries] A reference to Isai. xxvi. 11 (cp. lxiv. 1); where also God's jealousy is represented as a fire.

28. *despised...died*] Rather, "setteth at nought...dieth." Such was the provision of the Law respecting apostasy (Deut. xvii. 2—7). To go back from Christ to trust in an antiquated ritual was no way better than idolatry (cp. on iii. 12).

29. *the blood of the covenant*] By which the New Covenant was established (cp. ix. 20).

wherewith] Or, "in virtue of which" (*vv.* 10, 19).

sanctified] So that he was allowed to approach the All-holy One with acts of worship (*v.* 10, xiii. 12).

unholy] Lit. "common" (in Rom. xiv. 14, "unclean"). Their apostasy was equivalent to asserting that Jesus was a mere man, and, consequently, a sharer in human sinfulness.

done despite unto] or, "insulted," "treated with scorn."

the Spirit of grace] Which (in accordance with the promise in Zech. xii. 10) had been "poured out" on believers; teaching them to "look unto Him, whom" the sins of men "had pierced." To treat with scorn the Holy Spirit, who was the fountain of grace, and who was Himself so gracious, so full of tender sympathy! to insult Him!—what desperate malignity!

30. *we know him*] We know His character, that He is "a God of truth" (Deut. xxxii. 6); who "will not call back His words" (Isai. xxxi. 2).

Vengeance...] Rather, **To me belongeth vengeance** (Deut. xxxii. 35; Rom. xii. 19).

God's justice is inviolable. It must perform its work of "recompensing." How fearful the lot of those who have left the only refuge which can protect against the sword of Divine Justice!

the Lord...] See Deut. xxxii. 36. God "judges" His people, when He vindicates their rights and overthrows their "adversaries" (cp. ib. *v.* 43);—those "adversaries" among whom the apostate had cast in his lot (*v.* 27).

31. *the living God*] See the note on iii. 12. Even for the penitent "it is a fearful thing" to be placed under His rod (2 S. xxiv. 14f.); what must it be, then, for the wilful transgressor (1 Pet. iv. 17, 18)?

David had been spared, when, in obedience to God's injunction, he offered a burnt-offering on Mount Moriah. For those who now rejected the one true Sacrifice, the Temple sacrifices on Moriah were utterly unavailing.

32. *the former days*] When they set a noble example to all Churches, 1 Thess. ii. 14.

illuminated] As in vi. 4 ("enlightened").

endured] Sustained, and bore up resolutely under (cp. xii. 2, 3, 7, where the same word is used). The derived noun is used in *v.* 36, xii. 1; where it is too feebly rendered "patience."

fight of afflictions] A "fight," or combat, like that of the athlete. They had to *wrestle* with "afflictions" (or, "sufferings;" as in ii. 9, 10). The Church at Jerusalem had passed through other persecutions besides those mentioned in Acts viii and xii (see on ch. xiii. 7).

33. *a gazing-stock*] Or, "a spectacle" (cp. 1 Cor. iv. 9); as when athletes were exposed to public view in the amphitheatre. The "reproaches" were, probably, the slanderous accusations which were so commonly brought against Christians (cp. 1 Pet. iv. 14).

became companions of] Rather, **made yourselves partners with**:—by your active sympathy with sufferers, drawing upon yourselves popular violence or legal penalties.

34. *For ye had*] *For ye* **both** *had.*

compassion of me in my bonds] Lit. "sympathy with my bonds;" or (according to

in my bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance.

35 Cast not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward.

36 For ye have need of patience, that, after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise.

37 For yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry.

38 Now the just shall live by faith: but if *any man* draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.

39 But we are not of them who draw back unto perdition; but of them that believe to the saving of the soul.

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another reading, see Note below) "with them that were in bonds" (xiii. 3). If the Received Text be correct, the reference will naturally be to St Paul's detention at Cæsarea. The other reading would not exclude such a reference; since Aristarchus, who went up with Paul to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 4), was his "fellow-prisoner" at Rome (Col. iv. 10), and therefore, in all probability, was so at Cæsarea.

took joyfully] Or, "accepted with joy." Cp. Matt. v. 12; Col. i. 11; 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13.

knowing in...] Rather, *knowing* **that ye have for yourselves a better possession [in heaven] and one that abideth.** —See Additional Note.—The possession was theirs already by an indefeasible title; because they were brethren of Him who is "Heir of all things" (i. 2).

35. *Cast not away*]—as soldiers might cast away their arms after a long fight.

confidence] In *v.* 19 rendered, "boldness;" confidence in approaching "the throne of grace" (cp. iii. 6, iv. 16).

36. *For...*] They were not to be dispirited by the length of their trial: *for*—perseverance in doing the will of God was a needful preliminary to obtaining the reward which He had promised.

patience] patient endurance, or, fortitude; as in 2 Thess. i. 4, Rev. xiii. 10. Cp. on *v.* 32.

after ye have done] Rather, **having done.** In doing *the will of God* they would be conformed to *Christ* (*vv.* 7—9, cp. xiii. 21), and could not fail to enjoy His blessing.

receive] in actual fulfilment (xi. 13, 39).

the promise] of entering into His rest (iv. 1), in the "eternal inheritance" (ix. 15).

37. *a little while*] The expression (in the original, a peculiar one) is found in Isai. xxvi. 20, LXX. (in A. V., "a little moment").

he that...] or, "he that cometh shall come, and shall not tarry." So the LXX. (Hab. ii. 3). The Hebrew is more naturally taken as referring to the vision: "though it tarry, wait for it; for it will surely come." The word used by the LXX. for "wait" is the one that occurred above in *v.* 32, "endured."

38. The writer, weaving the prophet's words into his own address, inverts the order of the clauses (comp. on Hab. ii. 4).

shall live] The verb has here the same kind of emphasis which it has in Ezek. xviii. 22; "In his righteousness that he hath done he *shall live*;"—shall maintain that spiritual life, which issues in salvation. Thus the "saving of the soul" of *v.* 39 may be looked on as an explanation of the term, "live," which is used here.—See Additional Note.

by faith] Lit. "*from* faith." The *issue* of his faith shall be life (see below). The Hebrew word rendered "faith" in Hab. ii. 4 generally signifies *stedfastness*, or, fidelity; but the "*wait* for it" of *v.* 3 shews that it here denotes, *stedfast affiance on God's promise;* which is the prevailing idea of "faith" throughout ch. xi. The most essential element in *loyalty* to God is, to *put faith in Him.* They only will be "stedfast in His covenant" who "believe in Him" (Ps. lxxviii. 21, 37).

if any man] Rather, **if he.** It is true that we should translate the LXX., "if one draw back;" but as the Apostle, in constructing his own sentence, deliberately transposed the verse-members, he certainly meant the warning to apply to the just man. Comp. Ezek. xviii. 24.

draw back] from patient waiting on God. Such withdrawal might be owing in some cases to cowardice, in others to self-confidence. The Greek word more naturally suggests the thought of the former of these; the Hebrew that of the latter. The men, whose history was commented on in chh. iii and iv, were guilty of "drawing back" in both ways; first refusing to go up and occupy Canaan, and then endeavouring to do so in opposition to God's will (Numb. xiv. 2, 40: see Note below).

shall have no] Rather, **hath** *no.*

39. *not of them who...*] Lit. "not (on the side) of drawing back...but (on the side) of faith...." It is this word "*faith*," which supplies the transition to ch. xi.

saving] A rare word; lit. "winning," or "acquiring:" here, winning back from perdition. The verb occurs in Ezek. xiii. 18 ("*save* the souls *alive*").

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. X. 34, 38.

34. The received reading τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου is supported by ℵ, K, L, P, and other MSS., as also by Clem. Alex. and Origen; while A, D, with other MSS., as well as the two Syriac Versions and the Vulg., support τοῖς δεσμίοις. In the fifth century Euthalius appealed to this passage as confirming the belief that the Epistle was written by St Paul.

It is in favour of the ordinary reading, that συμπαθέω in iv. 13 has for its object, not the persons who suffer, but that which is the cause of their suffering.

34. The clause ἐν οὐρανοῖς is found in many good MSS., in the Peshito, and many Greek fathers; but is wanting in A, D, ℵ, in the Vulgate, and in some fathers. The rhythm of the sentence and the analogy of xi. 16 plead for its retention.

For ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, Lachmann reads ἑαυτούς, Tischendorf ἑαυτοῖς. The latter has the majority of cursive MSS. in its favour, is philologically simple, and yields a good sense: "Ye have done as your Lord advised, when He said (Luke xii. 33, 34), Sell *your possessions* (τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῶν) and give alms: *make for yourselves* bags that wax not old, *a treasure in the heavens that faileth not.*"

38. This emphatic meaning of the word is illustrated by Gal. iii. 11, 12; in which Hab. ii. 4 is contrasted with Lev. xviii. 5, "The man that doeth them shall *live* in them." Referring to this sentence of the Law, our Lord said (Matt. xix. 17): "If thou wilt *enter into life*, keep the commandments." In the other place in which Hab. ii. 4 is cited, Rom. i. 16, 17, it is to illustrate the statement that the Gospel is "the power of God *unto salvation* to every one that believeth."

38. The Hebrew is, "in his faith" (cp. Ezek. xviii. 22): so that we may paraphrase the sentence thus; "The righteous man, *abiding in his faith*, shall have life." The Septuagintal rendering, μου ἐκ πίστεως (found in good MSS. here too), would be represented thus: "The righteous man shall, *as the outcome of faith in Me* (cp. Eph. iii. 12), have life." The position of μου before ἐκ πίστεως is similar to its position in μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην (Matt. viii. 8); whereas the unlikelihood of the combination ὁ δίκαιος μου is extreme; no such form as צַדִּיקִי being anywhere found.

38. The verb, which is rendered "lifted up" in Hab. ii. 4, occurs elsewhere only in Numb. xiv. 44; "they *presumed* to go up." In Deut. i. 43 the corresponding verb is הָזִידוּ; which is used in Neh. ix. 16 (A. V. "dealt proudly") in reference to Israel's *refusing* to take possession of the land. In each case their disobedience was a manifestation of self-will; which, in each case, had its root in unbelief.

CHAPTER XI.

1 What faith is. *6 Without faith we cannot please God.* *7 The worthy fruits thereof in the fathers of old time.*

NOW faith is the [1] substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.

[1] Or, *ground*, or, *confidence.*

CHAP. XI. In the conclusion of chap. x *faith* had been set forth as the means by which we obtain Eternal Life. The characteristics of this faith are now given, and verified in a large number of examples.

1. *Now faith is*] This is not to be taken as a *definition* of faith. The Hebrew Christians knew well that *faith* was "belief in God's word." But, if they did not require to have the term "faith" defined, they did stand in need of being reminded *what was involved in* the act of faith. God's word had revealed to them certain facts relating to the *invisible* world, and had taught them to *hope for* a far higher state of existence than the present. Well: where true faith existed, it would be found to give *present substance to the things which were thus proposed to their hope*, and to supply *conviction of the reality of those unseen facts.* They who were "on the side of faith" (x. 39), then, must not cling tenaciously to the present and the visible: for faith has to do with the future and the unseen; *making the future present, the unseen evident.*

the substance] Rather, "a substantiating," or "a giving present reality to" (see below). Faith, taking its stand firmly upon God's word, apprehends the good things which He has promised, as if they actually existed.

things hoped for] This is meant simply to describe *the class of things spoken of.* We are not to infer from it that hope precedes faith. Certainly, the promise itself must be first believed, before the affection of hope can be called into exercise.

the evidence] Rather, "an evidence." As sight is the surest *evidence* to a man of what is seen (producing the clearest conviction), so is faith the *evidence* of those invisible truths which God has revealed. There exists the same *real* relation between man's spirit and the things of the spiritual world, which exists between his eyes and the things of outward nature. Faith "*sees* Him who is invisible" (*v.* 27).

things] The Greek word for "things" in the second member of the verse (there is no corresponding word in the first member) denotes "facts," or, "real things" (as in vi. 18, x 1; Luke i. 1). They are realities, though

2 For by it the elders obtained a good report.

3 Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear.

4 By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that

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they are "not seen;"—unseen and beyond the reach of sight. This latter term, "not seen," stands to the former, "hoped for," as genus to species (Rom. viii. 24, 25; 2 Cor. v. 7). Under it are ranged such revealed truths as the creation of the worlds (*v.* 3); God's being "a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him" (*v.* 6); and His omnipotence (*v.* 19).

2. *by it*] "in virtue of it" (as in x. 19).

the elders] All who are mentioned, or alluded to, in this chapter (see *v.* 39). These acted as if the things which God had promised were not less substantially present to them than the things of this world; as if the invisible impressed their minds with a conviction no less deep than that which was produced by the visible.

obtained a good report (*v.* 39)]—in the witness borne to them by Holy Scripture; the witness that they were righteous men (*v.* 4), that they pleased God (*v.* 5), that "God was not ashamed to be called their God" (*v.* 16).

3. *Through faith*] "By faith" (as in the following verses); and so in *vv.* 11, 28.

The nature of faith is first of all illustrated by a reference to the opening chapter of Genesis. We can know nothing of the *origin* of the universe, or of the *causes* of the great epochal changes which it has since undergone, except from Revelation. Clear, and even necessary, as the idea of creation may appear to the believer, we find no trace of it among nations that were wholly destitute of the light of Holy Scripture. Physical science is by its own principles forbidden to entertain the inquiry into the origination of things; although, as a matter of fact, its investigations continually suggest the *need* of a supernatural beginning of the world of nature.

understand] Or, "apprehend" (the word used in Rom. i. 20). Though the intellect cannot discover, or prove, the fact of creation, it feels the statement of Scripture regarding it to be in harmony with its own interior workings. It finds that the first verse of Genesis furnishes the only satisfactory standpoint from which to take a view of the constitution of the world, and of the relation between the world and man and God.

the worlds] Lit. "the ages" (see on i. 2); the universe, and its parts, in their several stages of existence. The latest of such "ages," as regards our own earth, commenced with the six days' work recorded in Gen. i. 3—31.

were framed] had their fixed and settled constitution given them (comp. Ps. lxxiv. 16, lxxxix. 37, LXX.).

the word of God] Here, as in Ps. xxxiii. 6, His spoken word. The ten Divine utterances of Gen. i. 3—29 are, no doubt, specially referred to.

so that] "*in such wise* that." The positive statement, which preceded, has its importance more clearly exhibited by this addition, which shows what it excludes.

things which are] "**the** things which are." Many authorities have, "that which is;" suggesting more distinctly the idea of the visible *universe*. The common reading, which is supported by good MSS., and by the Peshito and Vulgate, is favoured by 2 Cor. iv. 18 (where also we have the word which in *v.* 25 below is rendered "for a season").

were not made] Or, "had not their being." The visible world was not generated by, or formed out of, pre-existing phenomenal matter; as most schemes of philosophical speculation (unable to get outside the empirical maxim, *ex nihilo nil*) had imagined. Cp. Additional Note.

which do appear] Rather, *that* **did** *appear* (*φαινομένων*); that had *phenomenal* existence; standing out to view, before there was any human eye to look upon them.

4. *more excellent*] of a higher kind (comp. on iii. 3). So different were the two sacrifices, that the one was accepted by God and the other rejected. How was this? It was because Abel offered his sacrifice "by faith;" a faith of which the effect was to make him "righteous" in God's sight. What, then, was the Divine word which Abel believed? what the hoped-for good to which his faith gave substance? What could it be but the predicted overthrow of him through whom sin and death had come into the world, an overthrow which was to be accomplished by the suffering of one who should be born of woman (Gen. iii. 15)? Even, then, if some more natural explanation of Gen. iii. 21 could be given than that which sees in it an indication of animal sacrifices having been instituted in Paradise, we can scarcely avoid the supposition, that Abel was taught of God to associate the death of the lamb which he offered with the hope of atonement for sin and consequent victory over death.

by which] Rather, **by means of which** (*v.* 7). The obvious reference of this is to "sacrifice;" and it was actually through, or, by means of, his sacrifice that Abel obtained

he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts: and by it he being dead [1] yet speaketh.

[1] Or, *is yet spoken of.*

5 By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God.

6 But without faith *it is* impossible to please *him:* for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and *that* he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.

7 By faith Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, [1] moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house; by the which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith.

[1] Or, *being wary.*

8 By faith Abraham, when he was

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witness from God that he was a "righteous" man,—one who was in harmony with the mind and will of God. It seems better, therefore (in spite of *v.* 39, quoted by Delitzsch), to take it thus, than to refer it to "faith."

righteous] Compare Matt. xxiii. 35, 1 John iii. 12. The context of the latter passage ("he that *doeth* righteousness," "he that *doeth* sin") appears to point back to Gen. iv. 7.

of his gifts] or, **unto** *his gifts* (comp. Gen. iv. 4: "God had respect unto Abel and *unto his gifts*"). Abel was himself first accepted, then his offering: the acceptance of the offering, however, being a token that he was personally accepted.

by it] **by means of it**;—his sacrifice. Abel's sacrifice was, indeed, the occasion of his death; but this only constituted him the Proto-martyr. When dead, he yet spake; bearing witness to God's faithfulness. His very blood had a voice (Gen. iv. 10; ch. xii. 24), which cried aloud to God, and was heard by Him. Thus, by means of that one sacrificial act, standing as it does at the head of the history of our race, Abel has spoken to all succeeding generations, and still speaks: proclaiming, that to God's saints death is innocuous; that already, before a single death had occurred among mankind, the grace of God had provided an antidote against the venom of death; that "the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God" (Wisd. iii. 1); and that God cares for and "will speedily avenge His elect" (Luke xviii. 7, 8).

5. Abel lived on after death. Enoch did not even *see death* (Ps. lxxxix. 48; John viii. 51). He was "translated," or "transferred," from this world of shadows to the world of invisible realities, on which his faith had been fixed. The Hebrew word for "took" in Gen. v. 24 is the one which is used of Elijah in 2 K. ii. 3, 5.

was not found] So the LXX. When his friends or his foes sought for him, he "was not found."

for] This looks back to, *By faith.* The narrative implies that Enoch's translation was a reward of his faith; for, immediately before his removal is mentioned, we are told that he "pleased God."—As the argument is not complete till the end of *v.* 6, there ought only to be a colon at the end of *v.* 5.

pleased God]—acted in such a way as to please Him. That this is the meaning, appears both from the Hebrew ("walked with God;" comp. Gen. xvii. 1; 2 K. xx. 3;—in 2 Cor. v. 7, 9 both forms of expression occur), and from the use of the word here in *v.* 6.

6. *to please*] to act in such a way as to please. None could set themselves to walk with God, or strive to live acceptably to Him, unless they had faith; faith which enabled them to "see Him who is invisible," and to believe that He is righteous and true to His promises.

cometh to] Or, "draweth near to;" as a worshipper (cp. x. 1, 22).

is a rewarder] Or, "sheweth Himself (lit. becometh) a rewarder." He may see fit to defer the promised reward; but He is certain to prove Himself a rewarder; Himself, indeed, being "the exceeding great reward" of His people.

diligently seek] Or, simply, "seek" (cp. Ps. ix. 10, xxvii. 8; Amos v. 4, 6).

7. *not seen as yet*]—as yet, far beyond the reach of human vision. The first Divine warning seems to have been given 120 years before the Flood (Gen. vi. 13). The breaking up of "the fountains of the great deep" and the opening of "the windows of heaven" were not only things "not seen as yet," but such as might appear to run counter to the existing order of the visible world.

fear] Rather, **godly fear** (as in xii. 28); an apprehension of coming danger, which sprang from a sense of God's holiness and man's sinfulness.

prepared] Or, "builded" (as in iii. 3, 4).

by the which] Rather (as in *v.* 4), **by means of which**;—as the outward embodiment of his faith. The Ark was a proof that Noah felt the sentence which God had passed upon the world to be just.

became heir...] Noah's building the Ark led to his being delivered from death, and to his becoming the new covenant-head of the

called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went.

9 By faith he sojourned in the land of promise, as *in* a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise:

10 For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker *is* God.

11 Through faith also Sara herself received strength to conceive seed, and was delivered of a child when she was past age, because she judged him faithful who had promised.

12 Therefore sprang there even of one, and him as good as dead, *so many* as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea shore innumerable.

13 These all died †in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of *them*, and embraced *them*, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.

† Gr. *according to faith.*

14 For they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country.

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human race; so that he was "heir" of the promises made to those who, serving God in faith, are graciously accepted by Him as righteous.

by faith] Lit. "according to faith" (see marg. of *v.* 13, and 1 Tim. i. 9); on the basis of faith: faith in God being "reckoned for righteousness" (Gen. xv. 6); of which, indeed, it is the living germ.

8. *called*] by God (Isai. xli. 9). The strict rendering is, "By faith Abraham, when he was called, *obeyed to go out.*"

should after receive] Rather, "was afterwards to receive."

whither he went] Lit. "whither he cometh." At each stage of his journey he walked simply by faith. He did not know that Canaan was the land which God had promised to him, until he had actually arrived there.

9. *a strange country*] Or, "a land not his own." He fully recognised the fact, that the land was not to come into his own possession. The only piece of ground in it which became his was the burial-place of Machpelah; for the purchase of which he insisted on paying the full price. In negotiating the sale, Abraham stated, in a very pointed manner, that he was "a stranger and sojourner" in the land (Gen. xxiii. 4).

tabernacles] Rather, **tents** (Gen. xii. 8, xviii. 1, xxiv. 6, 7). In these he "dwelt," or, took up his abode; content to have no other earthly home.

heirs with him] Not merely sharers of such present blessing as God granted to him, but *joint heirs* of the promise made *to him and to his seed.*

10. *a city*] Rather, **the** *city:* the "heavenly Jerusalem" (xii. 22); one of whose "gates" Jacob saw, in his vision, thronged by angels (Gen. xxviii. 17).

which hath foundations] Emphasizing the contrast between the heavenly city, which "abideth" (see on xiii. 14), and the tents of the patriarchs. Comp. Ps. lxxxvii. 1.

builder and maker] Rather, **architect and builder.** Cp. viii. 2.

Obs. The examples of faith given in *vv.* 9—16 illustrate the argument of chh. iii and iv; which taught that *Canaan* was not the promised rest of God's people.

11. *also Sara herself*] Or, "Sara herself also:"—Sarah, who a little before had been reproved for unbelief (Gen. xviii. 12).

and was...age] Rather (according to a better supported reading), **and that,** *when she was past age.* Cp. Rom. iv. 21.

12. *Therefore...*] Rather, **Wherefore also there sprang from one**; the "also" pointing to the *reward* of his faith (cp. Phil. ii. 9).

one] Isai. li. 2; Ezek. xxxiii. 24.

as good as dead] It is the same word as in Rom. iv. 19, "dead."

the sand which...] Rather, "the sand by the sea-shore, which is innumerable."

13. *These all*] Abraham and his family.

in faith] Lit. (as marg.), "according to faith" (*v.* 7); standing on the ground of faith. Up to death they continued looking for God's salvation as a thing yet to come (Gen. xlix. 18).

not having...confessed] Rather (correct reading), *not having received the promises* [that is, the things promised], *but* **having seen and saluted them from afar, and having confessed.** They "saluted" the yet distant object of their faith, as travellers on coming within sight of Jerusalem are accustomed to give it a reverent greeting. Comp. John viii. 56.

pilgrims] Rather, **sojourners** (comp. Gen. xxiii. 4; Ps. xxxix. 12). Cp. Gen. xlvii. 9.

14. *declare plainly*] Or, "make it plain."

seek a country] Rather, "are seeking their country;"—their true home (cp. xiii. 14).

15 And truly, if they had been mindful of that *country* from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned.

16 But now they desire a better *country*, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city.

17 By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac: and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten *son*,

18 [1]Of whom it was said, That in Isaac shall thy seed be called:

19 Accounting that God *was* able to raise *him* up, even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure.

20 By faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau concerning things to come.

21 By faith Jacob, when he was a dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph; and worshipped, *leaning* upon the top of his staff.

22 By faith Joseph, when he died, [1]made mention of the departing of the children of Israel; and gave commandment concerning his bones.

23 By faith Moses, when he was

[1] Or, *To.*

[1] Or, *remembered.*

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15. When the patriarchs called themselves "strangers" they did not refer to their having left *Chaldea*. If they had thought of that as still their country, they might easily have found "opportunity to **return**;" and so would have ceased to be wanderers. The distance was no such very serious hindrance (cp. Gen. xxiv. 4—6).

16. *But now*]—to come back from the supposition made in *v.* 15 to the actual facts.

ashamed] Lit. "ashamed of them." They had shewn themselves to be fitting recipients of His grace; welcoming His overtures, and "walking *worthily of the Lord*" (Col. i. 10; 1 Thess. ii. 12).

their God] Gen. xvii. 7; Exod. iii. 6, 15. See Matt. xxii. 32. Comp. on viii. 10.

for] Such language God "was not ashamed" to use: *For*, unspeakably great as the privilege must be of having Him to be theirs—*their God*,—it is only what God has conferred upon them. In His wondrous counsel "He hath prepared for them," from the foundation of the world (Matt. xxv. 34; cp. 1 Cor. ii. 7, 9), "a city," in which "He Himself will be with them, their God" (Rev. xxi. 3).

17. Having shewn, in *vv.* 8—16, how the faith of the patriarchs was exhibited in their whole character, he now proceeds to speak of some particular acts of faith.

offered up] So far as Abraham personally was concerned, the offering was complete.

received] Rather, **accepted**; cheerfully submitting to the conditions under which the promises were made.

18. *Of whom*] Rather, "**Unto** whom" (as in ch. v. 5, Luke ii. 18, 20).

That] Rather, **For** (as being part of the quotation, Gen. xxi. 12). The name "seed of Abraham" was to belong to the line which descended through Isaac. In surrendering Isaac to death Abraham appeared to abandon the promise of blessing which had been made to his seed (Gen. xvii. 19).

19. *able...dead*] Rather, "able **even to raise from the dead**." He had firm confidence in God's veracity, and he thought it no way "incredible that God should raise the dead" (Acts xxvi. 8).

from whence also] Rather, *from whence* **he did also in a figure receive him back.** After Isaac had been laid as a victim on the altar and, by means of the substituted ram, figuratively slain, he was restored to his father, like one that had been raised from the dead. The text does not say that this sacrifice and resurrection was *prefigurative*; but that it was so, and that Abraham's faith was by it instructed to look forward to "the day of Christ," may be certainly inferred from John viii. 51.

20. Although Isaac gave his blessing to Jacob at first under a misapprehension, yet, when he found out his error, he distinctly *ratified* what he had done (Gen. xxvii. 33, xxviii. 3, 4); and, in blessing Esau, he recognised Jacob's superiority.

21. *a dying*] See Gen. xlviii. 21, "Behold, I die." Cp. xlvii. 29.

both] Rather, **each of**; discriminatingly (Gen. xlviii. 17—19). The act of "worship," mentioned in Gen. xlvii. 29—31, was prior to the benediction of Ephraim and Manasseh. When Jacob had received an assurance from Joseph that he should be buried in the land of promise, he "bowed himself upon (or, towards) the bed's head" (cp. 1 K. i. 47). So the Hebrew. The LXX. have "worshipped upon the top of his staff" (see below). As *the act of worship* was that by which the energy of Jacob's faith was shown, the Apostle did not care to deviate from the familiar Septuagintal rendering. To have done so might have diverted the reader's attention to a quite subordinate matter.

22. *when he died*] "as he was dying."

made mention of] Or (marg.), "called to mind concerning." Joseph had for eighty

born, was hid three months of his parents, because they saw *he was* a proper child; and they were not afraid of the king's commandment.

24 By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter;

25 Choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season;

[1] Or, *for Christ.*

26 Esteeming the reproach [1] of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompence of the reward.

27 By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured, as seeing him who is invisible.

28 Through faith he kept the passover, and the sprinkling of blood, lest he that destroyed the firstborn should touch them.

29 By faith they passed through

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years been the ruler of Egypt, yet he did not forget the great promises which God had made to Israel.

23. *he was a proper child*] Rather, *how comely the child was.* It would seem from St Stephen's "comely before God" (Acts vii. 20), that there was something of unearthly beauty in the child, such as befitted one with whom God would hereafter "speak face to face." This kindled the faith of the parents, so that they had courage to set at nought the king's murderous edict. Instead of a semicolon after "child," there should be only a comma.

24. *refused*] He did so, virtually, when he took part with the oppressed Israelite (Exod. ii. 11—15).

25. *the people of God*] Cp. Exod. iii. 7: "I have seen the affliction of *My people*."

to enjoy the pleasures of sin] Rather, **to enjoy the short-lived fruit of sin**;—that is, the honour and wealth which would have been his, during this life, if he would have renounced his connexion with Israel;—the "sin" specifically referred to being that of apostasy (cp. iii. 12, 13). The word rendered "short-lived" is the same that is used in 2 Cor. iv. 18 ("temporal").

26. *the reproach of Christ*] The contempt with which men treated the very idea of a future Saviour of mankind, such as Israel professed to look for. To the wise counsellors of Pharaoh this expectation would appear grossly absurd. The reputed "promise" was said to have been made to Abraham some four hundred years before, yet here was God's elect nation in abject bondage! What language could describe the folly of one who would sacrifice his prospect of succeeding to the throne of Egypt for so miserable a delusion! The language of the text may refer to Ps. lxxxix. 50—52; "Remember, Lord, *the reproach* which Thy servants have;...wherewith Thine enemies *have reproached*, O Lord, wherewith they *have reproached* the footsteps [so slow and lagging] of *Thy Christ.*" Compare also Rom. xv. 3 (Introd. III. 2, § ii.).

had respect unto] Turning his eyes away from other objects and fixing them on that one hope. The "recompense of reward" looked for by Moses was none other than that which had been already mentioned, in x. 35, as the aim of Christians.

27. *forsook*] Rather, **left** (comp. Matt. iv. 13). As the Passover is spoken of in *v.* 28, many have referred the present verse to the flight of Moses into Midian; so introducing an evident inconsistency with Exod. ii. 15. But, in fact, *v.* 28 is quite subordinate to *v.* 27; as is shown by the change of tense (lit. "he hath kept"); and the reference is really to the Exodus, in speaking of which Josephus uses the same words ('Ant.' II. 15): "They *left Egypt* in the month of Xanthicus." Thus everything becomes harmonious. Pharaoh's *anger* burst forth as soon as he heard the proposal that Israel should leave Egypt (Exod. v. 4—19). It culminated in his last interview with Moses (x. 28, 29): "See my face no more [to ask for permission to leave Egypt]; for in the day thou seest my face thou shalt die."

endured] Persevered in his resolve. This he did, as *seeing* by faith the "mighty hand and stretched out arm" of Him who is invisible (Exod. vi. 6; cp. xiv. 13).

28. *Through faith*] Rather, "**By** faith." Pharaoh had refused to allow Israel to go into the desert to "hold a feast to the Lord" (Exod. x. 9). Moses, in obedience to God's command and relying on His promise, held "a feast unto the Lord" (ib. xii. 14) there in Egypt.

kept] Or, "performed;" since the verb belongs also to the "sprinkling of blood" (on the door-posts of the houses, ib. xii. 7). The noun rendered, "*sprinkling*," is from the verb which is used in Levit. i. 5, &c., of sprinkling blood on the altar. On that passover-evening every house became an altar.

lest he...should] Rather, **that the destroyer of the first-born might not touch them**; but might spare all whose doors were sealed with paschal blood. The *faith* of Moses was signally displayed in this,

the Red sea as by dry *land:* which the Egyptians assaying to do were drowned.

30 By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about seven days.

31 By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with them [1] that believed not, when she had received the spies with peace.

[1] Or, *that were disobedient.*

32 And what shall I more say? for the time would fail me to tell of Gedeon, and *of* Barak, and *of* Samson, and *of* Jephthae; *of* David also, and Samuel, and *of* the prophets:

33 Who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions,

34 Quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens.

35 Women received their dead raised to life again: and others were [a] tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better resurrection:

[a] 2 Mac. 7. 7.

36 And others had trial of *cruel* mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment:

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whatever may have been the degree of insight which he had into the deeper significancy of that Passover deliverance. In any case Moses understood that God had *redeemed* Israel (Exod. xv. 13).

29. *which.....assaying to do*] Lit. "of which [sea]...making trial;"—to discover if they too could not pass through it.

30. When the people carried the ark around the city seven days in succession, they gave a clear proof of their reliance on God's unseen Presence.

31. For the nature of Rahab's faith see Josh. ii. 9—11: "The Lord, your God, He is God in heaven above and in earth beneath."

that believed not] Rather (as marg.), **that were disobedient** (comp. iii. 18, Acts xix. 9); although they knew that Israel was coming up under God's directions (Josh. ii. 9—11).

with peace] Severing herself from Israel's enemies, and adjuring the spies in God's name to make a covenant of peace with her (Josh. ii. 12—14).

32—38. The instances of faith which are alluded to in these verses fall into two groups: the first of an *active* (*vv.* 32—34), and the second of a *passive* (*vv.* 35—38), character.

32. In order of time *Gideon* follows Barak; but he is placed first, as the victory which he gained was pre-eminently a triumph of faith (cp. Isai. ix. 4, x. 26). Of the kings, *David* only is mentioned; the deliverances granted to Judah in later times (even the great one in Hezekiah's reign) being said to be "for David's sake" (1 K. xi. 32, 34; 2 K. xx. 6). During the regal period the nation's spiritual life was chiefly upheld by the prophets, who are here represented by *Samuel* (cp. Acts iii. 24).

33. David *subdued kingdoms* (2 S. viii. 1—14), **executed** *righteousness* (ib. 15), and *obtained promises* of the most wonderful kind (2 S. vii. 12—15);—or, obtained the *fulfilment* of promises; his patient faith being rewarded by the throne of Israel. The clause, "stopped the mouths of lions," is best taken as referring to Daniel (Dan. vi. 22), since *quenched the power of fire* in the next verse evidently refers to Dan. iii. 25. It should, therefore, have been placed at the beginning of *v.* 34.

34. *violence*] Rather, **power**. The fire retained its natural properties, but its power was "quenched," so far as the three confessors were concerned.

escaped] As Elijah (2 K. i. 9) and Elisha (ib. vi. 13).

out of weakness] As Samson (Judg. xvi. 28), Asa (2 Chro. xiv. 11). But the last four clauses of this verse may all be referred to the men of the Maccabean period (so Delitzsch).

of the aliens] Of foreigners;—so in the case of Gideon (Judg. viii. 12).

35. *Women*] 1 K. xvii. 22; 2 K. iv. 36.

raised to life again] Lit. "out of a resurrection."

others] As Eleazar and the seven sons of the Maccabean mother (2 Macc. vi and vii).

tortured] Or, "broken on the wheel" (2 Macc. vi. 19, 28, 30).

deliverance] Lit. "the redemption;" the offer of purchasing life by apostasy.

a better resurrection]—better than that which had been wrought for the Israelite mothers by Elijah and Elisha. "The King of the universe," said one of them, "shall raise up us, who have died for His laws, to an *eternal* revival of life" (2 Macc. vii. 9).

36. *cruel mockings*] 2 Macc. vii. 7, 10.

scourgings] ib. vii. 1.

bonds] As Jeremiah (Jer. xx. 2, xxxii. 2, xxxvii. 4).

37 They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented;

38 (Of whom the world was not worthy:) they wandered in deserts, and *in* mountains, and *in* dens and caves of the earth.

39 And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise:

40 God having [1] provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.

[1] Or, *foreseen.*

37. *stoned*] As Zechariah (2 Chro. xxiv. 20—22).

sawn asunder] See Introd. to Isaiah, II. § 1, note 4.

were tempted] So the youngest of the seven martyrs in 2 Macc. vii. After his six brothers had remained firm under the worst bodily torture, Antiochus applied to him a yet sharper test of fidelity, promising with an oath to give him great wealth and to make him his personal friend, if only he would abandon "the laws of his fathers" (see Additional Note).

with the sword] 1 K. xix. 10, 13, 19.

wandered about] Rather, **went about** (a different word from that in *v.* 38).

sheepskins] The word used of Elijah's mantle in 2 K. i. 8.

tormented] Rather, **distressed**; the word used in *v.* 25 ("suffer affliction"), xiii. 3 ("suffer adversity").

38. *the world*] That proud, ungodly, world (*v.* 7), which thought them not worthy to live (Acts xxii. 22).

in deserts, and in mountains] So Judas Maccabeus (2 Macc. v. 27).

dens] ib. vi. 11, x. 6.

caves of the earth] *underground* caverns.

39. *received not the promise*] The recurrence of these words takes our thoughts back to x. 36 and its exhortation to patient endurance; thus preparing the way for ch. xii.

40. *some better thing*] The mysterious privileges of the Gospel dispensation; which excite the wonder of angels (1 Pet. i. 11, 12). Abraham and Moses and David were not "made perfect" (xii. 23) until Jesus had established the New Covenant, in virtue of which we are now already (in one sense) "perfected" (see on x. 14). His resurrection from the dead was the fulfilment of "the promise made unto the fathers" (Acts xiii. 32, 33). By it we are "begotten again... unto an incorruptible inheritance" (1 Pet. i. 3, 4); the Holy Spirit being given as "the *earnest* of the promised possession."

for us] Or, "concerning us."

that they...] Or, "that they should not be made perfect apart from us." This thought, "not apart from us," forms the ground of the exhortation in xii. 1. Those ancient worthies, who have now at length been "made perfect" (xii. 23), stand around us, adding solemnity to our lives.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. XI. 1, 3, 21, 37.

1. There are two uses of the word ὑπόστασις, a *transitive* and an *intransitive*, to be carefully discriminated. In i. 2, iii. 14, it is used absolutely, and so is intransitive. Here, being in construction with a genitive, it is transitive. So Theophylact gives it, οὐσίωσις τῶν μήπω ὄντων, ὑπόστασις τῶν μὴ ὑφεστηκότων. And similarly Chrysostom: who gives this illustration of the meaning of the word; "The resurrection has not yet taken place, but faith substantiates (ὑφίστησιν) it in our souls."

3. There is no ground for imagining a transposition of the μὴ (as though it were ἐκ μὴ φαινομένων); although the Itala, Peshito, and Vulg. (with many commentators) so translate it,—misled, probably, by 2 Macc. vii. 28, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων (cp. Wisd. xi. 8). The μή negatives an implied assertion, that ἐκ φαινομένων τὰ βλεπόμενα γέγονε—"the world we see had its being from a prior phenomenal world." If it be asked whether this negation be consistent with Gen. i. 11, 20, 24, the answer is, that vegetables and animals did not *receive their being* from the earth or the waters, but *were framed by the* (creative) *word of God* operating upon the earth and the waters.—It is evident that the text gives no warrant for speaking of God as having created the world out of *non-phenomenal* substance.

21. Aquila and Symmachus render the word, "bed." Indeed, only two verses later on, the LXX. translate the same Hebrew word (there is no pronominal affix in either case) "the bed."—The Vulgate here retained the erroneous rendering of the Itala, "adoravit fastigium virgæ ejus;" although in Gen. xlvii. 31 it had paraphrased correctly; "adoravit Deum, conversus ad lectuli caput."

37. The word ἐπειράσθησαν, though absent from the Peshito, is in the Vulg., and is too well supported to be called in question. Besides having good MS. authority, it is found three times in Origen.

CHAPTER XII.

1 *An exhortation to constant faith, patience, and godliness.* 22 *A commendation of the new testament above the old.*

WHEREFORE seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset *us*, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us,

2 Looking unto Jesus the [1]author and finisher of *our* faith; who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.

[1] Or, *beginner.*

3 For consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against

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CHAP. XII. The exhortation begun in x. 32—36 is now resumed (see on xi. 39). If they, who had so much less light granted them, persevered thus manfully, what patience and courage ought we to exhibit!

1. The *we also* of A. V. is certainly misplaced, and gives a false antithesis; though it is not easy to represent the nicely constructed original. The strict connexion is: **Wherefore let us also...run with patience**;—even as those did of whom we have been speaking. But into this framework there are inserted two subordinate clauses: one to enforce the "Wherefore,"—**having so great a cloud of witnesses surrounding us**; the other to suggest a needful preliminary to the "running,"—**laying aside every encumbrance and the sin that is so ready to beset us.**

a cloud of witnesses] The heroes of faith, who lived under the elder Dispensation, stand in a near relation to us (cp. on xi. 40). They hover around us (cp. *v.* 23 below), *witnesses* to the solemn "profession" (iii. 1) which we have made; and, *as such*, undoubtedly watching our conduct with deepest interest. That this is the reference of the term "witnesses" here, is made plain by a comparison of 1 Tim. vi. 12;—where the word rendered "fight" (as also in 1 Tim. iv. 7) is the same which has here to be rendered "race;"—"Fight *the good fight of faith;* lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou wast called, and didst profess *the good profession* in the sight of *many witnesses.*"

lay aside] As a runner might lay aside his outer garments, shoes, &c. (Eph. iv. 22).

weight] Or, "encumbrance." But the word may have a directly moral signification; "pride," or "conceit" (Additional Note).

doth so easily beset us] Or, "is so ready to beset us." Probably the sin referred to is that of timidity or false shame (see below); the sin which induced some of the Hebrew Christians to shrink back from their profession (x. 25).

patience] patient fortitude; as in x. 36.

the race] An athletic term, which carries our thoughts back to x. 32.

set before us] with certain rules laid down to which the candidates must conform, and certain rewards for those who win the race (cp. 2 Tim. ii. 5).

2. *Looking*] with eyes turned away from other objects and fixed on one only.

Jesus] In the Greek, the name occurs after the description (cp. ii. 9): "Looking unto the author and finisher of faith, (even) Jesus."

the author (in ii. 10, "captain") *and finisher*] Or, "the beginner and the perfecter:" who by His victory over the powers of darkness (a victory gained in the power of faith, ii. 11—13) won the grace of regeneration for the army of Faith; and who, after sustaining them in their conflicts, until they "stand perfect and complete in all the will of God" (Col. iv. 11), shall Himself bestow on them the crown of victory.

of our faith] Rather, **of faith**; as the principle of spiritual life. By His one self-oblation He supplied the ground on which faith rests. At His Second Coming He will consummate that which faith has striven after.

who] Christ's own history is a pledge of what the recompense of faith shall be. He endured the unknown sufferings of the cross in stedfast faith (cp. ch. v. 7—9); the issue of which was exaltation to God's right hand.

for the joy] *in order that he might gain* the joy (such is the force of the preposition in *v.* 16). Suffering was the price He must pay for it. "The Saviour's joy," says Theodoret, "was the salvation of mankind" (cp. Isai. liii. 11).

set before him (as in *v.* 1)] assigned to Him, in the counsel of eternal love, for His reward.

the cross] "Here, at last," says Bengel, "he speaks of what to many was so odious a name;"—a "cause of stumbling" (1 Cor. i. 23).

despising the shame] For He could say in assured faith, "I know that I shall not be ashamed" (Isai. l. 7).

3. *For*] Fix your eyes on Him, I say; *For*, consider how slight your trials are, when they are compared with His.

consider] Lit. "estimate the proportion of." So unspeakably glorious in Himself, and yet subjected to such indignities! What proportion can there be between His trial and yours? But He endured all in patience.

contradiction] From the beginning it had been foretold that He should be as "a sign to

himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds.

4 Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin.

5 And ye have forgotten the exhortation which speaketh unto you as unto children, My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him:

6 For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.

7 If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not?

8 But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons.

9 Furthermore we have had fathers of our flesh which corrected *us*, and we gave *them* reverence: shall we not much rather be in subjection unto the Father of spirits, and live?

10 For they verily for a few days chastened *us* after their own plea-

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be *spoken against*" (Luke ii. 34). His ministry was one long "day of Meribah" (in Num. xx. 13, the LXX. have "waters of *contradiction*").

faint]—as those who lose heart and give up their endeavour (cp. *v.* 5; Gal. vi. 9). Literally, the clause stands; "that ye be not weary, fainting in your souls."

4. The figure is now changed, from the race-course to the wrestling-ground (as in 1 Cor. ix. 24—27). In the expression, *unto blood*, the figure almost passes into reality.

not yet] He is addressing the second generation of Jewish Christians. In earlier times many had stood firm in their opposition to a sinful world, when this could be done only by risking their lives (Acts vii—xii).

The death of St James may have taken place two years previously (cp. on xiii. 7).

5. *forgotten*] It is a strong term; **quite forgotten.**

exhortation] Or, "consolation" (under their trials; cp. 2 Cor. i. 5, 7).

speaketh...as unto] Rather, **discourseth with you as with** (Prov. iii. 11, 12).

despise not] Do not think lightly of it, or cast it away in disdain; but reverence it, as having in it very precious fruit. *Endure* it, that you may obtain that fruit.

chastening] Or, "discipline," training, education; a phase of meaning, which is to be borne in mind throughout this passage.

faint] Or, "be disheartened" (*v.* 3).

6. *and scourgeth*] **yea, and** *scourgeth.* So the LXX. The Hebrew has, "Even as a father (chasteneth) the son..."

receiveth] to his favour.

7. *If ye endure*] Comp. x. 32 and *vv.* 2, 3, above. If, having chastisement sent on you, you *endure it* (after Christ's example), then know for your comfort that *God dealeth with you as with sons* (for the reading, see Additional Note). This patient enduring is the contrast of the "despising" in *v.* 5.

what son is he] Or, "what son is there;"—what *genuine* son?

8. *without chastisement*] None were without it, except those who, when it was offered them, "would none of it" (Prov. i. 23, 25), and so were left to "eat the fruit of their own way" (ib. 31).

all are] Rather, **all have been made.** The induction supplied in ch. xi warranted the use of "all."

bastards] Supposititious children, not really belonging to the family (Deut. xxxii. 5, Matt. xiii. 38, John viii. 39—44).

9. *Furthermore*] Up to this point the argument has been drawn from the analogy of human education. But this falls far short of representing the value of our Heavenly Father's discipline.

have had fathers...] Lit. "have had the fathers of our flesh as chastisers."

gave them reverence] The word used in Num. xii. 14 (A. V. "be ashamed"), 2 Chro. vii. 14 (A. V. "humble themselves").

be in subjection] Submitting our wills to His (as in James iv. 7).

the Father of spirits] From whom our spirits have their immediate origin (cp. Eccl. xii. 7). He is ready to bestow the tenderest regard on every "contrite and humble spirit" (Isai. lvii. 15, 16).

and live] obtaining from Him the only true life (Prov. viii. 35); that which is granted to the "just man" who abides "in his faith" (ch. x. 38); the essence of which is participation in God's holiness (see *v.* 10).

10. *for a few days*] occasionally, during our childhood. The contrast to this did not require to be mentioned in the second clause of the verse. God's training lasts so long as there is room for growth in holiness; consequently, until death.

after their own pleasure] Rather, **as seemed good to them**; to the best of their judgment: though sometimes they might be

sure; but he for *our* profit, that *we* might be partakers of his holiness.

11 Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby.

12 Wherefore lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees;

[1] Or, *even.* 13 And make [1] straight paths for your feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way; but let it rather be healed.

14 Follow peace with all *men*, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord:

15 Looking diligently lest any man [1] fail of the grace of God; lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble *you*, and thereby many be defiled;

[1] Or, *fall from.*

16 Lest there *be* any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright.

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over-lenient, and sometimes unduly severe. God's discipline, on the contrary, always tends with certainty to our highest welfare.

partakers of his holiness] and so, in the end, of "everlasting life" (Rom. vi. 22). Cp. 2 Pet. i. 4.

11. *no chastening*] Or; "all chastisement seemeth for the time present to be not a matter of joy, but of grief." This statement is true universally. That which follows in the second part of the verse is also true (in a degree) of all "discipline" that is worthy of the name.

peaceable] Rather, **peaceful**; in contrast with the disturbance caused by "grief." In Isai. lvii. 19 "peace" is the healing balm, which the Father of spirits (*v.* 16) bestows on those whom He has "grieved" (so the LXX. in *v.* 17, "I grieved him").

of righteousness] A genitive of apposition; righteousness being itself the "peaceful fruit" (comp. James iii. 18).

are exercised] Rather, **have been exercised**, so as to be thoroughly trained and proficient (as in ch. v. 14).

12. There is an evident allusion to Isai. xxxv. 3. Later on in that chapter the Prophet foresees a time of "joy," in which "grief" shall have fled away (*v.* 10).

lift up] Lit. "straighten anew:" (see Note below).

feeble] In Luke v. 18 and 24, "palsied." Their sluggishness of faith has ended in spiritual paralysis; so that they make little progress in "the race set before them" (*v.* 1).

13. *make...feet*] From Prov. iv. 26.

lest...] Or, "that the lame be not turned out of the way," in dread of its roughnesses; "but may rather be healed" (cp. Isai. xxxv. 6). The Church must not only remove stumbling-blocks (Isai. lvii. 14) out of the way of the lame (the doubtful-minded, 1 K. xviii. 21), but must also labour for their recovery; bringing them to Him who said, "I will heal him" (whom I had chastened); Isai. lvii. 17, 19.

14. *Follow*] "Pursue" (Ps. xxxiv. 14).

holiness] Rather, **sanctification** (as in 1 Thess. iv. 3, 7). They are to seek "peace with all men," so as not to provoke any needless contest with evil; but in doing this, they are to guard against anything that would interfere with their *consecration* of heart and life. Cp. 1 Pet. iii. 12—15.

see the Lord] Matt. v. 8; cp. Isai. xxxv. 8.

15. The members of the Church are to have a brotherly care of each other (cp. iii. 12, 13, iv. 1, x. 24). The *form* of this verse is evidently moulded on that of Deut. xxix. 18.

fail of] Or, "fall back from;" not keeping pace with the leadings of God's grace; but lingering behind and so missing the reward which He has provided. Cp. iv. 1.

of bitterness] Producing bitter fruit. The "root" designates the *man* who draws others into apostasy; see Deut. xxix. 18, 19 (cp. 1 Macc. i. 10). The same text is referred to by St Peter in Acts viii. 23.

many] Rather, **the many**; the body of the congregation. The sin of idolatry is frequently spoken of in the Old Testament as causing "defilement" (Jer. ii. 7, 23, iii. 1, 2; Ezek. xx. 30). Whatever else draws men away from the "grace of God," whether infidelity or worldliness, must have the effect of leaving the soul polluted.

16. *as Esau*] This probably belongs to the second of the preceding terms. "Any fornicator, or [more generally] profane person;"—of which profaneness Esau stands as the type. He *despised* his birthright (Gen. xxv. 34): that birthright which made him heir of the blessing pronounced on Abraham; perhaps, also, of the right of priestly ministration (Num. iii. 12, 13). For him "things hoped for" were as unsubstantial shadows, "things not seen" as things non-existent. Being thus sensual and faithless, he had cast away all care for that "sanctification" (*v.* 14), of which he had received the outward pledge in the rite of circumcision. He had become "profane."

Let all who belong to the "church of the

17 For ye know how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected: for he found no [1] place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.

18 For ye are not come unto the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest,

19 And the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words; which *voice* they that heard intreated that the word should not be spoken to them any more:

20 (For they could not endure that which was commanded, And *if* so much as a beast touch the mountain, it shall be stoned, or thrust through with a dart:

21 And so terrible was the sight,

[1] Or. *way to change his mind.*

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firstborn" (*v.* 23) beware of bartering away their heavenly birthright.

one morsel of meat] Rather, "one meal."

17. *how that...would have*] Rather, **that when he afterward would fain have.**

rejected] his claim to be the rightful heir of "the blessing" being disallowed. Isaac himself recognized the fact, when he said of Jacob, "yea, and he shall be blessed" (Gen. xxvii. 33).

place of repentance] Or, "room for repentance;"—for that "repentance," which he "sought after with tears;" which was, a change of the Divine purpose that had been announced in Isaac's benediction of Jacob. There was no room for such a change. When Judah was "*rejected*" by God (Jer. vi. 30, vii. 29), the sentence ran, "I have spoken it, I have purposed it, and *will not repent*." So, too, when Saul was rejected, it was added, that God was "not a man *that He should repent*." So was it, when Esau was rejected from being heir of the blessing which he had once deliberately set at nought. God's sentence was irreversible. Cp. Deut. i. 45.

sought it carefully] Or, simply, "sought after it" (as in xi. 6). The pronoun "it" has been taken by many to refer to "the blessing" (so Theophylact, Calvin, Bengel, Bleek, and Delitzsch). The philological reasons against this, however, appear insuperable (see Additional Note).

It is strange that any should have inferred from this verse that a man might strive earnestly to repent, and yet find himself shut out from the possibility of doing so. Throughout the narrative Esau shows no sense of his having done wrong. His tears were not those of contrition. His aim was to bend Isaac to his will;—not to bow himself in penitence before God. As regards God:—His refusing to allow of any such "repentance" as Esau desired, was, in truth, giving him "room" and opportunity for personal "repentance;" see Wisd. xii. 10.

18. *For*] Having reminded them of the exhortation which Moses addressed to Israel of old, he now assigns a reason why the Hebrew Christians should be even more diligent than their fathers not to "fall away from the grace of God" (*v.* 15); *For*, how incomparably greater were the manifestations of that grace which had been made to them!

are not come] Rather, **have not drawn near**; as into God's presence (cp. x. 22): and so in *v.* 22. That this thought predominates throughout the passage, is plain from *v.* 28; "grace whereby we may *serve God*."

the mount] Deut. iv. 11. Sinai stood at the head of the whole Legal Dispensation. When the Ark of the Covenant,—constituted at Sinai the centre of Israel's religious system,—was lodged on Sion, it was as though "Sinai was in the sanctuary" (Ps. lxviii. 17). Down to the close of the Levitical period, the earthly Jerusalem belonged to the order of things of which Sinai was the historical symbol (Gal. iv. 25).—For the reading, see Additional Note.

touched] Rather, **felt by the hand; as** an object is *felt* by men who grope in the dark (cp. Isai. lix. 10). When the people were led forth out of the camp by Moses to "the nether part of the mount" (Exod. xix. 17, Deut. iv. 11), they must have advanced through the thick darkness like an army of blind men; anxiously groping after the barriers at the foot of the mountain, beyond which they were forbidden to go on pain of death. It was a parable, in which the character of the Legal Dispensation was sketched. What a contrast to the later Dispensation! No need was there to grope after that Mount Zion, on which "the glory of the Lord was risen" (Isai. lx. 1).

blackness] Or, "thick gloom."

19. The "sound of a trumpet" is mentioned in Exod. xix. 16, xx. 18. The "voice of words" is from Deut. iv. 12; where it refers to the "Ten Words."

intreated...] Lit. "deprecated (or asked to be excused from) having anything further spoken to them." The word recurs in *v.* 25. Comp. Deut. v. 25—27.

20. *could not endure*] The thought that even unconscious animals were to be slain, as if guilty of sacrilege, was intolerably appalling.

And if...] Rather, "If even a beast."

or...dart] This clause should be omitted. It is wanting in almost all ancient authorities.

21. *And so...*] Rather, *And* (**so terrible was the sight!**) *Moses said.* The passage

that Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake:)

22 But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels,

23 To the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are [1] written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect,

24 And to Jesus the mediator of the new [1] covenant, and to the blood

[1] Or, *enrolled.*

[1] Or, *testament.*

specially referred to is Deut. ix. 15—19. At *v.* 15 we read that "the mountain burned with fire," in token of God's anger against the sinful people. Then it is added in *vv.* 18, 19, that Moses offered supplication on their behalf, "being afraid of the anger and hot displeasure, wherewith the Lord was wroth." See Additional Note.

22—25. At Sinai, and under the Dispensation that was there founded, men had "drawn near" to God only to shrink back in alarm from Him (Exod. xx. 21). The contrast now follows:

(1) Christians "have drawn near," not to the terrible Desert mountain, but to "the city of the living God;" of which Zion, "the perfection of beauty" (Ps. l. 2), was a type.

(2) There they meet "myriads of angels," not dispensing a "fiery law" (Deut. xxxiii. 2), but holding joyous festival.

(3) They have their names enrolled, not after any human pedigree (Num. i. 18), but as heirs of heaven.

(4) Their causes are heard, not by fallible men (Exod. xviii. 13—26), but by Him who, being the God of all, cannot but be a righteous Judge.

(5) Instead of looking forward to the undefined "blessing" promised to Abraham at some future time, they know that the departed "righteous" are now "perfected," and that the same "perfection" is already made over to themselves,

(6) through a Covenant, not mediated by man (like that at Sinai, which was broken before it was formally established, so that the mediator himself stood aghast, *v.* 21), but by the Divine Saviour,

(7) who ratified the Covenant, not with the blood of animals, which bore witness to man's guilt, but with His own atoning, and truly consecrating, blood. On this sustained contrast the admonition in *v.* 25 rests.

22. *are come*] "have drawn near;" *v.* 18.

mount Sion] On which Christ reigns (Ps. ii. 6); from which He exercises rule (cx. 2); the abode of "everlasting joy" (Isai. xxxv. 10).

the living God] See on ix. 14.

the heavenly Jerusalem] The true mother Church, to which all the churches on earth are affiliated (Gal. iv. 26).

to an innumerable...(*v.* 23)*...firstborn*] Rather, **to tens of thousands of angels in festal assembly, and to the congregation of the first-born.** "Tens of thousands of angels" had attended "the ministration of death" on Sinai (2 Cor. iii. 7), and had mournfully watched over Israel's later history. Now they were able to hold joyous festival; celebrating the victory of Divine love, achieved by Him at whose birth they had sung, "Glory in the highest to God," whose Ascension they had gazed on with admiring wonder (1 Tim. iii. 16), whose redeeming work they study with deepest reverence (1 Pet. i. 12).

At Sinai, too, there had been a "congregation of first-born," who were numbered by Moses (Numb. iii. 42 ff). But the Hebrew Christians were joined to a nobler "congregation of first-born," whose names were **enrolled** (even while they were yet pilgrims,—'coetus peregrinantium') in "the book of life" (cp. Luke x. 20; Phil. iv. 3); all of them made "priests unto God" (Rev. i. 6), because all of them "conformed to the image" of the One First-born (see on i. 6).

23. *to God the Judge of all*] Or, *to the Judge, who is God of all*;—"God of the spirits of all flesh" (Num. xxvii. 16, cp. on *v.* 9);—the God and the Judge of angels also. Since He is the "God of all," He cannot but judge all equitably. Similarly St Peter, after setting forth the high dignity of Christians, proceeds to speak of "the Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work."

As universal and impartial Judge, He has admitted to the citizenship of the Holy City not those only who have been "born anew" into it on earth, but also "the spirits of just men;" who (like Abel) had "made a covenant with Him over sacrifice" (Ps. l. 5), and were now "perfected" (xi. 40) through the one Mediatorial offering.

24. *to Jesus the mediator...*] The order of the words in the Greek is again noticeable (cp. ii. 9, etc.); "to the Mediator of the New Covenant, Jesus." The word here rendered "new" is not the one generally employed, which marks the *contrasted character* of the two Covenants. It points rather to this Covenant's having a new, fresh, vigorous, life; while the other was ready to die.

blood of sprinkling] Which really effects —what the sprinkling of sacrificial blood by

of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than *that of* Abel.

25 See that ye refuse not him that speaketh. For if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more *shall not* we *escape*, if we turn away from him that *speaketh* from heaven:

26 Whose voice then shook the earth: but now he hath promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven.

27 And this *word*, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that [1]are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.

[1] Or, *may be shaken.*

Aaron (ix. 13, 14) or by Moses (ib. 19—21) typically represented—purification from guilt (comp. x. 22, 1 Pet. i. 2).

better things...] Or (corr. reading), **better than Abel**; more nobly and excellently than Abel could (comp. vii. 19, 22, viii. 6, etc.). Righteous Abel did, indeed, speak to all later ages of God's readiness to accept the faith and obedience of His servants; but his voice had no power to quiet the conscience of his guilty brother. Cain's cry was: "My iniquity is too great to be *forgiven*" (Gen. iv. 13, marg.). But the blood of Jesus offered pardon even to those who had shed it (Acts iii. 19). Through it Abel himself, with all the "righteous men" who had been mentioned in ch. xi, had been "made perfect." Unspeakable, then, must be the value of that blood, "the blood of the Covenant, wherewith" Christians have "been sanctified" (x. 29). How important that none should despise its pleadings! If that great "cloud of witnesses," with Abel at its head, bids us to be earnest in "striving against sin" (*v.* 4), how much more He, to whose coming they all looked forward, "the Author and Perfecter of faith" (*v.* 2)!

25. *refuse not*] Or, "decline not to hear" (the same word as in *v.* 19).

him that speaketh] God, who now "speaketh" to us "in His Son" (i. 1); with the gentle, yet infinitely persuasive, accents of the "blood of sprinkling" (*v.* 24), and by the "Spirit of grace" (x. 29). How deep the guilt of *declining* that invitation (Luke xiv. 18 f., where the same word is used)!

escaped not] Comp. ii. 3. There was nothing which was necessarily, and *of itself*, wrong in Israel's shrinking from the terrors of Sinai (Deut. v. 25; Exod. xx. 16). But, in fact, their unwillingness to hear God's words sprang from distrust of their Divine Benefactor; who, with so much condescension, had "brought them unto Himself" (xix. 4). They asked for the intervention of Moses as if that might relieve them from responsibility to the Law, or shield them from its penalties (Exod. xxxii. 33—35);—an impossibility.

who refused] Rather, **when they refused**. *That* did not absolve them from the obligation laid upon them.

if we turn away] Lit. "we that turn away." The word is the same as in Josh. xxii. 16, 18, 29.

from heaven] That heaven into which Jesus entered "by His own blood" (ix. 12, 24); from whence the "beseeching" voice of "God in Christ" (2 Cor. v. 20) is continually issuing.

26. *shook the earth*] Exod. xix. 18. The earth trembled, as with birth-throes (Ps. xcvii. 4), when God's great plan for forming "a kingdom of priests" to Himself (Exod. xix. 6) began to work.

now] Under the Gospel dispensation; to which the prophecy in Hagg. ii. 6—9 looked forward.

promised] It is not said, "threatened." If the framework of heaven and earth is to be shaken, *it* is for the introduction of a far higher constitution of things.

Yet once more I shake] Or, "Yet again, **once for all, I will shake**." Israel's disobedience had brought the Sinaitic Covenant to an end. But the high design, which Israel as a nation had failed to accomplish, was not abandoned. God would "yet again once for all" set to His hand, and "shake the heaven and the earth and the throne of kingdoms" (Hagg. ii. 21, 22); that "the desire of all nations" might come (ib. ii. 6, 7), even His chosen Servant (typified by Zerubbabel), whom He would make to be "as a signet,"—the immoveable Seal of His own immoveable kingdom (ib. ii. 23).

27. This work of God (so the "once for all" signified) should be *final*. The old order of that natural system, which is "subject to vanity," should be "removed," or, "changed" (comp. vi. 17, vii. 12), to make room for that which, being "filled with the glory of the Lord" (Hagg. ii. 7; Isai. vi. 3), is everlasting.

that are made] Rather, **that have been made**. So in Isai. lxvi. 1, 2, it is said of heaven and earth, "all these things *hath my hand made;*" and this as a reason why *they* cannot furnish a fitting Temple for God; whose abode must be spiritual (cp. lvii. 15). The things that are to "remain" must be such as partake of God's own holiness.

remain] The same word as in vii. 3, 24, x. 34, xiii. 14; John xii. 34; 1 Cor. iii. 14, xiii. 13.

28 Wherefore we receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, [1]let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear:

29 For our God *is* a consuming fire.

[1] Or, *let us hold fast.*

28. *we receiving a kingdom*] Rather, **seeing that we receive** *a kingdom* (comp. Dan. vii. 18).

cannot be moved] Rather, **cannot be shaken**: Dan. ii. 44, vii. 14, 27. The centre of the kingdom is that "Zion" (*v.* 22) which "*cannot be shaken*, but abideth for ever" (Ps. cxxv. 1); with which God's "Covenant of Peace" stands firm, though "the mountains be removed" (Isai. liv. 10). Comp. also the note on *v.* 26 above.

let us have] Or, "let us hold fast." So the Peshito; using the same word here that it does in 1 Tim. iii. 9, Rev. iii. 11. (For another rendering, see below.) Through Him, who sits on the "throne of grace," we are consecrated with "the Spirit of grace" (x. 29), and *receive* at God's hands that priestly *royalty* which Israel forfeited; how careful, then, should we be not to "fall back from the grace of God" (*v.* 15) as they did.

serve God] Or, "do service to God;" presenting to Him that "holy, *acceptable*, sacrifice," which is our "rational *service*" (Rom. xii. 1).

reverence] Such as a due sense of the *holiness* of God is fitted to inspire even in the highest of created beings (cp. Isai. vi. 2). For the reading, see Additional Note.

godly fear] The *verb* is used in Exod. iii. 6; "Moses *feared* to look upon God."

29. *For*] Rather, **For indeed**:—though He be so gracious; though He have condescended to call Himself "our God" (xi. 16).

a consuming fire] In Deut. iv. 24 there is added, "even a *jealous* God;" who is intolerant of everything that would injure the purity of His people (cp. Exod. xxiv. 10, 17; Lev. x. 1—3). That Fire has been burning in the Church age after age; yet is the Church itself "not consumed" (Exod. iii. 2, Mal. iii. 6).

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. XII. 1, 7, 12, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 28.

1. So Bengel takes it here: quoting from Hesychius; ὄγκος] φύσημα, ὑπερηφανία. By giving it this sense (1) We bring the term into symmetry with ἁμαρτίαν (cp. 1 Pet. ii. 1; ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πάντα δόλον). (2) We obtain the very same antithesis to patient faith which lies in the Hebrew of Hab. ii. 4: "His soul is lifted up" (or, "swollen out").

1. The verb περίστημι is used of φόβος in Thuc. III. 54; and of αἰσχύνη in Demosth. 30. 24. The adj. εὐπερίστατος is a strictly ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; occurring elsewhere only in Christian writers who are referring to this passage.

7. Instead of εἰ παιδείαν, the most ancient MSS. and versions give εἰς παιδείαν ("endure ye (or, ye endure) unto chastisement"). In the face of this strong external evidence Bleek, Tholuck, and Lünemann, adhere to the Received Text; and with good reason: for the other reading, besides grievously marring the continuity of *v.* 7, leaves the εἰ δὲ of *v.* 8 without anything to refer to. It should be remarked that the verb ὑπομένω has just been used transitively in *vv.* 2, 3, and in x. 32; and that it here supplies the needful antithesis to the slighting of God's discipline which had been spoken of in *v.* 7.

12. The word ἀνορθόω is used by the LXX. in Ps. xviii. 35: "Thy hand upheld me, and Thy discipline (or, chastisement) *lifted me up again*" (ἡ παιδεία σου ἀνώρθωσέ με).

17. 1. The distance between αὐτήν and εὐλογίαν is far too great.

2. Μετανοίας from its emphatic position remains on the ear.

3. The antithetic verbs "found" and "sought" all but compel the reference to be to μετανοίας.

4. To put μετανοίας γὰρ...εὗρε into a parenthesis, leaves the clause καίπερ...αὐτήν to come in tautologously, after a completed statement.

5. The structure of the verse is clearly *chiastic;* the θελησας clause corresponding to the ἐκζητήσας, and ἀπεδοκιμάσθη to the μετανοίας γὰρ... (cp. Jer. iv. 28, οὐ μετανοήσω; vi. 30, ἀπεδοκίμασεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύριος).

18. Some MSS. and versions omit ὄρει (leaving us to render "to a palpable and kindled fire"): which, however, is well supported by manuscript and patristic authority. The correctness of the Received Text is confirmed by Deut. iv. 11: καὶ προσήλθετε,...καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐκαίετο πυρὶ...σκότος, γνόφος, θύελλα (cp. ib. v. 22, 23, ix. 13). In Rev. xxi. 1—8 we have the λίμνη ἡ καιομένη πυρὶ as the antithesis of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

The word ψηλαφωμένῳ ("groped after") has a sufficiently obvious application to the mountain enveloped in darkness; but appears quite unsuited to a "burning fire."

21. In Deut. ix. 19 we have ἔκφοβός εἰμι; in the text, ἔκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἔντρομος; the second adjective being an idiomatic appendage,

as in the phrase μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου (2 Cor. vii. 15; Eph. vi. 5; Phil. ii. 12). Cp. 1 Macc. xiii. 2, ἔντρομος καὶ ἔμφοβος.

22, 23. Most are now agreed in connecting πανηγύρει with what goes before it (not, as A.V., with *v.* 23). So the best MSS., the Peshito and Vulgate, Origen, Ambrose, and Augustine ("decem millibus exultantium angelorum"). It remains doubtful whether we are to render "to myriads of angels, a festal throng," or, "to myriads, a festal throng of angels." As πανηγύρις is not so well suited to govern the genitive, the former rendering is to be preferred.

28. Many translate, "let us have thankfulness;" but

1. No instance is given to show that the words can have this meaning, when used (as here) *absolutely*, and *with the verb standing first.*

2. The drift of the exhortation is to promote the "reverence and godly fear," which are spoken of at the end of the verse. *Thankfulness*, however compatible with this, yet belongs to a different *line of thought.*

3. The "holding fast of grace" is the contrast of the "falling back from the grace of God," which had been spoken of in *v.* 15 (cp. also x. 29, xiii. 9).

28. The oldest MSS. read μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους. Tregelles and Alford refer to the Peshito as supporting this reading; but incorrectly. The first of the two Syriac words is the one which is used for αἰδὼς in 1 Tim. ii. 9, while the second (from the verb used for εὐλαβηθείς in xi. 7) represents εὐλαβεία in ch. v. 7, 8. The Received Text has good MSS. on its side, in addition to the Peshito and (very distinctly) St Chrysostom. Delitzsch notices that the combination αἰδὼς καὶ εὐλαβεία occurs in Philo, II. 597, 33.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *Divers admonitions, as to charity,* 4 *to honest life,* 5 *to avoid covetousness,* 7 *to regard God's preachers,* 9 *to take heed of strange doctrines,* 10 *to confess Christ,* 16 *to give alms,* 17 *to obey governors,* 18 *to pray for the apostle.* 20 *The conclusion.*

LET brotherly love continue.
2 Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.
3 Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; *and* them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body.
4 Marriage *is* honourable in all, and the bed undefiled: but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.
5 *Let your* conversation *be* without covetousness; *and be* content with such things as ye have: for he hath

CHAP. XIII. 1. *brotherly love*] The love of such as are brethren in Christ (ii. 11, iii. 1; cp. 1 Thess. iv. 9, 10). How active this love had been in the Hebrew community, we saw in vi. 10, x. 32. The exhortation is, "Let it *continue*," unshaken;—a sign that you belong to the immoveable kingdom (xii. 27). In *vv.* 2, 3, two forms of this brotherly kindness are mentioned—kindness to "strangers" and to "prisoners;" both of which classes had been specially named by Christ as among His "brethren" (Matt. xxv. 38—40).

2. The Emperor Julian (Ep. 49) held that the kindness which Christians showed to strangers was one of the principal causes of Christianity having spread as it had done.

3. *bound with them*] So closely united to them in love that you cannot but share their bonds (1 Cor. xii. 26; cp. x. 33 above).

suffer adversity] Or, "are in distress" (see on xi. 37).

in the body] and therefore exposed to the like sufferings.

4. *Marriage is honourable*] Rather, **Let marriage be held in honour** (the construction as in *v.* 5; cp. Rom. xii. 9).

in all] Rather, "in all things" (as in *v.* 18; Tit. ii. 9, 10). No part of that which is God's institution is to be treated with disrespect.

the bed] Rather, **let the bed be.** Many good authorities, however, introduce the second clause by "for," instead of "but."

God] Human law may not be able to reach such, but there is One who will without fail judge them,—GOD.

5. *conversation*] Or, "conduct;" habits and manner of life.

without covetousness] Lit. "*un*-money-loving;" implying the reverse of money-loving,—open-handed and generous. (On the sequence of *vv.* 2, 5, cp. Introd. III. 2, § i.)

he hath said] "He Himself," or, "HE;"—there was no need to say, *who.* The quotation is from Josh. i. 5 (see below), where the words are addressed to Joshua *after the death of Moses.* A similar assurance was made to Jacob when he left Isaac (Gen. xxviii. 15), and to Solomon when he was about to lose his father (1 Chro. xxviii. 20). The Hebrew Christians might apply the assurance to themselves, though they were separated from the Mosaic economy (now all but defunct, viii. 13), and cast out from their patrimony (x. 32—34).

[a] Josh 1. 5. said, [a] I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.

6 So that we may boldly say, The Lord *is* my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me.

[1] Or, *are the guides.* 7 Remember them which [1] have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering the end of *their* conversation.

8 Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever.

9 Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines. For *it is* a good thing that the heart be established with grace; not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein.

10 We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle.

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6. *may boldly say*] Rather, **say boldly.** The quotation is from Ps. cxviii. 6. There ought to be a colon at "fear," the second clause being interrogative: **What shall man do unto me?**

7. *which have...spoken*] Rather, *that* **had** *the rule over you*, (lit., your leaders;—the same word as in *v.* 17) *which* **spake.** The reference is plainly to some who had been removed from among them. One of these, probably, was James the Just, bishop of Jerusalem, who was put to death in A.D. 62 (Jos. 'Ant.' XX. 9).

follow] That is, imitate (vi. 12).

considering] Or, "observing carefully."

the end of their conversation] Or, "the issue of their life:"—how nobly they concluded their long course of consistent labour; faithful to the last. There should be a full stop at the end of the verse; the order of the words in the original being, "of whom, observing carefully the issue of (their) life, imitate the faith."

8. *the same*] **is the same.** The Greek order is somewhat more emphatic: "Jesus Christ is yesterday and to-day the same, and for ever." He is "the same to-day," in your season of trial, that He was *yesterday*, when your fathers were tried; and He will be the same "for ever." What, then, if the Legal constitution were perishing, and an unknown future lay before the Church? They might advance courageously on their way to the Land of Promise. The "Ark of the Covenant of the Lord" had gone before, and would stand firm, until the whole Church should have "passed over" (Josh. iii. 3, 17) in safety.

Obs. Thus the last chapter resumes, and applies practically, the testimony to Christ, which had been given in the first; *Thou art* THE SAME (i. 12).

9. *carried about with...doctrines*] Rather (corr. reading), **carried away by...teachings**:—away from that simplicity of faith, which marked your departed leaders (*v.* 7); and so, away from the one unchanging Source of spiritual life (*v.* 8).

The circumstances of the Church at Jerusalem were at this time very critical. The "many myriads" (Acts xxi. 20) of its members were all "zealous for the law." The fact that a whole generation had passed away since the Christian Church was founded, and yet the Temple-services still continued to be celebrated, might incline some to suppose that the Levitical ritual was meant to be perpetual. True, the sacrifices were not needed (as the preceding part of this Epistle had shown) for the purpose of *atonement*. But might they not be the appointed channels of self-consecration and *thanksgiving*? And were not the sacrificial feasts valuable means of brotherly communion? The "many teachers" who existed among the Hebrew Christians (James iii. 1) might easily be led to form *divers*, and ever-varying, theories on these points; embodying elements that were *strange*, and alien to the true principles of the Gospel. Such speculations would be especially dangerous in times of persecution; when anything would be welcome which seemed to offer a plausible ground of compromise.

established] Made firm and strong (comp. Col. ii. 7). This stedfastness of heart could be produced only by abiding in the "grace" of Christ (Rom. v. 2); not by sacrificial meats, which were mere "carnal ordinances" (ix. 10). If any Christians trusted in them, they were "fallen from grace" (Gal. v. 4).

which have not] Lit. "wherein they that walked found no profit." Had men not tried long enough what could be got from the Law as an outward system? Had they not *walked in it*, regulating their whole life by it, and found it *unprofitable* (vii. 18)? The naked and heartless ritual observances of the later Jews were, like the idols their fathers had trusted in, *things that could not profit* (Jer. ii. 8, vii. 8; cp. Isai. lvii. 12).

10. *We have an altar*]—by means of which our souls are upheld in health and comfort (*v.* 9). The Altar is that, on which Jesus offered up Himself "to sanctify His people" (*v.* 12); by which both our thank-offerings to God and our deeds of kindness to our fellow-men are hallowed (*vv.* 15, 16). We do not stand in need of those Levitical

11 For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are burned without the camp.

12 Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate.

13 Let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach.

14 [b] For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come.

15 By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of *our* lips [†] giving thanks to his name.

[b] Mic. 2. 10.

[†] Gr. *confessing to.*

"meats;" we "have meat to eat which they know not of." We have an Altar, *of* (or, *from*) *which they that serve* (viii. 6) *the tabernacle have no right* (or, *power*, as in 1 Cor. ix. 4) *to eat.* Only by faith (*sursum corda*) can any have "power" (comp. John i. 12) to partake of the one true Sin-offering which was offered upon that invisible Altar (see Additional Note). They who faithlessly adhere to the antiquated type *disable* themselves from feeding on the reality, which is "meat indeed" and "drink indeed" (John vi. 55).

11. This disability was figuratively set forth by the Law. For not even the high-priest was permitted to eat of the *sin-offerings* of the Day of Atonement. The bodies of the bullock and the goat were to be carried "without the camp," and to be there burnt (Lev. xvi. 27). Those sacrifices represented simply the penalty of sin, *death;* and were to be "burnt" (not with holy altar-fire, but) as polluted things (cp. Josh. vii. 15, LXX.). The Law itself, then, declared that they "who served the Tabernacle" were not permitted to feed on the most solemn of its typical sin-offerings. Although these, by Divine ordainment, bore the people's sins representatively, yet, being unable truly to atone for sin, they were treated as under a curse. So long as the Jews held Jesus to be, like their own sin-offering, simply an "accursed thing," they could not partake of that most precious Sacrifice.

12. *Wherefore*] That He might fulfil what was presignified by that provision in the Law, Jesus was contented to be led outside *the gate* of Jerusalem (John xix. 17), as one laden with guilt (cp. Lev. xxiv. 23; Num. xv. 35; Acts vii. 58). This He did that He might "sanctify the people" (which was the end aimed at by the Day of Atonement, Lev. xvi. 30); see on ii. 11, 17.

. "Through the offering of" His sacred "body we are once for all sanctified" (x. 10). When He "bore the sins of many" (ix. 28), and "tasted death for every man" (ii. 9), He made a *real* atonement for sins; and abolished the power of sin and death. The virtue of that sacrifice is communicated to all who obey Him; so that it becomes to them the *reality*, which was typified by the "*peace-offerings*" of the Law;—a means of communion with the Holy and Blessed God. In the fullest sense, then, "*we have an altar;*" of which we may eat and live for ever.

13. *go forth unto him*] go outside the unbelieving and rebellious camp; *to Him*, in whom we have sacrifice and high-priest and altar all combined. When He went forth from Jerusalem, He made it necessary (as of old) for "every one who sought the Lord" to go forth *without the camp* (Exod. xxxiii. 7).

his reproach] Cp. Ps. lxix. 7, 19. So Moses bore "the reproach of Christ" (xi. 26) when he forsook Egypt. The city "where the Lord was crucified" was now "spiritually" Egypt (Rev. xi. 8). This apostolic "Let us go forth" was a token that the unfaithful city's doom was fast approaching.

14. Let us not hesitate to *go forth; For* we, like our fathers (xi. 13—16), are only travelling towards the *city that abideth* (the same word as in xii. 27, "remain").

one to come] Rather, **that which is to come**;—the subject of sure promise.

15. *By him*] Rather, **Through Him.** Through Him, as the one offering for sin, by which we are sanctified (*v.* 12); through Him also, as the living Altar (altar and priest in one), whereby our gifts are made acceptable to God (cp. 1 Pet. ii. 5).

sacrifice of praise] The words are used of the Levitical *thank-offering* in Lev. vii. 12—15, but appear already lifted up to a higher application in Ps. l. 14, cvii. 22, cxvi. 17.

continually] The "thank-offerings" of the Law were only occasional. Those of Christians are to be, "at all times and in all places;" of perpetual recurrence (see Num. xxviii. 10, 15, 23, 24, 31, LXX.). The Rabbins say, "In the world to come all the offerings cease; but the offering of praise never ceases" (Schöttg. 'H. H.' II. 612).

Obs. The word is the one used in St Luke xxiv. 53. When the Apostles had seen Jesus taken up to heaven as He was bestowing on them His high-priestly benediction, "they returned and were *continually* in the temple, *praising* and blessing God."

fruit of our lips giving] Rather, **fruit of lips that give.** The expression "fruit of the lips" occurs in Isai. lvii. 19. Though the LXX. omitted it there, they inserted it in Hos. xiv. 2, where the Hebrew has "the

16 But to do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.

17 Obey them that [1]have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief: for that *is* unprofitable for you.

18 Pray for us: for we trust we have a good conscience, in all things willing to live honestly.

19 But I beseech *you* the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner.

20 Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of

[1] Or, *guide.*

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calves of our lips" [lit. "our lips (as) calves"]: see Note below. Words of praise, uttered by the lips, are as fruit, borne by affections whose roots are in the heart. In the "fruit of the lips," therefore, man's "rational service" of God finds expression, and so the whole body becomes "a living sacrifice" (Rom. xii. 1).

to his name] To Him as He has revealed Himself; in accordance with that "great Name" (Mal. i. 11) into which we are baptized.

16. *But*] Thanksgiving to God is the first great sacrifice; *But* it is not the only one. Deeds of kindness to our fellow-men are also offerings of "sweet odour, acceptable to God" (Phil. iv. 18).

In the Communion Service *both* the offerings mentioned in *vv.* 15, 16 are combined with the sacramental feeding on the body and blood of Christ.

to communicate] To impart of our earthly store to those who are in need (Rom. xii. 13).

17. In *v.* 7 he had bidden them imitate the faith of their departed "rulers." Having warned them in *vv.* 8—16 against being drawn aside from the one Fountain of grace, he now speaks of their duties to their living "rulers."

submit yourselves] Rather, "defer (to them);" yielding to their authority, complying with their admonitions (cp. 1 Cor. xvi. 16). Such compliance was reasonable; *For* **they on their part** *watch*, with unsleeping care (Luke xxi. 36), *for your souls* (2 Cor. xii. 15).

give account] Or, "give an account;" an account of the flock entrusted to their charge (Gen. xxxi. 39, 40; Ezek. xxxiv. 10; cp. Acts xx. 28).

may do it] Rather, *may do* **this**. The majority of commentators understand "*this*" to refer to, *watch for your souls*.—Yield a ready compliance to your pastors' admonitions; for they on their part keep watch for your souls' salvation with godly earnestness;—that so they may do this their work (cp. 1 Tim. iv. 16) *with joy* (Acts xx. 24; Phil. i. 4; cp. ii. 2), and not with grief (as mourning over your unfruitfulness, 2 Cor. ii. 13, xii. 21); for that were indeed your loss.

Others, however (as Paschasius, Anselm, and Lyra, in Estius; and so Owen) refer the "*this*" to, *give an account*;—that they may render in their account with joy (rejoicing over you as the "crown" of their labours, 1 Thess. ii. 19, 20), and not with grief (as having "lost the things" they had "wrought," 2 John 8). The last clause, "that were unprofitable for you," is then to be regarded as a euphemism for, "Terrible indeed in that case would the loss be *to you*.'

The most probable *punctuation* of the verse is, "Obey them that watch over you, and **defer to them**; for **they on their part** watch for your souls, **as men** that must give **an account**: that they may **do this** with joy, and not with grief; for &c."

18. *for we trust*] Or, "we are persuaded." He states this, because they would pray on his behalf with greater confidence, if they were assured of his integrity.

a good conscience] Acts xxiii. 1, xxiv. 16.

in all things...] Rather, **desirous in all things to act rightly** (or, "honourably;" see on Rom. xii. 17).

19. *the rather*] **the more earnestly** (as in ii. 1).

restored to you] Re-instated (so the word implies) in his former relations to them (cp. Jer. xvi. 15; in A.V. "bring again"). St Paul had been torn away from the Church at Jerusalem precisely at the moment when the plan, at which he had so long laboured, for testifying the love he bore to his brethren after the flesh, had to all appearance reached a prosperous issue.

20. *Now*] Rather, **But**. He longed to see them again: *But*, however that might be, he committed them to *the God of peace* (cp. Rom. xv. 33, just after he had spoken of his desire to visit Rome); the God, who, amidst the unceasing changes of the world, "blesses His people with peace" (Ps. xxix. 11).

brought again] Rather (as in Rom. x. 7), **brought up**:—with a plain reference to Isai. lxiii. 11; which stands in the LXX., "Where is He that *brought up* from the sea *the Shepherd of the sheep?*" The ascent of Moses and Israel out of the depths of the Red Sea was typical of the restoration of Christ and (in due time) of His redeemed host out of Hades.

that great shepherd] So named in contrast

the sheep, through the blood of the
[1] Or, *testament.* everlasting [1]covenant,

21 Make you perfect in every good
[1] Or, *doing.* work to do his will, [1]working in you
that which is wellpleasing in his sight,
through Jesus Christ; to whom *be*
glory for ever and ever. Amen.

22 And I beseech you, brethren,
suffer the word of exhortation: for
I have written a letter unto you in
few words.

23 Know ye that *our* brother Timothy is set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.

24 Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints. They of Italy salute you.

25 Grace *be* with you all. Amen.

¶ Written to the Hebrews from Italy by Timothy.

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with *Moses*; as in iv. 14 He was styled, "the great High-priest," in contrast with *Aaron*. In the Psalm which was so much enlarged upon in chh. iii and iv, the "Shepherd of Israel" is God Himself (Ps. xcv. 7; cp. lxxx. 1).

In the Greek the order of the words is (cp. ii. 9, &c.), "that brought up from the dead that great Shepherd of the sheep through the blood of the everlasting Covenant, our Lord Jesus."

through the blood] Rather, "**in virtue** of the blood" (cp. ix. 25, Eph. ii. 13, Zech. ix. 11; which last passage appears to be referred to). The death of Christ, as the expression of His perfect obedience, was of infinite merit. His blood, poured out on the cross, sealed the everlasting covenant of peace between God and man; which being effected (and because it was effected) the Surety of the covenant was Himself raised triumphantly from the dead. Comp. John x. 17.

blood of the...covenant] By which the covenant was ratified (Exod. xxiv. 8).

Obs. 1. In Ezek. xxxvii. 24—26 God promises to set up David His servant as *prince* and *shepherd* over His flock, and so to make His "*covenant of peace* with them;—it shall be *an everlasting covenant* with them."

Obs. 2. In Zech. ix. 10, 11, the mention of the deliverance to be effected by the "blood of the covenant" follows on the promise, "He shall *speak peace* unto the nations."

21. *Make you perfect*] Supplying whatever has been defective, repairing whatever has been decayed, in you. It is not the word used in ii. 10, v. 9, &c., but the same as in Gal. vi. 1, 1 Thess. iii. 10.

every good work] 2 Cor. ix. 8.

to do his will] So conforming you to the character of Christ (x. 7, 9; cp. x. 36).

working] Lit. "doing;" the same word being used in regard to God and man. Cp. Phil. ii. 13, "that *worketh* in you both to will and to *work*."

well pleasing] Compare Rom. xii. 2.

through Jesus Christ] *through* whom alone the renewing power of the Holy Ghost is communicated to man.

to whom] A similar doxology follows the words, *through Jesus Christ*, in 1 Pet. iv. 11. Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 18, Rev. i. 6.

22. *And I beseech you, brethren*] So in the similar supplementary paragraphs in Rom. xv. 30, xvi. 17; 1 Cor. xvi. 15.

suffer] Rather, **bear with** (2 Cor. xi. 1).

word of exhortation] The expression used in Acts xiii. 15. We gather from it, that the writer looked on his Epistle as in the nature of a homiletic address.

for I...] "For indeed it is with few words that I have written unto you." His words had been *few* in comparison of what was required for a full discussion of the subjects he had touched upon (comp. ch. v. 11). Since he had avoided making undue demands on their attention, he hoped they would bear patiently with what he had addressed to them.

23. *our brother Timothy*] See 2 Cor. i. 1; Col. i. 1; Philem. 1; 1 Thess. iii. 2. Cp. Phil. i. 1, ii. 19—24.

set at liberty] So the word is used in Acts iii. 13, iv. 21, xxvi. 32.

24. *Salute*] as St Paul had once done in person (Acts xxi. 18, 19).

They of Italy] The Hebrew Christians who resided in Italy. So, when writing from *Ephesus*, he adds: "The Churches of *Asia* salute you" (1 Cor. xvi. 19).

25. *Grace be with you all*] As in Tit. iii. 15. Cp. Introd. III. 2, § iv.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. XIII. 5, 10, 15.

5. In Deut. xxxi. 6, Moses assuring Joshua of God's favour, says, οὐ μή σε ἀνῇ, οὐδ' οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλείπῃ. In Josh. i. 5, where God Himself gives this same assurance to Joshua, the LXX. has a feebler rendering; instead of which the Apostle (retaining the first person) adopts the *form* of words which had been used in Deut. xxxi. 6.

10. This is the only view regarding the nature of the "Altar" here spoken of, which satisfies all the requirements of the context.

(1) It cannot be taken of *the Cross*. That was the instrument by which our Lord's death was effected; but so far was it from being as "the Altar, which sanctifieth the gift," that it stands as the outward symbol of the curse pronounced by the Law (Gal. iii. 13) upon the malefactor. The cross was as little an altar, as the Roman soldiers were priests.

(2) Nor yet can it be understood of *the Lord's Table*. It is, of course, true to say that they who continued to serve the Tabernacle had no right to partake of the Lord's Supper; and if *v.* 10 had stood alone, this might have been what it asserted. But the argument of *vv.* 11, 12 compels us to carry our thoughts to the Altar on which Christ offered Himself once for all as the world's *Sin-offering*. The Lord's Table is not that Altar; though it be the hallowed means by which the faithful partake of that invisible, yet alone real, Altar.

That antitypal Altar was wholly outside the range of the Levitical system, because it belonged to an order of things infinitely elevated above it. On that Altar He, who went forth bearing the "reproach" of the legal high-priest's anathema, was offered up; realizing in fulness of perfection every thing that had been presignified by all the legal sacrifices. If, then, the Fire of that antitypal Altar was "the Eternal Spirit"—the "Fire of Love" (see on ix. 14),—what could the Altar itself be but Christ's own Divine-human personality?

Obs. 1. Estius refers to Thomas Aquinas, as taking the Altar here to be, "the cross of Christ, or, *Christ Himself;*" and as remarking, "To eat from this Altar is to partake of (*percipere*) the fruit of Christ's passion, and to be incorporated with Him as Head." Comp. Cyril. Alex. 'De Ador.' IX.: Αὐτὸς οὖν, ἄρα, ἐστὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ θυμίαμα καὶ ἀρχιερεύς.

Obs. 2. With this interpretation *vv.* 13, 15 are in harmony. "Let us go forth *to Him*," —to that Altar, which is invisible to the unbelieving Jew, but from which Christians eat continually (especially in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper). *Through Him* (altar, at once, and high-priest) let us offer up our thanksgivings (especially, our Eucharistic praises), and our deeds of kindness (especially, our offertory gifts).

Compare Chrys. on ch. vi. 19, 20: "As the difference between Aaron and Christ is great, so is that between the Jews and ourselves. For see; we have our victim *above*, our priest *above*, our sacrifices *above*:—let us offer such sacrifices as can be present on *that altar*."

15. The substitution of the term καρπός was so much the easier, because (in addition to the resemblance between פרי and פרים) the words κάρπωμα and ὁλοκάρπωμα, κάρπωσις and ὁλοκάρπωσις, had come to be used of the "burnt-offering," and generally of "offerings to the Lord made by fire;" under which head came the minchah of the "*thank-offering*" (see on Lev. vii. 11, 12). Such "offering made by fire" represented the self-sacrifice of a heart, in which the flame of Holy Love had been kindled;—the noblest *fruit* that the human spirit can yield.

JAMES.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

THE writer tells us little, directly, of himself; though there are few writings which in the same space reveal more of the individual character of their author. He simply calls himself "James, servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ;" and addresses "the Twelve Tribes which are in the dispersion."

But he may be safely identified with that James of Jerusalem, who is prominent in Acts xii., xv., and xxi.[1] In xii. 17, St. Peter sends the announcement of his release "to James and to the brethren." In xv. 13, *seqq.*, after Peter, Barnabas and Paul have made their several statements in the meeting of the Apostles and elders, James formally sums up the discussion with "Men and brethren, hearken unto me," &c.: and the encyclic letter announcing the decision is, in substance, identical with his speech.[2] And in xxi. 18, we read that "the day following [his arrival at Jerusalem], Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present." In the next verse but one it is James, apparently, who speaks on behalf of "the myriads of Jews which believe, and are all zealous of the Law;" and induces Paul to undertake certain ritual obligations which would satisfy them that he walked orderly and kept the Law.

2. Such external testimony as we have, is in harmony with this view; and we may further identify him with James "the Just" or "Righteous," who is mentioned by Josephus ('Antt.' xx. 9, 1), and described more fully by Hegesippus in Eusebius ('H. E.' ii. 23, see Routh, 'Reliquiæ Sacræ,' vol. 1). The account in Hegesippus is, indeed, highly coloured: but it may be accepted as containing a substance of truth. From this it may be inferred, that he was a man of ascetic habits, if not, strictly speaking, a Nazarite. The priestly features in the description may be taken as a conventional portraiture of his Christian character, his ecclesiastical position, and perhaps also his "brotherhood" to the Great High Priest.[1] He was (we are told) continually in the Temple interceding for the sins of the people, so that his knees grew callous from kneeling on the pavement. He commanded the confidence and reverence of Jew and Christian alike; and received from the Jews not only the title ὁ δίκαιος, but also another, Ὠβλίας,[2] interpreted by Hegesippus περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ, *Bulwark of the people;* as the Christians called him "one of the pillars." And it is stated that his martyrdom (which took place in the interregnum between the procuratorship of Festus and that of

[1] It is scarcely probable that Mr. Bassett's ingenious arguments ('The Epistle of St. James;' F. T. Bassett, M.A., 1876) will win many to ascribe the Epistle to the son of Zebedee.

[2] It is remarkable that the classical epistolary form χαίρειν occurs in this Epistle, and in the encyclic letter; but nowhere else in the N. T., except in the letter of the Gentile, Claudius Lysias, in Acts xxiii. 26. Cp., however, 2 John 10, *seq.*

[1] We find those who were descended from the brethren of the Lord designated δεσπόσυνοι; see Africanus in Euseb. 'H. E.' i. 7 (Routh, 'Reliq. Sacræ,' ii. 236, 7).

[2] I.e. עֹזֶר עִם, as Suicer s. v., Lange in Herzog's Encyklopädie, s. v. *Jakobus.* — Οἱ δυκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι, Galat. ii. 9.

Albinus, about A.D. 62 or 63), was supposed by many to have been avenged by the woes which shortly afterwards began to fall upon Jerusalem.[1]

3. The internal evidence of the Epistle points in the same direction. The man who reveals himself to us in it, is a Christian, and yet a Jew; and, as such, not severed from those Jews who, though they had not yet embraced Christianity, might hereafter become Christians; one who saw in Christianity the completion and perfection of the older covenant; who probably looked on all Gentile Christians as received into Israel; yet would not lay on them a yoke of Judaism, but conceded to them a liberty that he would not use (probably did not desire) himself. Thus he was qualified to act as a mediator, in a conciliatory spirit, in the questions which arose; occupying a position which was indeed provisional,[2] while that visitation of Jerusalem was impending, by which God Himself was about to make the old vanish away: and looking on all things with the practical object of promoting the quiet discharge of duty; without taste for speculation, with a positive abhorrence of controversy, shunning "questions," impatient of "talk" as a substitute for work and a hindrance to it.[3] The portrait is not without its likeness to the human side of His character, who spent His nights in prayer to God, wrestling, even against hope, for those who refused to be saved; the Man of sorrow, of suffering, of love; severe only to sin, most of all to hypocrisy and oppression of the brethren; of whom it was said, "He shall not strive nor cry; neither shall any man hear His voice in the streets; a bruised reed shall He not break, and smoking flax shall He not quench" (Matt. xii. 19–21).

4. This leads us a step further. St. Paul describes this James of Jerusalem as "the Lord's brother" (Gal. i. 19); a title which, whatever may be the precise interpretation given to it, implies a close relation. Who were "the brethren of the Lord," is a question which has been already discussed in the additional note on St. Matthew, ch. xiii.; to which the reader is referred. But a few supplementary remarks may not be out of place here. Doubtless, it is hard to answer the question positively; because we are left in ignorance of the details. All would have been clear, if these had been told. But "Something sealed The lips of the Evangelist:" and we are left to choose among hypotheses, to every one of which objections have been found or invented. It is the old story; "there are objections to a *plenum*, and objections to a *vacuum*; yet one or the other must be true." That the "brethren" were younger sons of our Lord's mother, is inconsistent with the fact that the charge of His mother was bequeathed by Him, in the hour of His death, to St. John. And it may be added, that their interference with the conduct of Jesus (compare Matt. xii. 46; xiii. 54–56, with Mark iii. 21, 31; vi. 2, 3; Luke viii. 19–21), implies that some, if not all, of them were older than He was. The argument on the other side from the word "first-born" in Luke ii. 7 (and Received Text of Matt. i. 25), plausible as at first sight it seems, is now generally given up; the expression being (like our "son and heir") no less applicable to an only son, than to one who is "first-born among many brethren;" inasmuch as it refers to the law, "Sanctify unto Me all the first-born, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel" (Exod. xiii. 2, comp. 12, 15): and the idea which it expresses is that of consecration to God. The theory, in which Bishop Lightfoot acquiesces, that they were sons of Joseph by a former wife, is in accordance with the probability that they were older than our Lord; but is liable, like the former one, to the objection that the Blessed Virgin was consigned, at the death of Christ, to the charge of St. John ("Behold thy Son!—Behold thy Mother!" John xix. 26, 27). And though it has much of ecclesiastical tradition in its favour, yet, as soon as we recognise the fact that the term

[1] Quoted from Josephus by Origen, 'c. Cels.' i. 47, ii. 13; Euseb. 'H. E.' ii. 23.

[2] It is not clear whether he was enabled to see that it was provisional. But ch. v. 1–9 seems to make it probable.

[3] Reuss, 'Geschichte d. heil. Schriften,' § 144.

"brother" is frequently used of any near relative (see Dr. W. H. Mill 'On the Pantheistic Theory,' p. 227, *seq.*), it ceases to have any real support in Holy Scripture.

5. On the other hand, the amount of Scriptural evidence which has to be set aside or explained away by those who refuse to identify James the Lord's brother with James "the little" (ὁ μικρός) son of Alphæus or Clopas (the identity of these names being sufficiently proved), is considerable. We have a right to assume that St. Paul calls him one of the Apostles; not only because this is the more natural interpretation of his words in Gal. i. 19 (ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου); but because the alternative interpretation, "other of the Apostles I saw none; but [I saw] James," is excluded by what follows in ii. 6–9, where the whole strength of St. Paul's argument rests on the fact that the three whom he met on equal terms, and with whom he formally divided the field of Apostolic labour, were not only Apostles, but chief among the Apostles in the estimation of the Church,—"James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars," οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι. We are reminded of that group of Three within the Twelve, who were nearest to our Lord in some of the most solemn hours of His earthly life, Cephas and John (as here), and the other James, the son of Zebedee.

Again, in 1 Cor. ix. 5, nothing short of the assumption of another Cephas besides St. Peter can justify the separation of the brethren of the Lord, who are there mentioned, from the Apostles; and the argument of the passage requires that they should all be called Apostles in the same sense. And in 1 Cor. xv. 5, *seqq.*, the appearances of our Lord after His resurrection fall into two groups, 1st. Cephas, . . . the twelve, . . . the five hundred; 2nd. James,[1] . . . all the Apostles, . . . Me.

[1] Some (*e.g.* Bp. Lightfoot, Ep. Gal. p. 252; *ib.* 260) have thought that this appearance was the turning-point in the life of James, who (not having believed before) was converted by it. But the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Hieronym. 'de Viris illustr.' 2), which is appealed to in support of this view, clearly implies that James was one of the twelve who sat down with Christ at the Paschal supper. And the other brethren are mentioned as believers in Acts i. 14.

We conclude, then, that St. James of Jerusalem, the brother of our Lord, was an *Apostle*. And though that word is sometimes found in the Epistles in a sense not only lower than, but different from that in which it is applied to the Twelve and to St. Paul, being used of the messengers or ambassadors of a Church; yet this is only so in passages where no mistake could arise; and cannot be admitted in any passage where the ambiguity would be so misleading as in Gal. i. 19. Besides, St. Paul is speaking of one who not only was an Apostle, but occupied a chief place, as one of the Three who were accounted "Pillars."

6. Nor is it more satisfactory to say that James in some way or other came to be an Apostle, though he was not so at the first. We see in Acts i. 21-26, how carefully the qualifications were marked out which were ordinarily requisite for the Apostleship, and by what solemn sanctions that office was guarded against intrusion. In the special case of St. Paul, who had not "companied with" them "all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among" them, we see how formally he was called and appointed by special revelation, and how "the signs of an Apostle" are indicated (Acts xiii.; 1 Cor. ix.). And even so he had to maintain a continual struggle with the gainsayers of his authority, who disputed the evidences of his mission. In view of all this, it is not easy to recognise a process, by which men grew, as it were, into Apostles by a gradual expansion of their personal influence, without Divine revelation or human appointment.

7. There is, therefore, every probability, *primâ facie*, that James "the brother of our Lord" was, accurately speaking, our Lord's cousin, being the son of "Mary of Clopas,"[1] his mother's sister

[1] *Cleophas*, in John xix. 25, is a mistake of the A.V., probably traceable to the Vulgate. The two names are, in fact, essentially distinct, Κλωπᾶς being = Aramaic חַלְפַי (Ἀλφαῖος); but Κλεοπᾶς being a Greek name shortened from Κλεόπατρος, as Ἀντιπᾶς from Ἀντίπατρος. Κλεο- might become, by contraction, either Κλει- or

(or perhaps her cousin). And the only remaining question seems to be, whether this probability is destroyed by John vii. 5, "Neither did His brethren believe on Him." It has been hence assumed that none of the brethren could have been of the number of the Twelve. But this is to strain the language of St. John far beyond what it can reasonably be made to bear. In the first place, the word "belief" is used by the Evangelists in various shades of meaning. Observe, "His *disciples* believed on Him," John ii. 11; and "Because of your unbelief," said to those disciples who had been trying, though unsuccessfully, to cast out the evil spirit (Matt. xvii. 20). The very narrative which states that His brethren did not believe on Him, implies that they were among His followers; and is more consistent with the confused and worldly expectations of adherents than with the designs of enemies. If they had no belief in Jesus at all, they must have been deliberately urging Him to expose Himself to death. It seems more reasonable to ascribe to them an inadequate or erroneous belief, and an incapacity for appreciating the true nature of the kingdom which was to be inaugurated. But, even if it be granted, that "the brethren" generally grouped themselves with those who tried to thwart the Son of the Virgin, there remains a palpable fallacy in this interpretation of John vii. 5. It converts a *general* into a *universal* proposition. St. John's words are not equivalent to "*All* His brethren came, . . .; for neither did *any of* His brethren believe on Him." Yet this is what the argument requires. We do not know how many "brethren" there were: four, the sons of Mary of Clopas, are mentioned by name; and of His "sisters" it is said "Are they not *all* with us?" There may even have been other cousins besides the children of Clopas and Mary. At any rate, one or two of the brethren may have been believers (and if so, may even have been Apostles), without any contradiction to the general statement of St. John.

8. And various incidental considerations point to the same conclusion. Only two persons bearing the name of James are mentioned in the Gospels or the early part of the Acts—the son of Zebedee, and the son of Alphæus. And, after the death of the former, James of Jerusalem is spoken of without any distinctive epithet, as if there was no longer another for whom he could be mistaken. Compare Acts xii. 2, with ver. 17 of the same chapter. That one Apostle called James should silently disappear, and another should silently and immediately take his place, is scarcely credible. Moreover, the position of primacy which James assumes among the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem, and the marked deference which St. Paul shews towards him, all combine to indicate an Apostle, not "born out of due time," but one of the Twelve.

9. The internal evidence from the Epistle of St. James, which has been scarcely noticed at all, is no less important. To the present writer, it appears absolutely decisive. The Epistle does

Κλευ- (Κλεισθενής, Κλεύδαμος), but not Κλωπ-. And Κλωπ- would have been peculiarly objectionable in a Greek name, as suggesting κλώψ. (Renan, 'Évangiles,' App., has overlooked these considerations). It is true, that Jews occasionally adopted Greek or Roman names which resembled their own; and thus Clopas and Cleopas might be names of the same person. But, even in this case, Clopas would be the original name. It has indeed been said that Hegesippus calls Clopas the *uncle* of James. But this is a mistake. His words, as quoted (Euseb. H. E. iv. 22) are μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θείου αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος· ὃν προέθεντο πάντες, ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, δεύτερον. Here the words ὁ ἐκ θείου αὐτοῦ are, however they are taken, awkward; and, grammatically, αὐτοῦ might refer either to Κύριος or to Ἰάκωβον. But the context, indicating that the relationship to our LORD was the thing which made all agree to choose Symeon, would be enough to decide that θείου belongs to Κύριος. And this becomes certain when we compare another passage, in which Hegesippus says, μέχρις οὗ ὁ ἐκ θείου τοῦ Κυρίου ὁ προειρημένος Συμεὼν υἱὸς Κλωπᾶ συκοφαντηθεὶς κ. τ. ἑ. (ap. Euseb. iii. 32). Cp. Eusebius himself in iii. 11, Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ . . . τοῦ τῆς ἀντόθι παροικίας θρόνου ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαι, ἀνεψιόν γε, ὥς φασι, γεγονότα τοῦ Σωτῆρος· τὸν γὰρ οὖν Κλωπᾶν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ὑπάρχειν Ἡγήσιππος ἱστορεῖ. This would imply a double relationship, according to the *legal* genealogy. And, possibly, πάλιν . . . δεύτερον, in the fragment first cited, are not mere words of surplusage, but suggest that Symeon and his predecessor stood in the same degree of relationship to our LORD.

not indeed assert the writer's Apostleship. It asserts nothing about him. But (which is equally important for the interpretation of the words in John vii. 5) it is unquestionably the work of a constant and devoted follower of Jesus of Nazareth. If the Epistle is read with reference to this point, it strikes the ear, from beginning to end, as an echo of the oral teaching of our Lord. It is impossible that it should have been written by any one who had not, throughout the whole course of Christ's ministry, drunk in His words and stored them in his heart, till his whole spirit was steeped in their inspiration. There is scarcely a thought in the Epistle which cannot be traced to Christ's personal teaching.[1] If John has lain on the Saviour's bosom, James has sat at His feet.

Nor is it as if this can be traced to the study of the written volumes of the Evangelists; although there is, as might be expected, more likeness to St. Matthew (especially to the Sermon on the Mount)[2] than to the rest. No sure ground exists for believing that the writer had had the opportunity of studying any one of the written Gospels. Nor is the likeness such as to suggest this explanation: for it consists, not in verbal quotations, but in the reproduction of the teaching. Limited to the actual discourses of the Saviour, and residing in the thoughts rather than the expressions, it suggests to us that the Evangelists and the writer of the Epistle drew from a common source in the living words of the Divine Teacher. Probably the same account is to be given of the parallel passages (which are also remarkable) in St. James and St. Peter.[1] And perhaps the writer's apparent reserve in regard to the Redemption through the death of Christ (which has been the subject of much criticism), and his controversy with the unloving, lifeless orthodoxy of Pharisaism, will become more clearly intelligible, when viewed in this light, as reflecting the actual teaching of his living Lord.

II.

St. James, while governing the Mother Church of Jerusalem, wrote to "the twelve tribes in the dispersion" (there is something ideal in the expression; cf. Matt. xix. 28), with a sort of patriarchal authority, if not actual jurisdiction. For the Jews who were scattered abroad, were wont to apply to the ecclesiastical authorities at Jerusalem for direction, and to receive decrees from them.[2] And thus those Jews who had believed in Christ were already prepared to look for guidance and doc-

[1] Reuss, 'Geschichte d. heil. Schriften,' § 143; 'Théologie chrétienne,' i. 486, remarks that the allusions to Christ's discourses in St. James, are more numerous than in all the other Epistles together.

[2] Compare,—

St. Matthew.		St. James.
v. 3	..	ii. 5; i. 9
4	..	iv. 9
7, 9	..	ii. 13; iii. 17
8	..	iv. 8
9	..	iii. 18
11, 12	..	i. 2; v. 10, 11
19	..	i. 19 *seq.*, 25; ii. 10, 11
22	..	i. 20
27	..	ii. 10, 11
34, *seq.*	..	v. 12
48	..	i. 4
vi. 15	..	ii. 13
19	..	v. 2, *seq.*
24	..	iv. 4
25	..	iv. 13–16
vii. 1, *seq.*	..	iii. 1; iv. 11, *seq.*
2	..	ii. 13
7, 11	..	i. 5, 17
8	..	iv. 3
12	..	ii. 8
16	..	iii. 12
21–26	..	i. 22; ii. 14; v. 7–9.

(See Schmid, 'Bibl. Theology,' § 60.)

[1] *E.g.*:—

St. James.		St. Peter.
i. 2, 3	..	i. 6, 7
10, 11	..	i. 24; iv. 12
18	..	i. 3, 23
21	..	ii. 1, 2
ii. 7	..	iv. 14
iii. 13	..	ii. 12
iv. 1	..	ii. 11
6, 7, 10	..	v. 5–9
v. 20	..	v. 8

From a comparison of these passages it is inferred by some that St. Peter had the Epistle of St. James before him.

[2] From Acts ix. 2, it appears that the high priest could issue his warrant to the synagogues at Damascus, to bind any Jews who were there accused of heresy, and to send them to Jerusalem for trial.

trine, to him who stood at the head of the Christian Church at Jerusalem. No other Apostle or Bishop could claim their attention precisely in the same way. The Churches of Jewish Christians belonged (to use a more modern ecclesiastical phrase) to his "obedience," in the same way as those of Rome, Colossæ, &c. (even while yet unseen) belonged to St. Paul's. The care of all these Churches came upon him.

It is here taken for granted that the "twelve tribes" (the name having become technical, though the actual number had been lost; see note on i. 1, and compare "the Thirty Towns" of early Roman history) are the *believing* Jews, whose faith was in a Messiah *already come*. So much seems clear; although it requires to be guarded by certain reservations. For,—

1. Gentiles admitted into Churches which were in the main Jewish, could not be excluded. They had been received into "the true Israel."

2. There may have been "a mixed multitude," a floating, indeterminate amount of semi-christianity,—the enquiring, the doubting, and the double-minded,—which he could not exclude from his thoughts while writing from Jerusalem to his brethren of the dispersion.

3. And still further: as neither he nor they had ceased to be Jews on becoming Christians, but all retained their membership in their ancient commonwealth, which was Church and State in one, asserting their nationality, and sharing the worship of the Temple and the Synagogue,[1] they could not forget those who, though still unconverted, were yet their brethren as Jews, and might hereafter become so in a fuller sense, as Christians also.

And therefore, although it would be wrong to say that the Epistle was addressed to the unbelieving as well as to the converted Jews, we may admit that the feeling of this brotherhood has had its influence in the apparently fluctuating way in which the suffering Christians and their oppressors are spoken of, and classes of persons are apostrophised who can scarcely have pretended to be Christians in any sense. See the notes on iv. 2, 13; v. 1.

[1] See ii. 2, where the Christian assembly is called "your synagogue."

III.

Written from Jerusalem to the Jews of the Dispersion, the Epistle is, without prejudice to its Christian character, and notwithstanding the remarkable correctness of its Greek diction (a characteristic which has scarcely received the attention that it deserves), essentially Hebrew in tone of thought and feeling, and even phraseology.[1] In every paragraph it reminds us of the teaching of the Saviour Himself. But the vessel which received His words had first been imbued with the peculiar character of Semitic, and especially Hebrew, culture. The Proverbial Books of the Jews rise in our thoughts as we read the Epistle, alike in their general ethical character, and, especially, in their peculiar development of the idea of 'Wisdom.' It may perhaps admit of doubt whether the books of 'The Wisdom of Solomon' and 'Ecclesiasticus' are among the actual sources of St. James's teaching, or whether they are merely to be looked upon as intermediate products of the same school of thought and philosophy, in which the Jewish mind found its congenial sphere from the days of Solomon to those of St. James. Yet the resemblances seem too many and too striking to be thus explained; and it is most probable that they indicate an actual and familiar acquaintance with all the so-called 'Sapiential books.' See Additional Note at end of ch. i.

Again, the stress laid on sins of the tongue and on the unruliness of that member, and the melancholy picture of the social relations of rich and poor,—almost synonymous with oppressors and oppressed,—seem to carry us back to the same storehouse of practical experience. Equally characteristic and remarkable, especially in contrast with the argumentative trains of thought and

[1] *E.g.*, λογίζεσθαι εἰς δικαιοσύνην — ἀφιέναι παραπτώματα — προσωπολημψία — προσωπολημπτεῖν — προσευχῇ προσεύχεσθαι — ἀκροατὴς ἐπιλησμονῆς, &c.

closely-linked statements to which we are accustomed in St. Paul's writings, is the abrupt gnomic form of enunciation which often disguises the real closeness of the connexion of the thoughts. Here we often seem to pass from "the words of the wise and their dark sayings" to the oracular utterances of the prophet.[1]

So also, instead of general statements, St. James is fond of placing before us in a concrete form representations of scenes vividly, almost dramatically, realising to our imaginations the lessons which he wishes to enforce.[2] And with these again are connected the picturesque allusions[3], so numerous in the Epistle, to the phenomena of the outward world, earth, and sea, and sky; which bespeak the Jew, —the native of Palestine,[1]—and above all, the devoted disciple of Him who "knew the pleasant way" of teaching by parables.

[1] See Cellerier on v. 19.

[2] *E.g.* i. 11, 24; ii. 2, *seqq.*, &c.

[3] "There is more imagery drawn from mere natural phenomena in the one short Epistle of St. James, than in all St. Paul's Epistles put together." (Howson, 'Hulsean Lectures,' p. 6, note.)

[1] Hug, 'Einleitung,' ii. § 154, notes the local colouring; neighbourhood to the sea (i. 6; iii. 4); a country of olives, vines, and figs (iii. 12); where salt springs were known (iii. 11, 12); where drought (v. 17, 18) and the hot wind (i. 11) were dreaded; and the early and late rain (v. 7) was looked for.

[N.B.—The Editor feels it necessary to state that the whole of the preceding Introduction and of the following notes were set up and finally revised in September 1877. Any coincidences between this part of the work and other publications which have appeared since that date are purely accidental.]

THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF

JAMES.

CHAPTER I.

1 *We are to rejoice under the cross,* 5 *to ask patience of God,* 13 *and in our trials not to impute our weakness, or sins, unto him,* 19 *but rather to hearken to the word, to meditate in it, and to do thereafter.* 26 *Otherwise men may seem, but never be truly religious.*

JAMES, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad, greeting.

2 My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations;

CHAP. I. 1. *James.*] For the personal questions connected with this name, see the Introduction.

a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ.] More exactly, *slave, bondman*, of Him who has purchased us to Himself. The word is not necessarily so harsh as it seems to those who look at slavery only on its tragic side. *Domestic* slaves were usually well treated (St. Luke vii. 2); though this depended on a master's temper or caprice. We know of no household servants, except slaves, in Greece or at Rome (cp. Lat. *familia*). St. Paul uses the word of himself, both with the title of an Apostle (Rom. i. 1; Tit. i. 1), and without it (Phil. i. 1); see too 2 Peter i. 1; Jude 1. It seems to indicate some (though undefined) ministry, beyond the ordinary Christian's relation to his Lord (see 2 Tim. ii. 24). Some, comparing the usage of the Hebrew prophets, even think it = Apostle. In John xv. 15, Christ calls the disciples no longer "servants" (slaves), but "friends." Compare what is said of Moses in Num. xii. 7, with Exod. xxxiii. 11; Heb. iii. 2–5.

The co-ordinate mention of God and the Lord Jesus Christ implies their co-equal dignity. And it accords with St. James's view of the oneness of the old and new Dispensations.

to the twelve tribes.] A name of pride to the children of the twelve patriarchs (really thirteen tribes), even when the commonwealth of Israel was no more. Its significance is both religious and political. Christ recognises it in connexion with the number of the Apostles, and (prophetically) with the future kingdom (Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30; cp. Revel. vii. 4, xxi. 12–14). St. Paul (Acts xxvi. 7) uses an equivalent noun (τὸ δωδεκάφυλον, "the dozen tribes"), which also occurs in early ecclesiastical writers. Here the Christian Jews, as being the true Israel, are probably meant, not the *whole* Church, St. Paul's "Israel of God" (Gal. vi. 16); though Gentile converts, attached to churches chiefly Jewish, may be included.

which are scattered abroad.] Literally, **of the dispersion**, *i. e.* who were dispersed abroad in the captivity and did not return to Palestine. Many had formed ties in the far East, and remained there. And there were others who, for commercial or other reasons, had followed the march of Alexander's empire, and settled in the kingdoms into which it was broken up, chiefly in the cities on the coasts of Asia Minor. The phrase is derived from the LXX, Deut. xxx. 4; see Ps. cxlvii. 2; Ezek. xxii. 15. St. Peter addresses his first Epistle to "the strangers of the dispersion of (in) Pontus," &c. The Jews, in John vii. 35, ask whether Christ will go "unto the dispersion of (among) the Greeks." All these Jewish colonies were in correspondence with Jerusalem, and received the decrees of the Sanhedrim on ritual and ecclesiastical matters. So those who became Christians would still look to Jerusalem, and gladly receive an epistle from the pastor of that church. See Introduction, ii.

greeting.] Literally, *wisheth joy*—a Greek salutation; whereas the other Epp. wish "mercy," "grace," "peace," the last being the prevalent Eastern form, even to the present day. See Introduction, i, note [1].

2. *My brethren.*] St. James, writing from the fulness of his heart, and knowing the

3 Knowing *this*, that the trying of your faith worketh patience.
4 But let patience have *her* perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing.
5 If any of you lack wisdom, let

needs of his brethren and the troubles which were threatening, plunges at once into his subject. The comparison of 1 Thess. ii. 14, with Acts xvii. 1–7, throws light on the situation. The double tie of brotherhood in blood and in faith may account for the frequent use of the words "my brethren" (15 times) in this Epistle. St. Paul and St. John prefer "children."

count it all joy.] Nothing but joy, in spite of outward appearances and the suggestions of human weakness.

when ye fall into divers temptations.] We speak of *trials* of affliction, and *temptations* of allurement; but the same family of words in the original expresses both, though the verb is more commonly used of temptation, the noun of trial. (The verb is also used simply of testing, 2 Cor. xiii. 5; even of trying, attempting, Acts xvi. 7, xxiv. 6:—the noun is used by Christ of Himself, in Luke xxii. 28). The common notion is the risk of shaking faith or obedience, whether by pain or pleasure. Here the temptations are such as persons "fall into," or "fall in with" (cp. Luke x. 30, of the man who "fell among thieves"), and therefore are—(1) outward, as opposed to the inner temptations of verse 14 (see note there); (2) not self-sought; such as we *fall*, not *run*, into. The risk of failure under trial is enough to make those who know their weakness pray that they be not led into temptation (Matt. vi. 13) even of this kind (see Hooker, 'E. P.' v. 48, 13, and Augustin. ib. n. 51); but those who *fall* into it may, even while suffering, feel joy, remembering (1) its uses in detaching the soul from earth, disciplining it and conforming it to Christ; (2) the assurance of help proportioned to their need (1 Cor. x. 13); (3) the promise of reward great beyond all comparison of the suffering (Rom. viii. 17, *seq.*; 2 Cor. iv. 17, *seq.*; cp. Heb. xii. 2–7).

The coincidences between verses 2–12 and Ecclus. chap. ii. are very striking.

The whole Epistle shews what need there was to dwell on the sweetness of the uses of adversity. St. James views the present and coming troubles on their spiritual side, and calls them "good," in virtue of the fruit that they bear.

3. *Knowing this.*] Delicately teaching them, if ignorant, what they ought to know and must recognise,—that these temptations test the reality and depth of faith, and that the process of trial works and establishes patience. "Patience" is not merely passive submission: rather, enduring fortitude, the elastic spirit which bears up against trials until it conquers. So "*patient continuance* in well-doing" (literally, *endurance* of good work), Rom. ii. 7; "let us run with *patience* the race that is set before us," Heb. xii. 1; "he that shall *endure* unto the end, the same shall be saved," Matt. x. 22, xxiv. 13: see infra 12. In 1 Peter i. 7, "the trial of faith" is connected, as here, with "manifold temptations," and leads to "glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ;" cp. also Rom. v. 3, *seq.*, "we glory in tribulation (nearly = 'temptation' here; cp. Luke viii. 13, with Matt. xiii. 21), knowing that tribulation worketh *patience*, and patience *experience*, and experience hope;" where "experience" is nearly the same word with "trying" here, varying only as *experience* differs from the *experiment* of which it is the result, and so coming nearer to the "perfect work" (verse 4) which crowns "patience" than to the probation which perfects it.

4. *have her perfect work.*] Further marking the energetic character of this "patience" (cp. Rom. ii. 7; 1 Thess. i. 3); the "work" being the exercise which developes and purifies patience to perfection. "Perfect," as used in N. T. of human things, implies full growth; strictly of persons (as here, "that ye may be perfect"); as of men (contrasted with babes) in Christ, 1 Cor. xiv. 20 (A. V. *men*); cp. "unto a perfect man . . . that we be no more children," Eph. iv. 13; and see Heb. v. 14; 1 Cor. xiii. 10, 11. A thing is "perfect," in its kind; "entire," in all its parts;—"perfect," not rudimentary, "entire," not maimed or incomplete. "Entireness" (A. V., "perfect soundness") was given to the cripple in Acts iii. 16. Josephus uses the word of victims fit for sacrifice; the LXX (Exod. xx. 25), of stones unhewn. In 1 Th. v. 23, man's threefold nature, in the completeness of all its parts, is indicated: "your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved."

Note St. James's habit to gain emphasis by repeating those words which form the links of his thoughts. Already we have had "to rejoice" (A. V., "greeting") . . . "joy," "patience . . . patience," "perfect" . . . that ye may be perfect."

wanting nothing.] Rather, **wanting in nothing**: the same thought is expressed first positively, then negatively. It is not a lesson of contentment, but a warning against being contented with anything short of perfection: cp. 1 Cor. i. 7.

him ask of God, that giveth to all *men* liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him.

6 But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering. For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed.

7 For let not that man think that he shall receive any thing of the Lord.

8 A double minded man *is* unstable in all his ways.

9 Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted: [1 Or. glory]

Thus the Christian's sufferings are made to display, exercise, and develop his good gifts; he is accomplished in all graces collectively, he is perfected in every one severally.

5. *If any of you lack* (or, **is wanting in**) *wisdom.*] The phrase of the last verse repeated: *let him ask* (cp. Matt. vii. 7; 2 Chr. i. 7) *of God*, whose attribute is *to give*—to give *to all*—and that *liberally*, with open and stretched-out hands; or literally, *with simplicity*, single-hearted good-will, without any such *arrière pensée*, or selfish consideration, as often modifies the bounty of men. But both meanings meet in one, when the word is used of giving: see Rom. xii. 8; 2 Cor. viii. 2, ix. 11, &c. Elsewhere used of simplicity, singleness of character, Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 22.

That it belongs to man to ask, and to God to give, is one contrast. Another is, that when man gives, he gives *and* upbraids, repaying himself by the assumption of superiority, and making the receiver chafe under the obligation. This thought is very frequent in Ecclus.: see xviii. 18, xx. 15, xli. 22, and especially xxix. 22–28.

wisdom.] See add. note at end of chapter.

6. *in faith.*] Relying on God's will to give (verse 5). The word is further defined, as often in St. James, by the negative following:—*nothing wavering*, or **doubting**, cp. Matt. xxi. 21; Mark xi. 23; Acts x. 20, xi. 12; "at odds with oneself, undecided, hesitating"; in verse 8, of two minds. The doubt of God's stedfastness is the reflex of man's own conscious vacillation, whereas fulness of faith and entireness of devotion are the conditions of effectual prayer; see ch. v. 15. He who knows not his own mind in asking must have misgivings as to receiving. And so it turns out to him. This doubting is illustrated by an image from outward nature, found also in Isaiah lvii. 20, but there of sin rather than weakness. See too Ecclus. xxxiii. (xxxvi.) 2; Jude 12, 13. Here the ceaseless agitation of the storm-driven wave represents the unrest of a soul not "grounded and settled in the faith" (Col. i. 23). In Eph. iv. 14, the bark is tossed at the mercy of the winds: here we have the wave itself, the very element of instability, of restless, purposeless motion.

On the use of natural imagery by St. James, see Introduction, iii., last note.

7. *For let not that man.*] The doubter mentioned in verse 6. The change from "*it* shall be given" to "*he* shall receive" may refer the failure to the disqualification of the receiver, rather than to the unwillingness of the Giver.

of the Lord.] St. Paul's rule is to use this word (Gr. Κύριος) of Christ. In the LXX it uniformly represents the Hebrew *Jehovah*. St. James uses it sometimes of Christ (*e. g.* i. 1, ii. 1, v. 7); but also of the Father or (more probably) of the Godhead in Unity, without distinction of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; as here, and v. 10.

The Lord, "with whom is no variableness" (v. 17), is forcibly contrasted with the weak creature who asks of Him, yet knows not his own mind even in asking.

8. There should be only a comma between vv. 7 and 8; the verses may be paraphrased, "Let not such an one as this expect to receive anything, great or small, that he asks of the Lord, double-minded man as he is, unstable in all his ways!" And this gives meaning to "*But*" (omitted in A. V.) at the beginning of v. 9.—*double-minded*]. In iv. 8, where this word recurs, the context suggests the notion of *duplicity*. But it is not always *conscious* hypocrisy to serve two masters or cherish two minds ("a heart and a heart," 1 Chr. xii. 33, cp. Ecclus. i. 28). And here the double-minded man is not so much *wicked* as *weak in faith*, "halting between two opinions" (1 Kings xviii. 21); cp. "Woe to fearful hearts and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways" (Ecclus ii. 12).

unstable in all his ways.] This word (ἀκατάστατος) does not occur again in the *received* text of the N. T., though it is probably to be read in iii. 8. But the cognate substantive is common in the general sense of *disorder, confusion, disturbance, unsettledness*; coupled with "wars" and opposed to "peace," Lu. xxi. 9; 1 Cor. xiv. 33: see 2 Cor. vi. 5, xii. 20:—below, iii. 16, "*confusion* and every evil work."

The doubtfulness in the man's prayer betrays itself in all his goings. He cannot walk straight or aim straight at an object; at odds with himself, he goes two ways—and therefore no way.

9. *Let the brother.*] Read "**But** let the brother." The difficulty which probably

10 But the rich, in that he is made low: because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away.

11 For the sun is no sooner risen with a burning heat, but it withereth the grass, and the flower thereof falleth, and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth: so also

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made our Translators leave out the word, disappears with the wrong punctuation; see note on v. 8. We have a regular series, "Count it . . . .; let patience . . . .; let him ask . . . .; let not that man . . . . *But* let the brother . . . ."

Vv. 9, 10, should be compared with the "Beatitudes" in Matt. ch. v., and the parable of the Pharisee and Publican, Lu. xviii. 10, *seqq.*: see too 2 Cor. xi. 30; and especially 1 Cor. vii. 22, "he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freedman: likewise he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant." Whether poor or rich, the Christian, as such, is placed so high that he looks down on and beyond worldly distinctions,—except in so far as he may find rank and riches a temptation to descend to earthly things, or low estate a help to reach spiritual blessings:—which thought again suggests the connexion between temptation and blessing, see vv. 2, 12. The humble brother's exaltation must consist in the spiritual blessings (v. i. 18; ii. 5), which more than make up for his outward lowliness; and in his being conformed to his Saviour's image.

10. But the second part of the precept (v. 10) is more difficult. Bouman ('Comm. in Ep. Jac.,' Traj. ad Rhen., 1865) even proposes to supply "not in his riches" after "humiliation." It seems clear that we must (1) recognise "the rich" as a "brother" equally with him "of low degree";—(2) supply, "let him rejoice," in this verse, as found in v. 9;—and (3) understand the word paraphrased "in that he is made low" (lit. "in his humiliation") in the usual Christian sense, not as implying moral degradation.

Thus both poor and rich are treated as disciples who are to be taught to go on to perfection. True, not many rich or mighty were among them (1 Cor. i. 26): yet even before the crucifixion we read of a Nicodemus, a Zacchæus, a Joseph of Arimathæa. And both classes are recognised here, and taught to become Christians indeed, the poor being exalted, the lofty being humbled. Each has the contraries reconciled in himself; the poor, rich in faith (*infra*, ii. 5); the rich, poor in spirit (Matt. v. 3); that both may inherit a blessing. The will of God, to which theirs must be conformed, is the exaltation of the lowly, the abasement of the lofty (Lu. i. 48, *seq.*). And this is wrought, (1) outwardly, in the uncertainty of riches (1 Tim. vi. 17), through which, if he is merely a rich man, he shall fade away as they do; (2) inwardly, in the change of heart, which makes him count as loss all things that had seemed gain to him, that he may win Christ (Phil. iii. 7). See in Mark x. 17, and the parallel passages, how Christ tried the rich young man who came running to Him; noting how nearly Christ there identified the *having* riches with the *trusting* in them. Again, the rich Christian by the contrast of eternal things can take the true measure of his earthly wealth. Thus by abasement he rises to the spiritual level of those who have had no such encumbrances; and he is on the way to share the exaltation of the poor in that world where these differences disappear. Above all, this is directly to follow the steps of Christ, who, being rich, for us became poor, and because He humbled Himself was highly exalted by His Father (2 Cor. viii. 9; Phil. ii. 6–11).

11. This verse, when exactly rendered, gives a vivid picture of what is wont to happen, by describing in the past tense one representative instance of it:—"for the sun arose, and the fiery blast, and scorched the grass; and the flower thereof dropped off, and the comeliness of its form perished." All is over before the sentence is uttered! So infra, v. 24, where see note.

The *burning heat* here may be merely that of the sun when he goeth forth in his might. But more probably it is the burning wind, blowing like the hot blast of a furnace from the torrid wilderness: for this, rather than the mere power of the sun's rays, is the scourge of Palestine, not merely exhausting, but scorching and shrivelling up the vegetation (Ezek. xvii. 10). In the LXX the word (καύσων) is used of "the wind from the East, from the wilderness," Job i. 19; Jer. xiii. 24. In Lu. xii. 55, it is the South wind, which also brings with it a Simoom-like influence from the desert. Matt. xx. 12 leaves the question undecided. But cp. Jonah iv. 8, "When the sun did arise, God prepared a vehement east wind; and the sun beat on the head of Jonah, that he fainted." See also Matt. xiii. 6 and 21.

the grass.] Here as elsewhere comprehending all the gorgeous wild flowers of Palestine; cp. Matt. vi. 28, 30, "Consider the lilies of the field . . .; if God so clothe the grass of the field," &c. Hence the *grace* or *comeliness* of its form (lit. "face") here spoken of. See Ps. ciii. 15, 16; Isai. xl. 6, 7; 1 Pet. i. 24, for similar comparisons.

shall the rich man fade away in his ways.

12 Blessed *is* the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.

13 Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with [1]evil, neither tempteth he any man:

14 But every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed.

[1] Or, *evils*

shall . . . fade away in his ways.] Not generally, "paths of life;" but literally, "his goings, journeyings," cp. Lu. xiii. 22. Herder draws the picture of an Oriental merchant cut off while journeying from place to place with his merchandise.

12. St. James returns to the thought of verse 2, with the expression so familiar to us in Ps. i., Matt. v. 3, *seqq.* The blessing is not in the temptation (trial, see verse 2), but in its work on the soul, in the courageous endurance of it (v. 1 Pet. ii. 20), in the strength of faith in the Lord's (the holy name is not found in the best authorities, A B ℵ, &c., being reverently suppressed and easily understood) promise of the crown; cp. 1 Pet. v. 4, where the crown is amaranthine, "that fadeth not away;" as here it is the *crown of life*, in contrast with the rich man's fading away in his ways.—*When he is tried*] not *tempted*, but *tested* (verse 3, "the trying of your faith"); when he has come forth approved from the trial; *i.e.* when patience has had her perfect work (verse 4). In St. Paul the figure of *the crown* is evidently taken from the Greek games (1 Cor. ix. 25; 2 Tim. iv. 8, cp. ib. ii. 5). But this is alien from ordinary Jewish habits and religious associations. Josephus ('Antt.' xv. 8, 1) describes the irritation of the Jews when Herod instituted games of this sort. In Rev. ii. 10, the "crown of life" is the reward of "faith unto death;" cp. 1 Pet. v. 4. Zechariah (vi. 11, 14, where LXX, ὁ στέφανος ἔσται τοῖς ὑπομένουσι) seems to allude to the holy crown which formed part of the high priest's mitre; while the various passages in the Revelation rather suggest a kingly crown. Perhaps they are combined here, as "He hath made us kings and priests to God and His Father" (Rev. i. 6); "a royal priesthood" (1 Pet. ii. 9).

The crown *of life* is, according to some, "worn through eternity," the living, everlasting crown:—and perhaps that thought is present. But the eternal life is itself the crown. In the very similar passage, 2 Tim. iv. 8, it is "a crown of righteousness (where 'righteousness' is the reward, not the thing rewarded), which the Lord will give to all them that love His appearing." This is the *love* by which faith worketh (Gal. v. 6). The sureness of His "promise" is the ground of faith; the nature of it is the motive of love.

13. *Let no man say, &c.*] Not referring to deliberate blasphemers, but to those who, instead of enduring, give up the struggle against temptation in despair, as if an irresistible force were pressing them; illustrated by Gen. iii. 12, *seq.*; Ezek. ch. xviii. The error is corrected, and the actual work of God shewn in 1 Cor. x. 13, "God is faithful, Who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it."

The temptations in verse 2 were outward things, which give the opportunity of choosing or resisting sin. These are harmless, or rather useful, unless the outer fire touches fuel within, and so a man "*is* (allows himself to be) *tempted.*" This is a very different thing from "falling into temptations." Even in the first and typical temptation, where it might have been least expected, Eve thought she saw more inducements than the Tempter suggested (Gen. iii. 6). In 1 Cor. vii. 5, it is because of our incontinency that Satan tempts us. The occasion, indeed, may be "of God" in the order of His providence and of our spiritual training: but the inclination is not of Him. Evil has no place with Him, and had none in His creation on the day when He "saw every thing that He had made; and behold, it was very good" (Gen. i. 31).

God cannot be tempted.] His nature cannot be reached or touched by any power of evil: nor is He the author of it to others. (This is not inconsistent with the use of the word for *trying*, making proof of obedience or faith, as the LXX use it of God proving, not only Abraham, Gen. xxii. 1, but also the Israelites, Exod. xvi. 4, xx. 20; Deut. xiii. 3, &c.) But it is in the nature of weak sinners to throw the blame on God,—"Why hast thou made me thus?" Not "enduring" the temptation, they first surrender themselves, and then plead that they were tempted by a Power which could not be resisted. See Ecclus. xv. 11, 12, 20; and Prov. xix. 3 (in LXX), "the foolishness of man perverteth his way; but he accuseth God in his heart."

He.] αὐτός, probably "**neither Himself** tempteth any man," as antithesis to "tempted of evil" immediately before. Others, not so well, explain it, "neither . . . He [but some thing else]."

14. *Of his own lust.*] It is not important

15 Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin: and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death.

16 Do not err, my beloved brethren.

17 Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with

whether these words be taken in the second clause (as A. V.) or in the first. But the correspondence with verse 13 is more precise, and the contrast stronger, if we say, "But it is by his own lust that every man is tempted, being drawn away and enticed."

It has been thought that the figure *drawn away (dragged out) and enticed*, is from a fish caught by a baited hook. Certainly, δελεαζόμενος contains the notion of *a bait:* but then the words would need to be transposed; for the bait must be swallowed before the prey is dragged out. They probably express generally the twofold character of lustful temptation,—appetite and lasciviousness,—the passion which hurries away the will, and the pleasure which bribes the judgment. See 2 Pet. ii. 14, 18: and perhaps there is an allusion to Prov. vii. 10–23. And this is *of his own lust;* sometimes dormant, but always lurking within, awaiting opportunity. Cp. Mark vii. 21, *seqq.*

15. Compare the figure in Ps. vii. 14. But the personification and the genealogy of lust, sin, and death (elaborated from this passage by Milton, 'Par. Lost,' ii. 747–800) is quite in the manner of the Greek Poets, *e.g.* Æschylus, "Agam." 751–771. Chrysostom remarks that joy follows the pangs of childbirth, but here the agony of death is the end. In the similar passage, Rom. vii. 7, *seqq.*, "sin" produces "lust." But St. James does not carry his analysis back to that Power of Evil, which works to produce its own likeness in us. In his practical way he is content to begin with the "lust" which is the first manifestation of the inward corruption. This gradually becomes definite in a determination to some specific sin: and this, again, takes a body in an outward sinful act; and having arrived at full growth, brings forth its offspring—death.

It is questioned, whether, in this genealogy, (1) conception and birth are both represented as taking place within the heart, a specific sin of intention being developed out of the general corruption, though not yet committed in act; and this afterwards being "finished" or completed by the outward act of sin, by which the fruit, death, is brought forth; or whether (2) "the bringing forth of sin" describes the step from the inward inclination to the actual commission of sin; and "the finishing," its coming to maturity in the formation of a habit by indulgence,—thus arriving at the same consummation. Probably, sin is treated as positively existing, whenever it has taken a definite shape in the heart; and its outward commission is described as its maturity, and its travail of death. *When it is finished,* = when it has come to full growth (see note on verse 4), which exactly suits the figure here. St. Paul by another metaphor, calls death "the *wages* of sin," in contrast to life, the gift of God, Rom. vi. 23. Here, as there, death implies not merely the dissolution of the body, but exclusion from that life which is "the gift of God," the crown of life which He has promised. And this adds a proof that temptation does not come from God. That which ends in death cannot be derived from the Author of life.

16. *Do not err, &c.*] This is a link between verses 15 and 17; "Do not be deluded into thinking either that God is the author of evil to you (see above), or that you can expect good from any other Giver than Him (below, verse 17). But "be not deceived," "do not err," &c., usually refer to something following; see 1 Cor. vi. 9, xv. 33; Gal. vi. 7; 1 Jo. iii. 7; and introduce a warning or precept arising out of what goes before; and indicate some danger which is really serious, though thought trifling. Here the severity of the phrase is tempered by the usual *my beloved brethren.*

17. The first part of this verse has been thought to be a quotation, perhaps from a hymn. It forms (in the Greek) a heroic verse.

gift . . . gift.] Two different words in the original, the second more emphatic than the first; cp. Prov. xxi. 14.—"Every *kind* of gift that is good, every one that is perfect *in its kind*, comes down to us from on high, from God." The words also suggest the converse thought, "All that are good—and none else;" though this is not actually expressed. Verse 18 records the best gift, the most perfect grace of all; cp. Matt. vii. 11 with Lu. xi. 13.

is from above and cometh down from . . .] Or, *coming down from above, from . . .*, as in iii. 15; the participle perhaps implying the continual illapse of the heavenly grace.

the Father of lights.] (1) of the material lights of the created heavens, cp. Jerem. iv. 23 LXX; but (2) of those intellectual and spiritual lights, of which the former are the least inadequate emblems; the thought which culminates in "Light of Light," following "God of God," in the Nicene Creed. God is

whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.

18 Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of firstfruits of his creatures.

"Very Light" (αὐτόφως). All else, material or spiritual, that shews light has received it of His; "in Thy light shall we see light," Ps. xxxvi. 9. Hence in a derived sense Christians, being "children of light," are themselves "light in the Lord," Eph. v. 8: cp. Jo. i. 8, *seq.*, with ib. v. 35, of the Baptist's relation to Christ (in verse 35 the word used is *lamp*, not *light*). See too Job xxxviii. 7, "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy," compared with ib. i. 6.—The lights of heaven, though imperfect (Job xxv. 5), set forth their Maker by their glory and purity (Ps. viii. 3, xix. 1). This it was, that enticed men to give them the honour due to Him (Job xxxi. 26–28; Wisd. xiii. 1–9). The inadequacy of the material type is corrected by the following words, which exclude the imperfections inherent in it. These heavenly bodies, bright though they be, come and go, appear and disappear, change shape, inflict and suffer eclipse. Not so with the Father and fountain of lights: "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all," 1 Jo. i. 5.

no variableness, neither shadow of turning.] Imperfections incident to the material lights of heaven, but not to God. *Variableness* (or *variation*); *shadow* (such as is cast by one body on another; *e.g.* by the gnomon of a sun-dial); *turning* (cp. the word *tropic*); all seem to be allusions to astronomical phenomena; though the variety of suggested explanations shews that we cannot identify them precisely. It is enough to say that "variableness" may be well applied to the alternation of day and night, the rising and setting of sun, moon, stars; and that "shadow of (or 'caused by') turning" may refer to the changes of the moon (cp. the intermittent revolving light in a lighthouse); or (but less probably) to eclipses; or to the advent of night by the earth's rotation. Wisd. vii. 18, is singularly like this passage, σύστασιν κόσμου καὶ ἐνέργειαν στοιχείων, . . . τροπῶν ἀλλαγὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς καιρῶν, ἐνιαυτῶν κύκλους καὶ ἀστέρων θέσεις. Cp. Bp. Jebb's 'Sacred Literature," xv. p. 316, *seqq.* But the language is phenomenal, not scientific; describing things as they appear to the eye; and vividly teaching that the Father who lightens our darkness is free from the imperfections of His creatures; that in His unchangeableness we have the foundation of our faith, and the assurance that as He is the author of all good, so the good of which He is the author is unmixed.

18. This verse is very important as the basis of the more exclusively moral and practical precepts which follow. It declares the grace of God in the regeneration of the believer to be the starting-point of the Christian life. The works, so much dwelt on afterwards, are the fruits of this first work of God in us.

18. *Of his own will,*] He did it not for any work or merit of ours (Tit. iii. 5); so Eph. i. 5, 11, "according to the good pleasure of His will . . . after the counsel of His will." This is connected with the position that every good gift comes from God. And this one blessing implies all others.

The instrument of this regeneration is *the Word of truth;* so 1 Pet. i. 23, 25, "born again not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever, . . . the word which by the gospel is preached unto you" (cp. *ib.* 3). In Eph. i. 13, "the word of truth" = "the gospel of your salvation" (cp. Col. i. 5); and in Eph. v. 26 (where the concrete ῥῆμα is substituted for λόγος) it is annexed to the "washing (laver) of water" in baptism (cp. Tit. iii. 5). So *infra*, 21, "the engrafted word which is able to save your souls." But moreover the Fathers recognise in this *Word of Truth* a mystical allusion to the Personal Word of God. He is called both "the Word" and "the Truth:"—but this is scarcely sufficient. Probably St. James is not directly speaking of God the Word: but he shews a consciousness of the relation between the notion of the Personal Word and that of the word of Revelation whereby we receive Him. In the N. T. usage we trace a gradual ascent from (*a*) the concrete "message" as conveyed to man by personal agency, through (*b*) "*the Word*," the revelation of God to man which the message embodies, forming, as it were, its life and soul,—to (*c*) "THE WORD" Who, being Very God, not only reveals, but imparts Himself to us, "is formed in us" (Gal. iv. 19) thereby. See Acts x. 36–38, where St. Peter passes, as if developing one thought, from (*b*) to (*a*), and thence to (*c*); "the *Word* (λόγον) which God sent . . . that *word* (ῥῆμα) ye know, ... Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed Him," &c. (not merely, "how God anointed Jesus," as in A. V.).

begat he us.] The Greek word belongs to the mother, not the father, being the same as in verse 15, "bringeth forth death," to which this supplies a contrast: cp. the lax way in which the same figure is used in Gal. iv. 19. But it is an intelligible description of

19 Wherefore, my beloved brethren, let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath:

20 For the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.

21 Wherefore lay apart all filthi-

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the regeneration or new creation; "He is our Father and Mother in One" (Bengel); cp. Ps. xxvii. 10, and Isai. xlix. 15, where the deeper tenderness of the mother's love is recognised.

a kind of first fruits of his creatures.] Elsewhere the first converts (as of Asia, Achaia, Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 15) are called "first-fruits;" and some understand the phrase so here, comparing Eph. i. 12, *seq.*, and identifying "us" with the Jewish Christians, as the nucleus of the future Church. But this seems inconsistent with St. James's view: nor is the interpretation adequate. The word, like "first-born," signifies consecration to God, rather than priority among men. The "first-fruits" were offered in the Temple-service on the morning after the Paschal Sabbath (Levit. xxiii. 10–15, &c.), *i.e.* on the morning of the Resurrection. Hence the word derives a higher meaning, as applied, (1) to Him, "the first-fruits of them that slept" (1 Cor. xv. 20, 23), "the first-born from the dead" (Col. i. 18; Rev. i. 5); (2) from Him, to "the church of the first-born" (Heb. xii. 23, see the type in Exod. xiii. 2, &c.); cp. Rev. xiv. 4. And as He is styled "first-born of every creature" in Col. i. 15, "the first-fruits of His creatures" here is the designation of the Body of Christians, in their degree. In the natural world mankind hold this pre-eminence, though last created. In the New Creation, the Only-Begotten is THE First-fruits; but the adopted children are (as the word is carefully qualified) "*a sort of* first-fruits" among mankind. So of Israel, Exod. iv. 22. This double application of the word makes it probable that there is a secondary reference in "the Word of truth" also.

19. *Wherefore.*] For "*wherefore* (ὥστε)," &c., A B ℵ C, Vulg., Memph., have "*Know ye*, or rather *ye know* (ἴστε), *my beloved brethren*: —*but* (δὲ inserted in B ℵ C, Vulg., Memph.: om. 31 K L, both Syr.: A has καὶ ἔστω) *let every man*," &c.:—a difficult reading; for *Ye know*, or *Know ye this*, are elsewhere connected with what follows; but here must refer to something going before, probably verses 16–18. Whether "wherefore" or "but" be the link, the connexion of the thoughts is obscure. But noting the stress laid throughout on quiet and endurance as the chief and hardest manifestations of faith (cp. i. 3, 4; iii. 1, 13–18), we may trace this as following from the regeneration through the word. The new life is not to shew itself by stirring, but rather, in relation to *the word*, by listening. Our duty is (1) to hear that Word;—especially important for those who are to be 'masters' (διδάσκαλοι) of others (iii. 1):—but also (2) generally, to hear, to listen and learn, rather than to speak and teach (verses 21, 26). Ecclus. iv. 29; v. 11, may be compared; though there is no actual quotation.

slow to wrath, follows "slow to speak;" cp. what is said of the work of the tongue generally in ch. iii.; perhaps also with specific reference to unholy zeal and jealousy combined with the ambition of teaching (iii. 1).

20. *worketh not the righteousness of God.*] There are here two distinct interpretations, according to the meanings in which "working" is used:—either (*a*) to produce, cause an effect or end; *e.g.* to work wrath, death, glory (Rom. iv. 15, vii. 13, and 2 Cor. iv. 17):—or (*b*) to do a work whose end is in itself; *e.g.* to work unseemliness, evil, sin, the will of the Gentiles (Rom. i. 27, ii. 9; *infra*, ii. 9; 1 Pet. iv. 3; see Rom. vii. 15–20).

If we take (*a*), the sense is "doth not execute the righteousness of God, is no fit instrument of His judgments or vengeance." But as to "work the righteousness of God" is not merely contrasted with "the wrath of man," but implicitly recognised as the duty of God's children, the second interpretation is simpler and better. See the phrase in Acts x. 35; Heb. xi. 33. True, it is not merely "worketh righteousness," but "the righteousness *of God*." But cp. 1 Cor. xvi. 10, "he worketh the work of the Lord:" and in Acts x. 35, the words are, "he that worketh righteousness *is accepted of Him*." So here the work which beseems the sons of God, and is incompatible with the indulgence of sinful wrath, is to *work* that righteousness which comes of the grace of God, and avails to please Him. If, however, with Hofmann we take "slow to wrath" as a warning to him who "speaks" as a teacher, not to lose temper if his efforts fail, then "the righteousness of God" must be that righteousness which a Christian teacher must try to "work" in the hearers.

21. *filthiness and naughtiness* (the latter word is usually better rendered *malice* in N. T., *e.g.* Eph. iv. 31; Col. iii. 8; Tit. iii. 3, &c.; *maliciousness*, Rom. i. 29) comprise two classes of sins,—the sensual and the malignant; sins against one's own personality (1 Cor. vi. 18), and sins against one's neighbour; the one opposed to holiness, the other to righteousness; cp. Rev. xxii. 11; 2 Cor.

ness and superfluity of naughtiness, and receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save your souls.

22 But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves.

23 For if any be a hearer of the word, and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass:

24 For he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was.

25 But whoso looketh into the

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vii. 1. "Superfluity of naughtiness" is rather ambiguous; — **abundance, overflow of malice** would better describe the evil which, having filled the heart, overflows in the outer conduct; "out of *the abundance* of the heart the mouth speaketh," Matt. xii. 34; Lu. vi. 45. Cp. "the overflowings of ungodliness" (Ps. xviii. 3 (4, Prayer Book); where the A.V. has, "floods of ungodly men" or "Belial").

lay apart.] **Put off** all this, as filthy garments (see for the literal sense Acts vii. 58; for the figurative, Eph. iv. 22–25), *and receive the word* ("swift to hear"), *with meekness* ("slow to wrath"):—*the word* mentioned in verse 18, where see note: cp. Rom. i. 16, "the gospel . . . . is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." But Bp. Wordsworth points out that there is a higher significance in the expression, if we recognise the Personal indwelling of the Word of God; cp. Acts xx. 32; Gal. iii. 27; Col. ii. 6.

engrafted.] ἔμφυτον, a word not elsewhere found in the N. T.; but see Wisd. xii. 10, "malice bred in them." Here it is not "inborn, native;" rather, as sometimes in classical Greek (Hdt. ix. 94, cp. Odyss. xxii. 348), "divinely implanted or given,"—the contrast being between that which is acquired by teaching or study, and that which comes to us either as a *natural gift* (as the phrase is) or by inspiration; towards which we contribute nothing ourselves, but simply "receive" it. Cp. 1 Pet. i. 23.

your souls.] "Soul," here and in verse 20, is the living and abiding principle of man's personality, of which Christ speaks in Matt. x. 28, &c., xvi. 26, &c.

22. *be ye.*] Rather **become ye**; it requires effort and practice.

doers of the word.] As "doers of the law," *infra*, iv. 11; Rom. ii. 13; *i.e.* of the things contained in it. The contrast of "doers" and "hearers" shews the ineffectual character of the hearing. Indeed the word "hearer" (ἀκροατής, cp. ἀκροᾶσθαι, ἀκρόαμα, ἀκροατήριον) suggests listening for amusement to a lecture, recitation, or public performance.

deceiving your own selves.] *I. e.* "not hearers only; for this would be to deceive yourselves." On this wilful self-deception, see *infra*, 26; Gal. vi. 3; 2 Tim. iii. 13; also Matt. vii. 21–23.

23. *his natural face.*] Literally, *the face of his birth* (so LXX in Gen. xxxii. 9, "the land of thy birth"); not contrasted with the new birth (18); but the material and visible features, in contrast to the mental and spiritual form revealed in the mirror of the "perfect law of liberty."

in a glass.] **Mirror.** The ancient mirrors were of polished metal (Exod. xxxviii. 8); see 1 Cor. xiii. 12, *we see by means of a mirror*, i. e. not the things themselves (as we might "*through* a glass"), but only their images. So Ecclus. xxxiv. 3, of dreams. Cp. 2 Cor. iii. 18, where the argument (from Exod. xxxiv. 29–35) seems to require the translation "reflecting," instead of "beholding as in a glass" the glory of the Lord. See also the next note.

24. *For he beholdeth, &c.*] This brings out the point of likeness—not in the mere "beholding," which might be careful or careless (in Acts xxvii. 39, the word is used for "observing," "taking notice of" a creek in an unknown shore)—but in the particular mode, viz. glancing carelessly, and passing by without a second look. We might have expected "when," instead of "for;" but, as if the full description had been given in verse 23, this verse gives one representative instance; cp. verses 10, 11, and the note. And the tense is emphatic here, as there, the literal version being "for he 'beheld' himself, and 'is gone' away, and straightway he 'forgot,'" &c., *i. e.* he gave but one glance at himself, *went away, and never came back* (the continuous absence is indicated), and *so* straightway forgot what he looked like.

The mirror of the Word shews us our true selves,—the likeness of God, and the sins that have defaced it; but, to what end, if we turn away and take no heed to maintain or restore that likeness?

25. *looketh into.*] An emphatic word, παρακύψας, used in the literal sense in John xx. 5, "he stooping down [and looking in] saw," &c.; cp. 1 Peter i. 12. The attitude

perfect law of liberty, and continueth *therein*, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his [1] deed.

[1] Or, *doing*.

26 If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion *is* vain.

27 Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, *and* to keep himself unspotted from the world.

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of the eager observer is caught, as he bends over and gazes. And he "continueth therein." The object of this study is "the perfect law, that of liberty (two distinct thoughts, the latter flowing from the former); "the law," virtually = "the word" in verses 22, 23, but viewed (from St. James's standing-point) as a rule of practice—"the royal law" of ii. 8, cp. Matt. v. 17, *seqq.*: not a different and more perfect law (for the law itself is of God), but the law fulfilled in perfection such as Judaism could not reach, and now at one with the springs of action in the Christian's inner man. Cp. Rom. vii. 12, 14, with viii. 1, 2, 13; xiii. 8–10.

that *of liberty.*] St. Paul speaks of "the law of faith" (Rom. iii. 27), and of "the obedience of faith" (*ib.* i. 5, xvi. 26; cp. xv. 18; Acts vi. 7). Moreover, St. James had not become a Christian by any violent change, but by a regular progress from the *imperfect* Law to the perfection of the Gospel (Matt. v. 17). But he marks the reality of this progress by this word "perfect," adding "that of liberty," to shew its character. Cp. Rom. viii. 1, 15; Gal. iv. 24–31. In Gal. v. 13, we find freedom disciplined by rule; here we have the rule tempered by freedom.

a forgetful hearer . . . a doer of the work.] Literally, a "hearer of forgetfulness . . . a doer of work: *i.e.* "a forgetful hearer . . . **a working, energetic doer**" of this law (cp. "a hearer, a doer of the word," verse 23). The idiom is found in Luke xvi. 8, 9, "the steward, the mammon, of unrighteousness" (*ib.* 11, "the unrighteous mammon") &c.; *v. infra*, ii. 4. The "forgetful hearer" is the one represented in verses 22–24. (Ἐπιλησμοσύνη is the regular Greek form: but ἐπιλησμονή occurs in Ecclus. xi. 25.)

shall be blessed in his deed.] Rather, **in his doing**: the doing of these things being an end in itself, containing its own reward. *Shall be* does not necessarily refer to the future day of restitution, but is "the future of promise," expressing the result which follows from given premisses. Cp. the Beatitudes in Matt. v. 4–9.

26. *religious . . . religion.*] **Devout . . . devotion** (as Tyndale and Cranmer) would be a better rendering. Two families of words are used in N. T. of the outward service of God: one ritual, and specially belonging to the *worship* (λατρεύειν, λατρεία) of the Temple, see Rom. ix. 4, xii. 1; Heb. ix. 1, 6; John xvi. 2 (the *ministerial service* is usually denoted by another, λειτουργεῖν, -γία); the other (as here, θρῆσκος, θρησκεία) not denoting rites of worship (though possibly including them in the general sense of *worshipping*, e.g. of angels, Col. ii. 18, cp. Wisdom xi. 15, xiv. 16, 18, 27), but special *devotion* exhibited in one's conduct and way of life. This word is used of the Pharisees, "the straitest sect of our *religion*" (Acts xxvi. 5). It is used by Herodotus of *observances* based on religious feeling, but belonging to ordinary life: e.g., of abstinence from particular kinds of food (ii. 18): in ii. 37, the words ἄλλας τε θρησκηΐας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας sum up his list of various customs in reference to clothing, washing, shaving, &c., which were observed as religious duties; see also the verb θρησκεύω, *ib.* 64, and Dionys. Hal. ii. 63. And so here the word refers, not to acts of worship, but to the general tenor of religious duty which marks a life as dedicated to God's service. If a man thinks himself, **claims to be thought** (see 1 Cor. iii. 18; Gal. vi. 3; Phil. iii. 4: the warning is against self-deceit, rather than false appearances), in this sense "religious" or "devout" (St. James says), his devotion, if real, will take a practical shape in the habitual discharge of duty.

and bridleth not his tongue.] Literally, *not bridling* his tongue, *but* [thus] *deceiving* his own heart. One might have expected, "this man deceiveth his own heart, and his religion is vain." See *infra*, iii. 2–4, &c.; *supra*, verses 19–22.

vain.] "Of none effect, unavailing before God," as Matt. xv. 8; 1 Cor. xv. 17, and therefore "unreal." This description of the true religious life, negatively and positively defined, seems abrupt. But this (as usually in St. James) is rather in the gnomic form of expression than in the matter. The dominant thought is, "Be ye doers of the word" (verse 22): and this is pithily put in a double antithesis: doers, *not hearers only*, (verses 22–25)—doers, *not talkers* (verses 26,

27). The negative test here may seem narrow, but it meets a temptation frequently yielded to even by persons who keep a watch over their doings. So in Matt. xii. 34–37, Christ treats sins of the tongue as the most direct evidence of a corrupt heart.

27. *pure . . . and undefiled.*] The same idea, expressed (as usual) positively and negatively. Yet perhaps *pure* refers more to the inward source: *undefiled* to the freedom from evil contracted by converse with others; see 1 Peter i. 19; Heb. vii. 26; and cp. Titus i. 15. Perhaps there is an allusion to the outward purifications, in which the Jews trusted so much (Mark vii. 2–8; Matt. xxiii. 25, *seq.*; Heb. ix. 10). The outward and inward cleansing are combined in Heb. x. 22, and (of the Church) Eph. v. 26, *seq.* In Luke xi. 41, Christ says, "Rather give alms of such things as ye have; and behold all things are clean unto you." This teaching is the more impressive in a writer who was in his own person a pattern of rigid conformity to the Law. *Before God and the Father* (see 1 Peter ii. 20) contrasts His judgment with man's; cp. Matt. vi. 1–18.

God and the Father.] *I. e.* God who is our Father. In Matt. v. 48, we are taught to emulate His perfections (in Luke vi. 36, His *mercies*), because He is our Father; cp. Ps. lxviii. 5, "Father of the fatherless, and Judge of the widows:" these representing the class who have God for their especial helper, because they have none else (Deut. x. 18; Job xxix. 12, *seqq.*; Ecclus. iv. 10). "To visit" the afflicted, is an act of charity which the Son of Man recognises as done to Himself, Matt. xxv. 34, *seqq.*

to keep himself.] See 1 John v. 18, where these words stand absolutely. Here probably two thoughts are combined: "to keep himself unspotted" (cp. 1 Tim. v. 22), and "to keep himself [safe] from the world"—as "from the evil," John xvii. 15; cp. Prov. vii. 5. Active charity and moral purity make up the definition of the religious life (as in Christ's discourses the second table of the Decalogue is often made the test of duty); the more direct duty towards God being assumed as the root of all, and being sufficiently indicated by the word "religion," and the reference to the judgment of God.

See Coleridge's 'Aids to Reflection,' Introd. Aphorism xxiii. But he identifies St. James's "*religion*" with *ritual observances* (*θρησκεία* with *λατρεία*).

ADDITIONAL NOTE on Chap. I. verse 5.

Why is *wisdom* the grace specified here, and not faith or patience, as in verse 4? Probably, as comprehending the sum of practical religion according to the ethical view, rather Hebrew than Greek, so prominent in the Book of Proverbs, and, later, in those of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. (See Introduction, iii.) This Wisdom is (1) the Spirit of God, present with Him in all His works, and showering the gift of Himself on those who seek Him; (2) this gift and inspiration, enlightening the soul, but still more, purifying and hallowing it,—the grace of practical holiness,—wisdom unto salvation. In iii. 13–17, it is described as coming down from heaven, and contrasted with the serpent-wisdom of this world. Note how the Psalms identify sin and folly, sinners and fools; and how St. John uses the word *truth* in reference to practice rather than speculation, as that which we are not only "to hold," but "to do" (iii. 21; 1 Ep. i. 6). *Wisdom*, in St. Paul, is rather different in meaning, even when it is the true wisdom of which he writes. He connects it more directly with the sanctified intellect; yet see 2 Tim. iii. 15.

"Wisdom," then, presupposes the "faith" which asks for it, and transcends "patience" as containing the "perfect work" of patience, the Christian character "perfect and entire."

CHAPTER II.

1 *It is not agreeable to Christian profession to regard the rich, and to despise the poor brethren:* 13 *rather we are to be loving, and merciful:* 14 *and not to boast of faith where no deeds are,* 17 *which is but a dead faith,* 19 *the faith of devils,* 21 *not of Abraham,* 25 *and Rahab.*

MY brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, *the Lord* of glory, with respect of persons.

CHAP. II. 1. *the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.*] *I. e.* the faith *in* Him: as Gal. ii. 16; Acts iii. 16. *To have* this is probably not to hold *the* faith (objective, the doctrine believed), but to have the faith which believes (subjective); as Mark xi. 22, "have faith in (*of*) God." The question whether the disciples held the true faith or not is not

2 For if there come unto your [1] assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment;

[1] Gr. *synagogue.*

raised. They had received it; they professed it. St. James therefore argues from it to shew how lifeless that faith must be which does not conquer evil temper, indolence, unbridled tongues, or (as here) respect of persons. One point of practical unchristianity is touched after another, till the belief of devils crowns the whole with terrible irony (cf. Rom. i. 18).

of glory.] Cp. "crucified the Lord of glory," 1 Cor. ii. 8; "the God, the Father of glory," Acts vii. 2; Eph. i. 17; emphatically of the Divine glory. See the reference to the *Shechinah*, in Rom. ix. 4, compared with 1 Kings viii. 11. The order of the words here is remarkable: cp. 1 Thess. ii. 13, where the true order, "ye received the word, which ye heard of us, of God," tells that, though received through the ministry of men, it was God's word, not man's (*v. seqq.*). Here it may be paraphrased, "Why pay such deference to the persons of men, when you have for the object of your faith the Lord Jesus—the Christ of glory?" See the contrast in John v. 44, where "honour" represents the same word (δόξα) as "glory" here.

with respect of persons.] A Hebrew phrase, frequent in O. and N. T.; v. Levit. xix. 15; Luke xx. 21; Rom. ii. 11; Jude 16; favour, acceptance shewn to the *person*, i. e. the outward show and accidents, instead of the substantial merits of the case;—expressed rather differently in Matt. xxii. 16; Mark xii. 14; John vii. 24. In Exod. xxiii. 2, 3; Lev. xix. 15, the warning is equally against subserviency to the great, and partiality to the humble. But the danger is nearly all on one side; and in the N. T. the former meaning is found alone. This verse exposes one flagrant breach of that "pure religion" which is shewn in love to those who are most in need of it. Others are indicated in this and the next chapter. Chapter iv. deals with offences against the other portion of i. 27—"unspotted from the world."

Again an individual instance (perhaps the description of an actual scene) is substituted for an abstract precept; *v.* especially verse 4.

—into your assembly] literally *synagogue*—the only place in the N. T. where this word is distinctly applied to a Christian assembly. In Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9, "the synagogue of Satan" may perhaps, in accordance with the Hebrew imagery of the book, have a Christian reference. Elsewhere in the N. T. (except Acts xiii. 43, where the A. V. has "when *the congregation* was broken up") always used of the material building. In the O. T., only found in A. V. of a late Psalm (lxxiv. 8), where the LXX have a different word. But συναγωγή is very common in the LXX of an *assembly of the people*, whether for worship or other public purpose, especially in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, as = Hebrew *êdah*, whereas in Deuteronomy the word used is *kâhal*, LXX ἐκκλησία (cp. Acts vii. 38). There was no real distinction between the words; see Num. xx. 8, 10; Judges xx. 1; Prov. v. 14. Nor is any distinction made here between the old and the new assembly. All the brotherhood are, as it were, taken into Israel, not distinguished from it. The "footstool," and the arrangements incidentally noticed, suggest that both the place and the assembly are included. But it was not necessarily a separate building. A chamber in a private house would suffice, as in Acts i. 13, xx. 8; as we read of "churches" in Rom. xvi. 5; Col. iv. 15; Philem. 2.

Nor is it necessary to decide whether the "rich man" is supposed to be a Christian. The brethren in Judea were indeed generally poor (*v.* Acts xi. 29; Rom. xv. 25; 1 Cor. xvi. 3, compared with 2 Cor. ch. viii., ix.); yet there were exceptions from the first. But the scene represents rich and poor, as such, without filling up all the details:—indeed we might remark that *both* seem to enter the assembly as strangers; and that first the one and then the other is distinguished from the disciples (6, "ye have despised the poor . . .; do not rich men oppress you?")

Nor is anything *as yet* said in disparagement of the rich man. His apparel is *goodly* (*gay* represents the same word), bright in colour or glossy in texture (in Lu. xxiii. 11, "gorgeous" is an exaggerated translation; see note there); or perhaps brilliantly fresh and clean, opposite to "vile . . . . filthy." No doubt, there is a temptation to luxury in dress and ornaments. But there is neither fault in "goodly," nor merit in "filthy" apparel. A gold ring, under the Romans, might be the simple badge of the wearer's rank. Josephus ('B. J.' ii. 14, 9) speaks of Jews who were Roman knights; and every Roman knight wore a gold ring. The rebuke is for those whose "respect" was paid, not to merit, not even to "person,"—but to apparel!

Some think that the assembly here named was not for religious rites, but for the transaction of general business among Christians, comparing 1 Cor. vi. The Jewish Synagogue was so used: and its officers had in some cases judicial functions. But here, the rebuke implies that "rich and poor were meeting

3 And ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, Sit thou here [1]in a good place; and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool:

4 Are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?

5 Hearken, my beloved brethren, Hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of [1]the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him?

6 But ye have despised the poor. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment seats?

[1] Or, *well, or, seemly.*

[1] Or, *that.*

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together" not as members of a Society in which such distinctions must be recognised, but as in presence of "the Maker of them all," before whom they are absolutely equal. In 1 Cor. xi. 20, *seqq.*, we read of somewhat similar evils; and there the scene is a religious assembly, "the Church of God." See note on verse 6.

3. *have respect.*] Not the same word as in verse 1; but the same as in Lu. i. 48 (cp. ix. 38), meaning "to look with favour on one.

Sit . . . here, &c.] Some suppose that a bustling official is represented, marshalling the congregation to seats according to rank. But this is an anachronism. It is the *officious* act of one who himself has a good seat ("*here* in a good place") with a "footstool;" and who offers the rich man a similar one: *here*, evidently in the best part of the room: *there*, by contrast, "away, in yonder corner." *Stand thou there* or *sit here* may either be two alternative speeches, or one speech mocking the poor man with the choice of two positions, both uncomfortable:—the opposition between "thou . . . thou" rather favours the latter view.

under my footstool.] *i.e.* on the floor at my feet. The customary attitude of the disciples of Jewish Doctors; whence St. Paul's phrase, "brought up . . . at the feet of Gamaliel" (Acts xxii. 3); cp. Mary in Lu. x. 39, and *v.* Deut. xxxiii. 3. But here a humiliating distinction is made between two of the hearers (cp. Ps. cx. 1). The fondness of the Jews for "the chief seats in the synagogues" is touched upon in Matt. xxiii. 6, &c.

4. *Are ye not.*] Were *ye not*, as if describing one actual and typical instance; see i. 11, 24. So in vv. 5, 6, *God* **chose . . . ye despised** (not "hath chosen . . . have despised").

then.] Greek *and:* but = *and so, then:* so LXX often; and in N. T., 2 Cor. ii. 2, "If I make you sorry, *and* (= then) who is he that maketh me glad;" cp. also Phil. i. 22.

But the meaning of διεκρίθητε (A. V., *are ye partial*) is doubtful. The active verb may mean *to draw a distinction between* one and another (Matt. xvi. 3; Acts xv. 9, &c.). But the passive is commonly to be *doubtful*, as opposed to *faith* (see note on i. 6, and references there). Here it probably means that this respect of persons shewed that they were halting between God and the world, double-minded.

and are [**were**] *become judges of evil thoughts?*] *i.e.* judges possessed, biased by (cp. "forgetful hearer," i. 25, &c.) evil, unfair modes of thinking and deliberation. Used in Matt. xv. 19; Lu. v. 21, *seq.*, of reasonings, either with oneself or with others; processes which lead to a conclusion, whether in action or in judgment.

5. *Hearken, my beloved brethren.*] Cp. i. 16, 19, &c.

Hath not God chosen.] Rather, **Did** *not God* **choose**; the tense carries us back to the very act of God's *election* (the same word; cp. 2 Peter i. 10; Rom. viii. 33, xi. 5, 7, &c.), prior to the faith of the chosen; therefore, not "*who are*," but "*to be* rich," &c.; for though the kingdom is in a true sense already come, the mention of *faith* and *heirs* (not *partakers*) refers us to its future perfect revelation. Cp. the construction in 2 Cor. iii. 6, "Who hath fitted us [to be] ministers."

poor of this world.] Either *in the things of*, or *in the estimate of*, this world; probably the latter. Cp. 1 Cor. i. 26, *seqq.*

rich in faith.] (1) Abounding in faith, faith being the riches: as God is "rich in mercy," Eph. ii. 4; or (2) by virtue of faith rich [in heavenly riches], *i. e.* in the inheritance of the kingdom; cp. "though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor, that ye through His poverty might be rich." 2 Cor. viii. 9. The latter seems the better, as contrasting their worldly poverty with their heavenly riches. Cp. "the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints," Eph. i. 18.

heirs of the kingdom] See Matt. v. 3; Luke vi. 20.

6. *But ye have despised the poor.*] Rather, **but ye despised the poor man**, *i.e.* the man spoken of in verse 2, *seqq.* Note the contrast: "God chose the poor—ye did despite to the poor man" (πτωχός is a very strong word, almost = "pauper" or "beggar;"

7 Do not they blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called?

8 If ye fulfil the royal law according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well:

9 But if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors.

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cp. Ar. Plut. 548–554.) Note, too, the delicacy of conduct towards the poor, taught by the Law, Deut. xxiv. 10, *seqq.* The Book of Proverbs is full of this subject; cp. also Wisdom ch. ii.; Ecclus. xiii. These words belong to verse 5, contrasting man's treatment of the poor with God's love for them.

Do not rich men.] Rather, **the rich** as a class, opposed to "the poor," verse 5). Another suggestion,—"How ill do they, as a class, deserve the attention that you pay them!"

draw you before the judgment seats.] Perhaps "**themselves**" should be added, *i.e.* with their own hands drag you, as in Matt. xviii. 28; cp. *ib.* v. 25 for this summary process, which may be illustrated by Livy's description of debtors and creditors in the early times of the Roman Republic (*e.g.* ii. 23, 27):—add Luke xii. 58; Acts viii. 3, xvii. 6.

From the phrase "judgment seats" (tribunals, law-courts), some have inferred that verse 2 describes a secular assembly for the settlement of disputes between Christians without appeal to Heathen courts (see 1 Cor. vi., where the same word κριτήριον is used, not indeed of the tribunal, as here and in Hist. Susann. 49, but of the matter in dispute); and that the special offence imputed to the rich was their appeal from the Court Christian to the Roman Law-court.

7. *that worthy name.*] The name of CHRIST; cp. Acts v. 41, "to suffer shame for His (rather *the*) name;" *ib.* xv. 17 (from Amos ix. 12), "the Gentiles on whom my name is called." Here, too, the literal rendering would be, "that name *which is called on you*;" the covenant-name, in which they are called His people and He their God; a name "invoked over them" in the form of baptism. Certainly not "the respectable name of *the Poor*," as Herder and others think, supposing that the *Ebionites* (*Ebion*, in Hebrew = poor) might claim St. James as their representative. But though it is the name of CHRIST, it does not follow that the word *Christian* is alluded to. *Christianus* is a word of Latin formation (Tacitus, 'Ann.' xv. 44), first used at Antioch (Acts xi. 26), used by Agrippa (*ib.* xxvi. 28), and by St. Peter (1 Ep. iv. 16); nowhere found in St. Paul; and not likely to have been current at Jerusalem, where the believers were called Nazarenes or Galileans by their enemies (Acts xxiv. 5; John vii. 52), and among themselves, "the disciples," "the brethren," and "the Way." (Acts ix. 2, xix. 9, 23, xxiv. 14.)

they blaspheme that . . . name.] Some say, "act so as to make the enemies blaspheme it:" a thought expressed in 2 Sam. xii. 14, and in Rom. ii. 24. But we must understand the word, as usual, of actual blasphemy against the name, doctrine, word, way of God (1 Tim. vi. 1; Titus ii. 5; 2 Peter ii. 2, &c.). It is indeed originally used of all scurril, slanderous speaking (so in N. T., Rom. iii. 8; 1 Cor. iv. 13; 2 Peter ii. 11, &c.); but usually in reference to persons or things which have a halo of sanctity about them (*e.g.* "against Moses and against God," Acts vi. 11; cp. *ib.* 13), and most often, specifically, of a sin against God.

These rich, then, blasphemed the name of CHRIST; and are thus, at last, contrasted sharply with the brethren. Nor is this inconsistent with verse 2; cp. 1 Cor. xiv. 23, *seq.*, of unbelievers coming into an assembly of worshippers. See below on iv. 2, 13, v. 1. But here note that as it is the poor, as a class, —and yet not all the poor, or only the poor as such—that God chose ("to the poor the Gospel is preached," Luke vii. 22, cp. Isai. lxi. 1, confirmed historically, John vii. 48, *seq.*; Mark ii. 15, xii. 37; 1 Cor. i. 26, *seq.*, &c.), so it is the rich, as a class,—yet not simply as such, but in so far as they trust in riches (Mark x. 23–27)—who are shut out of the kingdom; see Luke xvi. 25, and cp. Ecclus. xiii. This language, harsh as it sounds, is but the echo of Christ's warnings against the dangers of riches (Luke, *l. c.*). True, the temptations of riches assumed in that age very gross forms of sensuality or of greed; but do they become less dangerous by losing a portion of their grossness?

8, 9. *the royal law.*] That kingly law to which all others minister, each in its own sphere: being, in fact, the second of those two Commandments, on which "hang all the law and the prophets" (Matt. xxii. 36–40, and parallel places); see Rom. xiii. 8–10; Gal. v. 14; called above, i. 25, "the perfect law, that of liberty;" cp. 12, *infra*, and Cicero 'Offic.' i. 12, 'Regalis sententia.'

according to the scripture.] Not a mere form of citing the text which follows from

10 For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one *point*, he is guilty of all.

11 For [1] he that said, Do not commit adultery, said also, Do not kill. Now if thou commit no adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a transgressor of the law.

12 So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty.

13 For he shall have judgment

[1] Or, *that law which said.*

Levit. xix. 18, but "according to the real spirit of the scriptural precept." See Christ's teaching in Matt. v. 43–47, illustrated by the parable of the good Samaritan, Luke x. 29, *seqq.*

ye do well.] Probably ironical (as in 19). "True, if you really act up to the spirit of that law, you do well; but you have other neighbours besides the rich: do you treat them all alike? The poor needs your love most. If you treat him as an enemy, and the rich man as a neighbour (Matt. v. 43), *ye commit* (*work, practise*, implying a habit, not a single act) sin;" *v.* Matt. vii. 23; Acts x. 35; Heb. xi. 33.

convinced.] Rather, **convicted**, according to the modern distinction between the two words, which are originally the same; cp. John viii. 9, with ib. 46.

of the law.] Either, the whole law as forming one code; or, more probably, that very law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, to which the appeal was made in verse 8; see Rom. ii. 23.

as transgressors.] More specific than "sinners;" "breakers of a positive law;" cp. "where no law is, there is no transgression," Rom. iv. 15; though the Christian rule is, "whosoever committeth sin transgresseth also the law; for sin is the transgression of the law," 1 John iii. 4.

10. *the whole law . . . one point.*] *I. e.* every jot and tittle except one precept, see Matt. v. 18, *seq.* Not as if the breach of one were as sinful as the breach of all; but (1) The principle of duty, and of obedience to all the Commandments, is one; so that if we choose for ourselves nine commandments to keep, and one to break, we are not doing God's will, but our own. (2) All the precepts are alike expressions of one Divine will, and rest on one authority ("He that said," &c.). (3) All the precepts are manifestations of *love at work*—love first to God, then to our neighbour; and each particular failure shews defect in this. "Love is the fulfilling of the law" (Rom. xiii. 10), inasmuch as it keeps not one or another Commandment, but every one alike, working *no* ill to his neighbour. It is the spirit, of which the several precepts are partial expressions. *V.* Augustin. Ep. 167 (29).

guilty of all.] The same word (ἔνοχος) occurs in Matt. v. 21, 22, xxvi. 66; 1 Cor. xi. 27: the one common meaning in all these places being "within the grasp, scope, of a law;" and so, either "guilty" of that which it forbids; or "liable to, in danger of," its penalties. Cp. Rom. iii. 19.

11. *he that said.*] The one Lawgiver, Whose will and authority are the same in all the Commandments, and Who, literally, spoke them (Exod. xx. 1). Compare the paragraphs treating of these particular Commandments in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 21, *seqq.*, 27, *seqq.*). There they are mentioned in the same order as in Exod. xx. and Deut. v.; whereas here, and in Mark x. 19, Luke xviii. 20, Rom. xiii. 9, the sixth and seventh Commandments are transposed: for which there must have been some (now lost) traditional authority; for Philo Judæus ('de Decal.' 2. 189, 201, 207) argues from it to prove the heinousness of adultery.

12. *So speak ye, and so do.*] The assertion of equal responsibility for words and deeds is characteristic of St. James; see i. 19, 26; iii. 2–11; iv. 11. The key-note is in Matt. xii. 36, *seq.*

as they that shall be judged.] *I. e.* "as being persons who shall . . ."; not "like those who . . ." Note that this law is still the standard of their judgment.

the law (rather, a *law*) *of liberty.*] *I. e.* "the royal law" (8), "the perfect law, that of liberty" (i. 25); not a law of outward compulsion or minute detail, but an inward principle, moulding man's spirit by the working of the "free Spirit" ("principalis Spiritus," Vulg. Ps. li. 12) of God. The reconciliation of law with liberty, issuing in a service which is perfect freedom, is attained through the Spirit of Christ: "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free" (Rom. viii. 2), the spirit of adoption superseding the spirit of bondage (*ib.* 15), that love may cast out fear (Bp. Bull, 'Harm. Apost.' i. 3, § 2). Law, then, is no longer a law *under* which, but a law *by* which we act, becoming a law of our spiritual nature, in a sense somewhat analogous to that in which the word is applied to the order of physical things.

13.] God's mercy is restrained and His

without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy; and mercy [1]rejoiceth against judgment.

14 What *doth it* profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? can faith save him?

15 If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food,

16 And one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be *ye* warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what *doth it* profit?

17 Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being [1]alone.

18 Yea, a man may say, Thou hast faith, and I have works: shew

[1] Or, *glorieth.*

[1] Gr. *by itself.*

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pardon forfeited, if, after all, the spirit of bondage revives. See the parable of the unmerciful servant, Matt. xviii. 23, *seqq.*, especially 35. "Love of neighbour" is here "mercy," probably because viewed (as in the Lord's Prayer) in connexion with God's love *to sinners*. Where the Spirit is thus revealed, the rigour of justice is not felt; "mercy," the spirit of brotherly love in us, "rejoiceth against judgment," triumphs over it. God is not the Judge, but the Father, of those in whom He beholds the Spirit of His Son moving. See Christ's words, Matt. vi. 14, *seq.*, xxv. 34–46;—"I will have mercy, and not sacrifice" (Matt. ix. 13, &c.). Here, as in the parables, it is not injustice, but the rigid exaction of justice, which is condemned. Woe to those who receive justice, simple and unmitigated, at God's hand! Cp. also Rom. v. 7.

This verse is probably thus connected with the foregoing—"Unless ye keep the royal law, ye are transgressors. By mercy it is kept, and transgressions are blotted out; but the unmerciful remain, as transgressors, in danger of the law."

14—26.] On this paragraph, see Excursus, "*St. James and St. Paul.*"

14.] The *works* (which carry us back to i. 22, 27) are tacitly identified with the second table of the Decalogue, *i. e.* the "royal law" of verse 18. They are equivalent to *love*, and contrasted with an unworking, unloving faith. The words, *though a man say that he hath faith*, are more guarded than St. Paul's, "*Though I have* all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity (love), I am nothing" (1 Cor. xiii. 2). Cp. Gal. v. 6, "In Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love." The profession of faith is assumed throughout. See i. 17–21, for the regeneration, the gift of God, the Divine and saving Word. To make this more clear, we should express the definite article of the original: "*Can* **the** *faith* thus described—**this** *faith* of his, such as one can have who has no works—*save him?*" The opportunity of working is of course assumed.

save him?] Connected with "judgment" in verses 12, 13; referring not to the past epoch of their conversion, nor even to their present state of salvation, but to the Day of Judgment.

15. *If a brother, &c.*] Or, **But if**: perhaps, "*Nay, to take another case*, which is strictly parallel (faith and charity being sister graces (1 Cor. xiii.) and both essentially practical), but which is more self-evidently absurd." Faith in words, and charity in words, are alike null: but there might be a mistake about the former; there could be none about the latter.

a brother or a sister.] One of the Christian brotherhood (1 Peter ii. 17), to whom the first offices of love are due. Mark the significance of the phrase which St. James uses so often.

naked.] Often used of persons without the upper garment; here, evidently of one who is insufficiently clad, as in the parable, Matt. xxv. 36, *seqq.*

destitute of daily food.] Lacking (i. 5) day by day the food which would suffice for the day; unable to procure it by daily labour, either because hired by no man (Matt. xx. 7), or because the wages were withheld (v. 4).

16. *one of you.*] Gently expressed; but followed by, *ye give them not*, as if, though one had spoken, the neglect had been general.

Depart in peace.] A Hebrew phrase. The meaning is not, "Go, get these things for yourselves;"—that would have been churlishness; but this is hypocrisy—"May God grant you them!" a plain mockery in the mouths of men who had the opportunity of being God's instruments to supply these necessities (cp. 1 Tim. vi. 18), but who rejected the privilege offered to them.

what doth it profit.] First, and most simply, "profit the hungry and naked brother." But "they shall be filled" (Matt. v. 6), and verse 14 suggest the profit that it would have been to him who might have done this to Christ, but did it not (Matt. xxv. 45).

17. *Even so faith.*] **The** faith of which

me thy faith [1]without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works.

19 Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well: the devils also believe, and tremble.

20 But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead?

21 Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar?

[1] Some copies read, *by thy works.*

we are speaking, *being alone*, isolated, by itself. Others, "dead in itself," *i. e.* not merely outwardly ineffectual, "but in its inner state and character dead." But the former is better. Cp. the LXX in Gen. xliii. 32, "for him by himself, and for them by themselves," &c.

dead.] Retaining, it may be, the outward semblance of the living thing; but a corpse, powerless to perform the functions of life.

18. *Yea, a man may say.*] Greek, *But* **some one will say.** This expression elsewhere introduces an objection to the previous argument or assertion, see 1 Cor. xv. 35; Rom. ix. 19; whereas the present verse supports St. James's foregoing argument. The difficulty is much less if we take, "What doth it profit, if a man *say* that he hath faith" (verse 14), and "*But* rather and more naturally *some one will say*," &c. (18), as an antithesis, the particular instance in vv. 16, 17 being parenthetic. Thus a friendly speaker is introduced, arguing, *ad hominem*, "You claim credit for faith without shewing any evidence of it, while I work its works. Prove the existence of your faith, if you can, by any evidence except that of works; while I, by working, exhibit my faith in the only way in which proof of it can be given." So in Luke v. 18–25, the visible miracle is made the evidence of the spiritual. If a man *say* that he has faith, no one can contradict him. But the works of faith can be seen, and these will prove that, though invisible, it is present.

without thy works.] Literally, **apart from** them; supply, "if thou canst." Some read "by" them, but with less authority and less satisfactory meaning (cp. verses 14, 17).

19. *that there is one God.*] Rather, **that God is one**, asserting the unity as well as the existence of God,—against polytheism rather than atheism (1 Cor. viii. 4, 6); for the argument is with a Christian *Jew*, zealous in the assertion of this verity, as being the groundwork of the revelation to Moses, "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord" (Deut. vi. 4, &c.), where His absolute right to their allegiance is rested upon it. It is not an exclusively Christian article of faith; but it heads the Nicene Creed as well as the Decalogue; and it is pressed here on those who were at once Jews and Christians. The mention of the devils believing seems to connect this with their confession of Christ, Mark i. 24, v. 7. Note the absence of anything beyond the bare historical belief of a fact. "What so great a thing is it, if thou sayest that Christ is the Son of God? Peter said it, and was answered, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona.' The devils said it, and they heard, 'Hold your peace.' The word is one and the same; but the Lord tests not the flower, but the root" (Augustin. 'Serm. ad Pop.' 158. 6).

thou doest well.] "So far, well!" Ironical: cp. Mark vii. 9; Rom. xi. 20; 2 Cor. xi. 4.

tremble.] Nay, **shiver** or **shudder**, with such horror as makes the hair bristle; cp. Job iv. 15. Such is the faith which works not, because it loves not; the assurance of judgment to come; the foretaste of the "torments" of "the pit"!

20.] It may be doubtful whether vv. 18, 19 are to be taken together, or whether St. James himself speaks in verse 19; but, anyhow, v. 20 resumes the argument of v. 17.

wilt thou know.] Rather, **hast thou the will to know**; bringing out two truths:—(1) The real obstacle to the reception of the truth resides in the corruption of the will. (2) The intellectual assent at once involves practical consequences. Cp. "I would not have you ignorant," Rom. i. 13, xi. 25, &c.

vain man.] Not in reference to self-conceit, though, perhaps, to self-deceit. It is a grave rebuke; cp. Judg. ix. 4, xi. 3, with 1 Sam. xxii. 2, where the Hebrew word is identical with "Raca" in Matt. v. 22.

without works.] "Apart:" severed from its characteristic works, as in verse 17: cp. John xv. 5.

dead?] See verse 17; but others read **idle, unworking**, and so "useless" (ἀργή B C*, &c.); cp. the "idle word," Matt. xii. 36; "neither barren nor unfruitful," 2 Peter i. 8. This gives a characteristic antithesis, "work," "workless," and points to συνήργει, in verse 22; but the reading is not certain.

21. *Abraham our father.*] Father of the Jews, according to the flesh; and of all the faithful, by that adoption which makes them heirs of his blessing; see Gal. iii. 7–9, &c. But St. James's view is that the believing Gentile is taken into the true Israel, while the birth-

[1] Or, *Thou seest.*

22 [1]Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect?

23 And the scripture was fulfilled which saith, [a]Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness: and he was called the Friend of God.

[a] Gen. 15. 6. Rom. 4. 3. Gal. 3. 6.

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right of the unbelieving Jew falls into abeyance; see John viii. 37, 39—"I know that ye are Abraham's seed: but . . . if ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham:" where "the works" are probably those specific things by which his faith was tested (cp. *ib.* 56). So here "works" (plural) are named (Abraham representing a class, typically); but the reference is not so much to the general tenor of his life, as to that one act of faith by which he was specially tried, for which he received the blessing, Gen. xxii. 16, *seqq.*: "Because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, in blessing I will bless thee, &c. . . . because thou hast obeyed my voice." (cp. xxvi. 5). Not that this was Abraham's first trial, or first promise (see Gen. xii., xiii., xv., xvii., xviii., &c.; Heb. xi. 8–19); but the crowning trial and temptation of his life was "when he offered Isaac his son upon the altar." And hence his faith and its reward (in short, his justification) are concentrated in this incident.

The weightiness of this trial, for the argument, is not in the violence done to a father's feelings. The Scripture shews us that the real trial was of the faith which wrought obedience. As Abraham believed God in his departure from his own country, and in the conception and birth of Isaac, so it was especially in this sacrifice; however much the command seemed to contradict the distinct assurance that Isaac, and not another, should be the heir of the promises (Gen. xvii. 19, xxi. 12); see Heb. xi. 17, *seqq.*, especially verse 19, "accounting that God was able to raise him up, even from the dead." These last words are the key to the whole. The obedience of Abraham was rooted in faith, and that, faith in the resurrection from the dead. Believing that God would find the way to fulfil His own promise, he did not hesitate to obey the command which seemed to make it impossible. But all this depends on the historic truth of the fact that He who gave the command was the same God who had given the promise.

Abraham's faithfulness, with its motto, "The Lord will provide," may be contrasted with the conduct of Rebekah and Jacob.

22. *faith wrought with his works.*] Or, "**wrought with him in** his works;" *i. e.* helped him, so that his works through this faith became what without it they would not have been. This interpretation is favoured by Rom. viii. 28, "All things work (or, God worketh all things) together for good to them that love God." (The words "fellow-worker," &c., are more usually followed by the thing or person *for* which, than by the person *with* whom, one labours; cp. in the Greek, 3 Jo. 8; 2 Cor. i. 24, viii. 23; Col. iv. 11. Even in 1 Cor. iii. 9, "God's fellow-labourers" is probably "fellow-labourers in God's service.") Thus the words "faith helped in his works" state one side of the question, and "by works was faith made perfect," the other. "Faith creates works: works perfect faith" (Stier). "Work is faith ripened" (Messmer). This seems the preferable interpretation. For, though a man is said to be justified by faith, or to be justified by works, according to the point of view of St. Paul or St. James, it is doubtful whether there is any point of view from which it can be said that faith and works *combine* to justify, because this would imply that both justify in the same sense of the word.

Though the argument is here generalised, yet the definite article in the Greek refers us to Abraham's faith, as well as to his works, *i. e.* those which have been mentioned before. This faith is taken for granted, as prior to the works, and contrasted with the "dead" or "idle" faith. But for the faith, the works had not been done:—but for its working, the faith had not received the stamp of perfection.

made perfect?] Not as a material structure is completed by adding something: but as a living organisation arrives at the normal fulness of its maturity; cp. Eph. iv. 13.

23. *And the scripture was fulfilled.*] Gen. xv. 6, belongs to the period before the birth of Ishmael. But (as in prophecies, *e.g.* Matt. ii. 17) the words are taken to have been most truly fulfilled, not when first spoken, during the progress of Abraham's trials, but when his faith, advancing from high to higher, obtained its final triumph in the sacrifice of Isaac. So in Rom. iv. 3, 9, 10, St. Paul cites the words in their chronological order; but adds, in reference to the generation of Isaac, "and *therefore* it was imputed to him for righteousness" (*ib.* 22). By each proof of faith the promise acquired not only confirmation, but proportionate growth and meaning; so that its "fulfilment" followed that trial by which the faith itself was made perfect. Compare the word "fulfil" in Matt. v. 17.

24 Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.

25 Likewise also was not Rahab the harlot justified by works, when she had received the messengers, and had sent *them* out another way?

26 For as the body without the [1] spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also.

[1] Or. *breath.*

CHAPTER III.

1 *We are not rashly or arrogantly to reprove others:* 5 *but rather to bridle the tongue, a little member, but a powerful instrument of much good, and great harm.* 13 *They who be truly wise be mild, and peaceable, without envying, and strife.*

MY brethren, be not many masters, knowing that we

it was imputed unto him.] So quoted (from LXX) by St. Paul, *l. c.* In the original, "He counted it to him." This "imputation" of righteousness, then, lies at the root of all that St. James says of justification. Whether or not there is any conscious reference to St. Paul's teaching, the distinction between imputed and actual righteousness (Rom. iv. 2–8) cannot fairly be left out of sight in interpreting St. James. See also iii. 2, on the imperfection of our works, and v. 15 on the efficacy of faith. Thus, from first to last, faith enables to all working;—in working, faith holds its own;—and when work proves to be imperfect, as all work must, it is through faith alone that this is remedied.

was called the Friend of God.] Isai. xli. 8; cp. 2 Chron. xx. 7. Philo Judæus quotes "friend," from Gen. xviii. 17, where the LXX have "servant:" which, though an interpolation, illustrates Christ's words on the distinction between servant and friend, John xv. 15. Cp. "God took Abraham for His friend," 'Koran,' c. 4; whence the Arabs call Abraham *Khalîl Allah*, or simply *Al-Khalîl* ("the friend"), and Hebron is said to be called Al-Khalîl to this day:—Ἀβραάμ, ὁ φίλος προσαγορευθείς, Clem. Rom. i. 10.

Therefore "was called" is not = "was," but means "received the title."

24. *by faith only.*] Not as if faith did part, and works were needed to do the rest; but "*only*" as isolated, apart from works (see on verses 20, 22), granting (for argument's sake, at least) the possibility of such a faith, as instanced in the case of devils (verse 19). This is a conclusion drawn from the case of Abraham, and therefore the same limitations must be recognised in the conclusion which were assumed in the premisses. Note that nothing is here said of the "works *of the law*" (Rom. iii. 20, ix. 32; Gal. ii. 16, &c.). The works are the works "of Abraham," which those who are indeed his children will do (John viii. 39).

But what does "to be justified" mean in the language of St. James? See the remarks in the Excursus, '*St. James and St. Paul*,' § 7, *seqq.*

25. *Rahab the harlot.*] See Josh. ii., and vi. 22–25. From St. Matthew (i. 5) we learn that she became the wife of Salmon and mother of Boaz. We need not shrink from the plain meaning of "harlot." In those times and countries any woman who took in lodgers promiscuously must have borne a degraded character. The "works" spoken of are solely those by which her faith was shewn in the one incident of her life mentioned here and in Heb. xi. 31. It has been noticed that all the females mentioned by St. Matthew in our Lord's genealogy have a stigma attached to them—Tamar the incestuous, Rahab the harlot, Ruth the Moabitess, Bathsheba the adulteress. So Christ touched the leper, and took no taint, but made him clean. Rahab was justified, not by the general tenor of her life, but by that one work of faith which saved her from the judgment of Jericho. See on verses 21, 24, and Excursus, '*St. J. and St. P.*,' § 2.

sent them out.] Literally, "cast them out," perhaps expressing their hurried departure; as in Acts xvi. 37. Yet it may be used without such special emphasis; cp. John x. 4.

another way?] Probably, not merely a different, but (as in 1 Cor. xiv. 21; Jude 7; cp. Gal. i. 6, 7) a strange, unusual way, viz. by a cord through a window; see Josh. ii. 15, and cp. Acts ix. 25; 2 Cor. xi. 33.

26. *For as, &c.*] The general conclusion of verses 17, 20, is resumed, and the unreality of a merely correct intellectual belief, without love to God or man, is reasserted. The comparison of faith to the body, and works to the spirit, seems strange. But if faith be dead without works, these are fairly termed its spirit or life. Cp. "the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law," Rom. ii. 20; "having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof," 2 Tim. iii. 5; see also Rom. i. 18. On the other hand, compare "dead works," Heb. ix. 14.

CHAP. III.—1. *be not many masters.*] Rather, **become not, seek not to be, many of you, masters:** the warning being against the eagerness of many to gain the position, without consideration of their fit-

shall receive the greater [1]condemnation.

2 For in many things we offend all. If any man offend not in word, the same *is* a perfect man, *and* able also to bridle the whole body.

3 Behold, we put bits in the horses' mouths, that they may obey us; and we turn about their whole body.

4 Behold also the ships, which though *they be* so great, and *are* driven of fierce winds, yet are they turned about with a very small helm, whithersoever the governor listeth.

[1] Or, *judgment.*

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ness; and against the danger of assuming it without fitness.

masters.] Or **teachers**; = the Hebrew *Rabbi* (v. John i. 38, xx. 16). We are reminded of Matt. xxiii. 8, "Be ye not called Rabbi; for one is your master, even Christ." Probably rivalries in the Church-teaching are touched, cp. verses 14, 16; also 1 Tim. i. 6, 7, and (of women) ii. 12; also Heb. v. 4, 5. The same subject is noticed in the letter (probably written by St. James), Acts xv. 24. But he refers also to a tendency to talk instead of acting, and to the responsibility incurred by those who undertake to teach others their duty. A harsh way of lecturing one's neighbours is the natural vent of a cold intellectual belief; cp. Rom. ii. 1. See the use made by Christ's hearers, in St. Luke xiii. 1, of what He had said in xii. 58, *seqq.*

knowing that.] Half argumentative, "inasmuch as ye know;" half hortatory, "for ye ought to know."

the greater condemnation.] Being punished with many stripes, if we fail, in proportion to our self-assertion; while, in fact, all of us often fail in one thing or another. "Mighty men shall be mightily tormented," Wisd. vi. 6. Cp. Matt. xxiii. 14, of those who added the sin of hypocrisy to that of extortion and rapine; cp. also Matt. vii. 1.

2. *in many things* (or "oftentimes," as Matt. ix. 14) *we offend all.*] A grave confession here, where the duty of "works" is so broadly enforced:—all of us offend, and that often; not in one thing, but in many; not some, but all; cp. 1 John i. 8. But, mercifully, "to offend" is not necessarily "to fall," but may be merely "to stumble" (πταίειν); see Rom. xi. 11; nay, "a just man *falleth* seven times, and riseth up again" (Prov. xxiv. 16; cp. Ps. xxxvii. 24).

offend not in word.] This goes beyond failure in the teacher's office, which would scarcely be called "offence." St. James returns to the subject of much, rash, or vain talking, which, in the true spirit of the Hebrew moralists, he deems so serious. "All of us offend oft—in word, even if not in deed. Many who keep their hands pure are careless of their tongues. The man who rules this member can rule all the others." So much more than we commonly suppose is needed for the "perfection" which Christ demands of us (Matt. v. 48, cp. xii. 31–37)! Was not Moses shut out of Canaan for "speaking unadvisedly with his lips"? (Ps. cvi. 33; Num. xx. 10, *seqq.*, xxvii. 13, *seq.*) Nay, to suppress sins of the tongue is not merely a counsel of perfection. Often they come first, and lead to sins of action; see Matt. *l. c.* and xv. 11, 18–20. Moreover, of that sin which shall never be forgiven, we know this at least, that it is a sin of the tongue rather than of the hands (Matt. xii. 31, *seq.*). This new thought is expanded in the following verses.

to bridle.] See next verse, and cp. i. 26.

the whole body.] The aggregate of those "members" which are in the natural man instruments of sin, but are meant to be the instruments of righteousness (Rom. vi. 13); called "the body of sin," (*ib.* 6), but still very different from "the flesh," which is not merely to be "bridled" and controlled, but warred against and mortified.

3.] A minute but important various reading (εἰ δέ for ἴδε or ἴδου) should be adopted from A B ℵ, 13, 31, K L, Vulg., Memph.; and the passage should be translated, "**But if we put our horses' bridles into their mouths . . . . then** we turn their whole body about." Cp. Ps. xxxii. 9.

4. *Behold also the ships.*] Another figure, co-ordinate with the last, in illustration of verse 2. In i. 6, "the wave of the sea driven by the wind," typifies the man of two minds, *the waverer* or *doubter*. Here the ships "driven before fierce winds" represent the soul as carried away by vehement passions. Perhaps the words should be rendered, "*even when they* are driven . . ."

whithersoever the governor listeth.] In the classical sense of the word (*gubernator*, κυβερνήτης). Literally, "where the impulse of him that steereth, listeth;" the "impulse" being either the movement by which the helm is turned, or the pilot's guiding will. The word "listeth" favours the latter interpretation. Lucretius (iv. 902), "quanto vis impete euntem" is quoted on the other side, and should be compared. But he is speaking of the whole ship, not of the rudder.

5 Even so the tongue is a little member, and boasteth great things. Behold, how great ‖a matter a little fire kindleth!

‖ Or. *wood.*

6 And the tongue *is* a fire, a world of iniquity: so is the tongue among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature; and it is set on fire of hell.

7 For every ‖kind of beasts, and of birds, and of serpents, and of things in the sea, is tamed, and hath been tamed of ‖mankind:

‖ Gr. *nature.*

‖ Gr. *nature of man.*

These instances exhibit the power of one small member in controlling a great body. But the small member is itself seldom controlled; and if it remains unruly, they suggest its power for evil. Thus the greatness and rarity of the achievement is first brought out; then the amount of mischief which is the alternative. Finally comes the application, "Such is the member which you leave uncontrolled!"

5. *boasteth great things.*] Characteristically of the "little member's" arrogance (cp. Ps. xii. 3; Dan. vii. 20:—the word (μεγαλαυχεῖν) is used in Ecclus. xlviii. 18, of Sennacherib). But it is no empty vaunt. Often it does guide the whole body, as the bridle the horse, the helm the ship; even as a little spark can kindle a conflagration.

how great a matter, &c.] Rather (ἡλίκον for ὀλίγον A^2, B, ℵ, C* P, Vulg.), **how small a fire kindleth how great a forest!**—ὕλη=1, *a wood*; 2, *matter* (not *a matter*), as a philosophical term, which cannot be the meaning here. A forest-fire is an incident which is often referred to by the ancients; not only the poets, *e. g.* Il. 2. 455 *seqq.*; Pind. P. 3. 64; Lucret. i. 888–891; Virg. 'Georg.' ii. 303; but even Thucydides, when describing the fire kindled by the besiegers of Platææ (ii. 77):—"A fire arose, greater than was ever seen before of man's kindling: though perhaps such a thing has been known when some mountain forest (ὕλη) has of itself burst into fire and flame by friction of its branches as the wind stirred them. Cp. Ps. lxxxiii. 14: "As the fire burneth a wood; and as the flame setteth the mountains on fire;" Isai. ix. 18, "Wickedness burneth as the fire: it shall devour the briars and thorns, and shall kindle in the thickets of the forest." Others explain "wood" as "a heap of fire wood"—"how huge a pyre"—less picturesquely, and probably less accurately, though supported by Ecclus xxviii. 10 in a somewhat similar passage.

6. *a world of iniquity.*] This clause is difficult, and variously explained, though the general meaning of the verse is not doubtful. The old Syriac version gives it, "The tongue is a fire; the world of iniquity [is a wood]," supplying a complete correspondence between this clause and those which precede and follow. Cp. Luke xxiii. 31, "If they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?"—But probably the simplest interpretation is the best,—that the tongue, small as it is, contains a whole world of mischief. The LXX have in Prov. xvii. 6, "*the whole world* of wealth is for the faithful, for the faithless not a penny;" and the same version uses this word (κόσμος), where we have "*the host* of heaven," Gen. ii. 1, probably meaning the aggregate body of it. Translate, **the tongue, that world of iniquity, is fire.**

so is the tongue, &c.] *So* must be removed from the text, on the authority of all the best MSS. **The tongue hath its place among our members as that which** defileth (lit. "spotteth"), &c. Cp. Jude 23; 2 Pet. ii. 13; Eph. v. 27.

setteth on fire the course of nature.] Literally, *the wheel of being* (or *becoming*); a phrase hard to account for. But our version, though vague, is not incorrect; for "wheel" = circle, cycle; and the word translated "nature" (γένεσις, *natura*) comes very near to "creation" (κτίσις) in its collective sense; see above on i. 23. In Judith xii. 18, it is simply "life." So it comes to be, "the course of human life, as the wheel comes round and round in successive generations." Cp. also the "wheel at the cistern," Eccl. xii. 6.

and it is set on fire of hell.] Not = "whose end is to be burned," but, "itself kindled at the **gehenna** of fire (Matt. v. 22, xviii. 9; Mark ix. 47), and with *that* fire kindling all human life."

7. A fourfold division, though not scientific, consisting of two pairs; beasts (probably quadrupeds, though used in Acts xxviii. 5, of a serpent) and birds, reptiles and fishes. We are reminded of Gen. i. 20, 21, 24, 25.

serpents.] **Reptiles.** "Every kind of creature—those that walk, that fly, that creep, that swim—is tamable, and, in fact, hath been tamed by mankind." A rhetorical expression, amply justified by the success of experiments in each of these four groups of the animal kingdom. Every *kind* is tamed of man*kind*: lit. every *nature* . . . of man's *nature* (φύσις). Man's nature and powers grapple

8 But the tongue can no man tame; *it is* an unruly evil, full of deadly poison.

9 Therewith bless we God, even the Father; and therewith curse we men, which are made after the similitude of God.

10 Out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing. My brethren, these things ought not so to be.

11 Doth a fountain send forth at the same ‖place sweet *water* and bitter?

‖ Or, *hole.*

12 Can the fig tree, my brethren, bear olive berries? either a vine, figs?

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with each nature of the other creatures, and master them all in detail; there being in him that before which their nature quails. The charter of his mastery is Gen. i. 28; and is still valid, though modified by the curse, Gen. iii. 17–18. "Imago Dei domat feram" (Augustin.). Cp. Ps. viii. 6–8.

There is a remarkable coincidence, both of thought and expression, in a lyric passage of Sophocles, 'Antig.' 332, *seqq.*

8. *can no man tame.*] Some make this an interrogation; which, though forcible, is less suitable to the argument. Again, it is asked, Is this one's own tongue, or (in reference to the teacher's office) the tongue of another? St. James makes no distinction. Simply, man cannot tame *it*, though he can tame all else! Yet the context implies that he is thinking of *self*-control.

unruly.] "Ungovernable," ἀκατάσχετον, corresponds with the foregoing verses: but the reading of A, B, ℵ, P, Vulg., Memph., ἀκατάστατον, "disorderly, inconsistent, chaotic" (see i. 8, iii. 16), suits better the self-contradictory, unaccountable character of the mischief—blessing and cursing, blowing hot and cold—described in verses 9–12.

poison.] Distinctively, **venom**; conveying, as so often in Holy Writ, a reference to the Old Serpent and the first temptation. Cp. Eccl. x. 11, "Surely the serpent will bite without enchantment; and a babbler is no better;" also Ps. lviii. 3, *seq.*, cxl. 3.

9. *bless we God.*] The Jews used to introduce such ejaculations into ordinary, even frivolous, conversation. Devotional phrases become a testimony against those who combine them with the "cursing" of men.

God, even the Father.] A, B, ℵ, C, &c., read **the Lord and Father.** (In LXX, *the Lord*, Κύριος, = Hebr. *Jehovah.*)

curse we men.] See John vii. 49. For the incompatibility of love to God with the want of love to man, cp. 1 John iv. 20. The allusion to Gen. i. 26, *seqq.*, proves the greatness of the sin; cp. *ib.* ix. 6. See also Ps. lxii. 4; Isai. xxix. 13 (Matt. xv. 8, *seqq.*).

10.] The former half of this verse sums up the foregoing statements. The latter begins the exhortation which goes on in verses 11, 12. Cp. Ecclus. xxviii. 12.

ought not so to be. The word (χρή) is still stronger, implying that they are contrary to law and nature.

11. *Doth a fountain.*] "**The** fountain," individualised as a familiar object of reference.

at the same place.] Or **opening** (used of chinks, clefts, or holes in the earth, Exod. xxxiii. 22; Obad. 3, LXX; Heb. xi. 38); the "fountain" of St. James being the subterranean source or reservoir which supplies the water. The one corresponds to the heart, the other to the mouth, of man; see Matt. xii. 35, xv. 18. A moral impossibility is illustrated by physical impossibilities, such as the Jews in Palestine would appreciate readily and keenly. They had read of the bitter waters of Marah (Exod. xv. 23), and of the healing of the spring at Jericho (2 Kings ii. 19, *seqq.*), and were well acquainted with the "Salt Sea" (Gen. xiv. 3; Josh. iii. 16, &c.) and the characteristics of its basin. And the names of En-dor, En-gedi, En-rogel, En-hakkôrê, Aen-on, &c., poetically describing the fountain as *the eye* which gives life and animation to the landscape, bespeak the preciousness of living waters in a land where to be dry is to be desert (the evil spirit walks through "dry places," Matt. xii. 43). See the description of the country in Deut. viii. 7, and cp. Judg. i. 15; Ezek. xlvii. Where springs were wanting, see the value of wells, Beer-sheba, &c., Gen. xxi. 22–32, xxvi. 18–33; and the song of the well-diggers, Num. xxi. 16–18. Note, too, "Jacob's well" at Sychar, John iv. 6, *seqq.*

12. *the fig-tree . . . olive . . . vine.*] The three trees of blessing in Jotham's parable, Judg. ix. 7–15. Here is no contrast of good and bad, as in Isai. v. 2, 4, or Matt. vii. 16; but only the truth that as the tree, so the fruit, "after his kind." This teaching, like our Lord's, reflects the features of the Holy Land; see especially Deut. viii. 8; 1 Kings iv. 25, and all the references to the Mount of Olives. Similar illustrations occur in several Heathen writers after the

so *can* no fountain both yield salt water and fresh.

13 Who *is* a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom.

14 But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth.

15 This wisdom descendeth not from above, but *is* earthly, ‖sensual, devilish.

‖ Or, *natural.*

Christian era; *v.* especially Plutarch 'Mor.' ii. 472 F.

As the question requires the answer, "No," the sentence (in the received text) proceeds as if the words had been, "The fig-tree cannot . . . so can no fountain," &c. But probably this is only a paraphrase of the harder and better attested reading (of A, B, ℵ, C, &c.), and the whole should be, "Can a fig-tree bear olive-berries, or a vine figs? **Neither** *can* **that which is salt yield sweet water.**" This made Elijah's miracle at Jericho, 2 Kings ii. 20, 21, the more remarkable.

We might have expected, "so the same mouth," &c. But St. James first illustrates his subject by the metaphor of the fountain, and then, as if this was the statement to be illustrated, adds the further figure of the trees.

On this section (vv. 1–12), see Bp. Jebb's 'Christian Literature,' xiv.

13. *Who is . . . ? let him.*] *I.e.* "Whoever is . . . , let him." Compare the construction in Ecclus. vi. 34.

Who is, &c.] An abrupt transition. But the subject is still the need to control the tongue, and the desire of "many" to be "masters" or teachers (verse 1), which implied both a pretension to the possession of wisdom, and an inclination to expend it in words. St. James sees in such word-wisdom a mere instrument of vanity and contention. St. Paul also disclaims and denounces it (1 Cor. i. 17, *seqq.*, ii. 1–13) as *human*, in opposition to the wisdom which is the gift of the Spirit. But here it is portrayed as a work of the devil, a vent of the evil in the heart, and a hindrance to godly life. St. Paul contrasts teaching with teaching; St. James, wrangling with love. See on i. 5.

wise . . . and endued with knowledge.] Probably, "intelligent and practically wise," as Matt. xi. 25; 1 Cor. i. 19, "wise and prudent;" "wise and understanding," Deut. i. 13 (cp. LXX there). But no sharp distinction is to be drawn. Whatever mental gifts a man may claim to have, they are to be used in works, not words; in meekness, not contentiously; with such consistent perseverance as to shew *a good conversation* (rather **life**; see Gal. i. 13; Heb. xiii. 7, for this word, which is also common in St. Peter's Epistles).

meekness of wisdom.] This carries us back to "slow to wrath," coupled with "slow to speak," i. 19; and forward to the further description in verse 17.

14. *envying and strife.*] Rather, **jealousy and party-spirit**, or **faction**. Ζῆλος may be either good or bad zeal; but the bad sense prevails in the N. T., even without such interpreting words as occur here; cp. Acts v. 17. (In Heb. x. 27, it is used of God's jealous indignation as revealed in fire.) Ἐριθεία is not "strife," but is the sordid rivalry of political factions, jobbing partisanship, intrigue. So here and in verse 16; cp. Phil. i. 16; 1 Cor. i. 12.

the truth.] Not mere "veracity," against which all lies are; but the Gospel of Him who is Himself the Truth (cp. i. 18). "If your wisdom bears such fruits as these, your glorying is the lie of Satan and Antichrist." Gal. vi. 14, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." Cp. the word in Rom. xi. 18. Above, ii. 13, there is a different shade of meaning. The "bitterness in the heart" here recalls the bitter water of the fountain in verse 11.

15. *This wisdom descendeth not, &c.*] Rather **is not one** (or **that**) **which** descendeth. Two kinds of wisdom are recognised; as, above, two kinds of faith; one good, the other bad; see verse 17. Cp. also i. 17, 'Every good gift,' &c.

from above.] Or, "from on high," suggesting the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (contrasted with "devilish"), which those who lack wisdom are to seek of God (i. 5).

earthly, sensual, devilish.] A descending climax: (1) "Earthly," opposed to heavenly, "descending from above;" and by this contrast acquiring the added notion of low and grovelling (cp. Phil. iii. 19); though the word in itself is not necessarily of evil meaning (cp. "If I have told you earthly things," &c., John iii. 12), but merely local. (2) "Sensual," ψυχικός, elsewhere also rendered "natural," of man's state under the dominion of his own unregenerate nature, with all his natural faculties, with a soul, but wanting the Spirit, alien from God. So 1 Cor. ii. 14, "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God," &c.; *ib.* xv. 44, *seq.*, "a *natural* body," opposed to "a spiritual body;" Jude 19, "*sensual*, not having the Spirit."

16 For where envying and strife *is*, there *is* [1]confusion and every evil work.

17 But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, *and* easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, [1]with out partiality, and without hypocrisy.

18 And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace.

[1] Gr. *tumult*, or, *unquietness.*

[1] Or, *without wrangling.*

(3) "Devilish," or "demoniac;" the last stage, in which the man, no longer left to himself, is possessed by a Spirit,—but not of God! This is the dominion of the "spiritual hosts of wickedness, the world-powers of darkness" (Eph. vi. 12), which have a wisdom of their own, very real in its kind (Gen. iii. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 3; cp. Matt. x. 16); not merely sinful, but diabolical in its malignity, seducing others to sin. See above, verse 6, "set on fire of hell."

16. *envying and strife.*] See on verse 14.

confusion.] ἀκαταστασία, sometimes used of internal disorder and anarchy (1 Cor. xiv. 33; 2 Cor. xii. 20); sometimes of the actual outbreaks of uproar and tumult to which these lead (Luke xxi. 9; 2 Cor. vi. 5). Here both are comprehended; cp. Prov. xxvi. 28 (in the LXX), "an un-shut mouth creates disorders." (See note on verse 8.)

every evil work.] Or 'thing.' See the dismal catalogue in 2 Cor. xii. 20; Gal. v. 19, *seqq.* Perhaps connected with the "many masters" of verse 1, as representing so many divided parties of disciples: cp. 1 Cor. i. 12, *seqq.*, iii. 4.

17. *from above.*] *V.* on verse 15.

first pure, then . . .] Not a mere enumeration of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, &c. Purity is first; and all the other qualities second, as results of this essential attribute. This is *the wisdom of the dove*, the intuition of holy innocence, unconsciously repelling evil without the process of reasoning, or the defilement of experimental knowledge; as in Eden before the Fall. Then the other qualities:—"*peaceable*," according to the blessing of the peacemakers (Matt. v. 9), full of the inward peace of God, and working accordingly: see next verse, and 1 Cor. xiv. 33:—"*gentle*," fair and considerate beyond the demands of strict justice, making allowance for others, not tenacious of its own rights; cp. "the meekness and gentleness of Christ," 2 Cor. x. 1; and see 1 Tim. iii. 3; Tit. iii. 2; of considerate masters, 1 Pet. ii. 18: to this quality in Felix Tertullus appeals, Acts xxiv. 4:—"*easy to be entreated*," or "**persuaded**," not obstinate in one view of things, but candidly receiving the suggestions of others (not found elsewhere in N. T.: the substantive occurs in 4 Macc. xii. 6):—"*full of mercy and good fruits*," i.e. the works which are the fulfilment of the royal law (ii. 8), not in isolated deeds but in fulness, good things being continually brought forth from the good treasure of the heart:—"*without partiality*" (or, as the margin, "*wrangling*"); there are several other interpretations; *e.g.* "not judging of others," "not doubting or captiously hesitating." We are not much helped by classical usage: the word does not occur again in N. T. or LXX: the context is not decisive: and all the proposed interpretations may be deduced with more or less probability from the several meanings of the verb διακρίνειν, -νεσθαι, "to distinguish, make a difference," "to differ." Our choice lies between "without wrangling" and "without doubting:" and **without wrangling** best accords with the general idea.

without hypocrisy.] Frequently used as epithet of "love" and "faith" (Rom. xii. 9; 1 Pet. i. 22; 1 Tim. i. 5, &c.), unfeigned, real;—perhaps, also, without the self-consciousness which gives even to one who is sincere the air of acting a part.

It may be here repeated, that in St. James, "works" are very nearly = "love;" and "wisdom" is "practical holiness." "Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding," Job. xxviii. 28. It may be useful to compare the portrait of wisdom here, with that of love in 1 Cor. xiii. 1–8.

18. The emphatic words are *by them that make peace:* these alone sow the seed from which the fruit of righteousness is gathered. The work of the peacemakers (Matt. v. 9; cp. Col. i. 20, where it is the work of Christ's love) is its own reward: and thus, if we translate "for them that make peace," it comes to the same thing; for as they sow, they reap: peace is the beginning, middle and end: it is in their hearts; it is their work and their righteousness (Heb. xii. 11); it is their great reward;—sown in this world; reaped, even in this world, though not in worldly fashion (John xiv. 27); but above all, and perfectly, in the world to come.

of righteousness.] *I. e.*, "which is righteousness," not "which righteousness bears;" for this is itself the fruit, not the tree: see last note, and Heb. *l. c.*

CHAPTER IV.

1 *We are to strive against covetousness,* 4 *intemperance,* 5 *pride,* 11 *detraction, and rash judgment of others:* 13 *and not to be confident in the good success of worldly business, but mindful ever of the uncertainty of this life, to commit ourselves and all our affairs to God's providence.*

FROM whence *come* wars and ‖ fightings among you? *come* *they* not hence, *even* of your ‖ lusts that war in your members?

‖ Or, *brawlings.*

‖ Or, *pleasures*

2 Ye lust, and have not: ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not.

3 Ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume *it* upon your ‖ lusts.

‖ Or, *pleasures*

4 Ye adulterers and adulteresses,

CHAP. IV.—1. A painful transition from the ideal to the actual, all the more striking from its abruptness; especially if we read (as Ln., Tdf., Trg., with A B ℵ C, &c.) **whence wars, and whence fightings among you?** Hitherto the language has been general ("but if," iii. 14; "for where," 16): but now it is "among *you*;" and the outward works being recognised, the hidden source is sought for: cp. iii. 12. Whether these were strifes of (so-called) religious parties, or individual rivalries for selfish ends as the following words may suggest (litigation about *meum* and *tuum* is less likely), they were works of the flesh (see in Gal. v. 19–21, how much these comprehend) coming of *lusts*, literally, **pleasures**, sins of pleasure rather than of avarice or any other form of greed; so in verse 3, "that ye may consume it on your **pleasures**;" cp. also Tit. iii. 3; and Xen. Mem. i. ii. 23, ἐν τῷ σώματι συμπεφυτευμέναι τῇ ψυχῇ αἱ ἡδοναὶ πείθουσιν αὐτὴν μὴ σωφρονεῖν. See also Clem. Rom. i. 46.

that war in your members?] Different sins possessing the several members as their instruments; as the eye, the hand, offends, Matt. v. 29, *seqq.*; cp. Rom. vi. 6, 12, 13: in Col. iii. 5, unclean lusts are "your members which are upon the earth." So, "fleshly lusts which war against the soul," 1 Pet. ii. 11; whence some supply "against the soul" here,—the struggle being between these members and the true self; see Rom. vii. 23. But such supplemental ideas only limit the meaning. Wherever these lusts exist uncontrolled, there is confusion. Whether in combination to enslave the man, or in mutual conflict, or in pursuit of some special end, their normal state is war. "The way of peace they have not known."

2, 3. These accusations have seemed so incredible, as brought against the disciples by an Apostle, that forced explanations have been adopted to evade them. But they are plain and consistent: cp. 1 Pet. iv. 15, "Let none of you suffer as a murderer or as a thief," &c. Nor can we change *kill* into *envy* (φονεύετε into φθονεῖτε) as has been thought plausible. True, "ye kill and **are jealous**" is a lame expression: but it may help us to that which probably is the real meaning, "**Ye play the murderers and zealots.**" See Additional Note (A) at end of Chapter.

This verse is sometimes divided into three parts,—1. ye lust . . . .; 2. ye kill . . . .; 3. ye fight . . . .; followed by the general explanation, "because ye ask not." Sometimes only into two,—"ye fight and war, yet ye have not" being a recapitulation in the very words of verse 1, with the addition of the reason. But "yet" is omitted by Ln., Tdf., Trg., after A, B, ℵ: so it is better to render, "**ye fight and war. Ye have not, because ye ask not; ye ask and receive not,**" &c. The thing "asked" is not specified; but seems to be something which may be rightfully prayed for, Matt. vii. 7; John xv. 7. The first fault is that they ask not of God; and so one can only gain (if at all) by another's loss: hence the wars and fightings, when one has, and another cannot obtain. The second fault is theirs, who do ask of God, but ask "amiss" (not "in ill fashion," but "with evil intent"), that they may consume (use up, waste, as Mar. v. 26; cp. 2 Cor. xii. 15) it **in their pleasures** (see on verse 1), in sensual and worldly indulgence. Such asking makes that which might be not evil in itself, evil to them: it seeks to make God the instrument of their desires, instead of subjecting these to Him. Prayer, without the spirit of prayer, has not the promise of prayer, and is not heard. Perhaps this is well. "The too indulgent gods," says Juvenal (Sat. x. 7), "have ere now overthrown whole households by answering their prayers." But these men dwell with unsatisfied greed on the "have not;" whereas real prayer removes our selfishness by our conscious relation to God: and faith knows that it is answered, even when others can see no fulfilment.

4. *adulterers and adulteresses.*] If this is the true reading, and the words are taken literally, the thought advances from "lusts

know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? whosoever therefore will be a friend of the world is the enemy of God.

5 Do ye think that the scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth [1] to envy?

[1] Or, *enviously?*

6 But he giveth more grace. Wherefore he saith, [b] God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.

[b] Prov. 3. 34. 1 Pet. 5. 5.

7 Submit yourselves therefore to God. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.

8 Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you. Cleanse *your*

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and pleasures" to overt acts of fleshly sin. But the "friendship of the world, enmity with God," shews that the fleshly sin, even if literally imputed, does but symbolise apostasy from God, according to the usage of the O. T. prophets, in speaking of those who go after strange gods; *e. g.* Jerem. iii., Hosea ii., iii., iv., &c. So St. Paul speaks of the Corinthian Church as a virgin whom he had espoused to Christ (2 Cor. xi. 2); and "the marriage of the Lamb" crowns the Revelation of St. John (xix. 7, xxi. 9). If those who are espoused to the Lord combine other loves with His, this is precisely the spiritual adultery which the prophets denounce. But the spiritual and carnal sins went hand in hand (as in the days of Moab and Midian, Num. xxv.) in the lewd rites of Heathendom. The one was a devil's sacrament of the other.

But the best authorities (A, B, ℵ, &c., followed by Ln., Tdf., Trg.) have only the words "ye adulteresses," which is more difficult. It is not likely that the female disciples are singled out for rebuke. In the O. T. figure, God is always the bridegroom or husband, to whom all His people are wedded (Jerem. and Hosea above cited; cp. Isai. lxii. 4, 5); and so, perhaps, all (male and female alike) are designated in their unfaithfulness as **adulterous spouses** *of the Lord.* This would weaken the reference to lusts of the flesh in verse 3; but point more sharply the warning against the world's love as (in God's spouse) adulterous. Perhaps Rom. vii. 4 may be taken as favouring this interpretation. It is, however, worthy of remark that elsewhere the Spouse of God or Christ is not an individual, but always a Church or Community, personified as a female. And Hofmann suggests that the feminine word may have been used in contempt of the "effeminate."

friendship of the world.] Cp. 1 John ii. 15, 16,—the world, as antagonistic to God, lying under the powers of darkness and their prince (Eph. ii. 2, vi. 12; John xiv. 30). We must make our choice; "Ye cannot serve God *and* Mammon" (Matt. vi. 24). The very "will" ("**would be a friend**") to gain the world's favour incurs of itself the enmity of God.

But verses 4–6 require a longer examination, which will be found at the end of the chapter (Add. note B). The following paraphrase contains the result:—"Ye adulterous spouses of the Lord, know ye not that to love the world is to be the enemy of God? Or think ye that all which Scripture saith of this relation of God to man is unmeaning? Passionately, ay, with passion that is even terrible, He yearneth for the entire possession of the Spirit which He Himself gave to dwell in us (κατῴκισεν is to be read, as Ln. Tdf. Trg. after A, B, ℵ). But in proportion to His burning jealousy is the abundance of the grace that He giveth. It is the measure of His intense yearning for us. Nothing short of His love could pass into aught so terrible!"

6. *Wherefore he saith.*] Rather, "it saith," *i. e.* "the Scripture," as in verse 5. Quoted from Prov. iii. 34 (LXX), except that "God" is here substituted for "the Lord," as in the parallel passage (where there are several verbal coincidences), 1 Pet. v. 5. See also Rom. xii. 16. The "proud" are the enemies of God (verse 4), viewed as rebels; followers of the rebel Angel (verse 7) whom we are to resist, and who is baffled by those who humble themselves.

7. The coincidences with 1 Pet. v. 5–7 continue; there is also a reference to Christ's Temptation (especially Matt. iv. 10, 11);—all three passages testifying to the personality of the Tempter (see too Luke xxii. 31, *seq.*), who appears (as elsewhere) as the prince of this world; whose thralls the friends of the world necessarily become (John xii. 31, xiv. 30).

therefore.] Because this submission implies the humility to which God gives grace (verse 6). For then Christ, who conquered the Tempter, will fight for us; and in Him we shall be conquerors, because (1) we are "found in Him," and no one can pluck us out of His hand and the Father's (John x. 28, *seq.*); (2) He does not allow any temptation to be overpowering (1 Cor. x. 13); (3) His strength is made perfect in our weakness (2 Cor. xii. 9).

8. *Draw nigh to God, &c.*] Not only with "mouth" or "lips," which is in effect to

hands, *ye* sinners; and purify *your* hearts, *ye* double minded.

9 Be afflicted, and mourn, and weep: let your laughter be turned to mourning, and *your* joy to heaviness.

10 Humble yourselves in the sight of the Lord, and he shall lift you up.

11 Speak not evil one of another, brethren. He that speaketh evil of *his* brother, and judgeth his brother, speaketh evil of the law, and judgeth the law: but if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge.

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remain far from Him (Matt. xv. 8; Isai. xxix. 13); but with "heart" and "hands,"—the inward disposition, the outward life and practice,—in sincerity and truth. And then He will be found. He "is not far from every one of us" (Acts xvii. 27): but He will have us seek Him; see 2 Chron. xv. 2; Isai. lvii. 15; Ps. cxlv. 18. It is this which will make the devil flee.—"Draw nigh . . . and He will draw nigh," answer to "Resist . . . and he will flee," verse 8.

Cleanse your hands, ye sinners.] Of the grosser forms of actual sin, and the ordinary and outward cleansing, *e. g.* from physical impurities or from leprosy. In 1 Tim. ii. 8, "holy hands" are among the conditions of acceptable prayer.

purify your hearts, ye double minded.] The more subtle evil demands a higher purification; the word ἁγνίζειν expressing either special preparation for a religious service (John xi. 55; Acts xxi. 24, 26, xxiv. 18), or, as here, inward sanctification (1 Pet. i. 22; 1 Jo. iii. 3). The "sinner" is one that is separated from Christ (Heb. vii. 26); the "double minded" (see on i. 8) is he who would fain serve God *and* the world (verse 4); see 1 Kings xviii. 21; Ecclus. ii. 12; and cp. Psalm xxiv. 4. Perhaps the former is he who asks not, and the latter he who asks amiss (verses 2, 3). But both epithets may apply to the same persons, as viewed on different sides of their character;—see Calvin.

9. *Be afflicted.*] More literally, **be wretched**, *i. e.* feel the real wretchedness of your condition; cp. Rev. iii. 17, of the Church of Laodicea. If this reality is felt, repentance will shew itself in the outward manifestations of "mourning" and "weeping,"—in dress, look, gesture, voice, tears: see Lu. vi. 25. We must remember the demonstrative character of Jewish (as generally of Oriental) joy (2 Sam. vi. 14, &c.) and sorrow (Lev. xvi. 29, 31, Num. xxv. 6, &c.). Here they are exhorted to avert the coming judgment by anticipating it. In ch. v. 1, *seqq.*, comes the denunciation of the judgment itself, on those who have "lived in pleasure."

heaviness.] Downcastness, as that of the publican, who "would not lift up so much as his eyes to heaven" (Lu. xviii. 13). See 1 Kings xxi. 27, *seqq.*, for the partial efficacy of even Ahab's self-abasement. "As a tree must strike root deep downward, that it may grow upward, a man's spirit must be rooted in humility, or he is only lifted up to his own hurt." (Augustin., quoted by Calvin.)

10. *Humble yourselves.*] Still with reference to verses 6, 7; see Ecclus. ii. 17, iii. 18; Matt. xxiii. 12 with the parallels; and especially Micah vii. 8, *seq.* In 1 Pet. v. 5, it is "humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God:" but here "in the sight of the Lord" expresses the self-abasement which the sense of His presence works; as expressed in Job xlii. 5, 6.

lift you up.] Referring first to the hidden glory of the present dispensation; then to the future revelation of the consummate glory.

11. An abrupt change, resuming the subject of "the tongue;" its licence, in contrast with the quiet discharge of duty,—its misuse (in presumptuous judgments of others), in contrast with strict self-judgment and watchfulness.

brethren.] *I. e.* "my brethren!" as so often in this Epistle; not "since ye are brethren." Yet the appeal suggests the same argument in a more touching way; cp. Act. vii. 26.

Speak . . . evil.] Is interpreted by what follows, not of slander, but of harsh judgment, censoriousness. It is almost = to condemn; but without authority to condemn.

of his brother.] Rather, **of a brother**, "one that is a brother;"—*and judgeth* should be "**or** judgeth," as A, B, ℵ, 13, and the old versions.

the law.] Not merely the specific precept, "Judge not" (Matt. vii. 1); but identical with "the royal law" (ii. 8), which embraces all,—"thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Such a violation of the spirit of the "great commandment," is in fact a censure of the law itself which is summed up in these words. See Rom. ii. 1, 13, where he that judges another is spoken of, and the "doer of the law" is opposed to the "hearer," as here to the critic. To judge, or criticise the Law, one must be outside of, and above it; not within its sphere and under its jurisdiction. Otherwise it cannot be

12 There is one lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy: who art thou that judgest another?

[c] Prov. 27. 1. 13 [c]Go to now, ye that say, To day or to morrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy and sell, and get gain:

14 Whereas ye know not what *shall be* on the morrow. For what [1] Or, *For it is.* *is* your life? [1] It is even a vapour, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away.

15 For that ye *ought* to say, If the Lord will, we shall live, and do this, or that.

16 But now ye rejoice in your boastings: all such rejoicing is evil.

17 Therefore to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth *it* not, to him it is sin.

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judged comprehensively, disinterestedly, and (consequently) fairly. It is by "doing" it that a man comes to understand it (John vii. 17): and the doer is not likely to criticise.

12. To judge the law belongs to the same authority as to make the law. The best authorities (A, B, ℵ, &c.) add "and judge" after "lawgiver:" and these words are important;—"**the lawgiver and judge is One; even He** who is able to save and to destroy;"—He who made the Law and gives it validity; He who can save when man condemns (Rom. xiv. 4); who can destroy the men who take so much upon them. See especially Matt. x. 28.

to save and to destroy.] In the complete and final sense; see Matt. *l. c.*

who art thou . . . .] Brings man's nothingness into sharp contrast with the Majesty of God the lawgiver and judge; and exposes the self-delusion of those who thus encroach on His prerogative.

another?] Probably we should read, **thy neighbour** (A, B, ℵ, &c.); the sense being the same; cp. for the first, Rom. ii. 1, 21; for the second, *supra*, ii. 8. In ii. 10, 11, the unity of the Lawgiver was the proof of the unity of the whole Law. Here God, in His unity, is contrasted with all those to whom the Law is given.

13. From presumptuous judgments of others it is a slight step to presumptuous confidence in one's own future; *v.* Lu. xii. 15-20; Prov. xxvii. 1; and see note on Eccles. x. 14.

Go to.] This phrase (see Gen. xi. 3, 4, 7, A.V.) has a scoffing tone; which, however, is not found in the Greek word either here or in LXX, Gen. *l. c.*, but is derived from the context. Strictly, an imperative verb ought to follow (as in ch. v. 1); and some think that there is a long parenthesis, after which in ch. v. 1, "Go to" is repeated. But the classes rebuked in the two paragraphs are distinct. The present sentence is really finished, in another form, in verse 16, "all such rejoicing is evil."

To-day or to-morrow.] Or, "to-day *and* to-morrow;" to-day to set out, to-morrow to arrive. Note the chain of the scheme, every link of which is treated as safe; whereas any one may break, and ruin the whole; —to-day—to-morrow—a year; all leading up to the object, "we will get gain."

into such a city.] **Into this city here;** as if pointing it out while speaking. The character here sketched is rather Jewish than Christian; that is, St. James describes persons according to their nationality rather than their religion (see on iv. 2). We see the commercial genius of the nation, already developed by their dispersion; a people without a home, following their traffic from place to place. Josephus ('Antt.' xx. 11, 1) describes them as fleeing from Palestine in all directions to escape the avarice and cruelty of Gessius Florus. Compare the notices of Aquila (a Jew of Pontus) and Priscilla, first at Rome, then at Corinth (Acts xviii. 1, 2); then at Ephesus (*ib.* 26; 1 Cor. xvi. 19); again at Rome (Rom. xvi. 3); lastly, again at Ephesus (2 Tim. iv. 19).

14, 15. Verse 14 is parenthetic, and verse 15 continues verse 13, "Go to, ye that say . . . . **instead of your saying**" (as ye ought), "If," &c. The A. V. is rather ambiguous.

It is.] We should probably read, **Ye are** (with A, B, &c.).

a vapour.] Cp. Job vii. 7; Wisdom ii. 2. In Ps. cxliv. 4, a Greek version has "like a vapour" instead of "vanity." See too Hosea vi. 4, xiii. 3. The condition "If the Lord will, we shall live," must precede even the first link in the chain of verse 13. Others have, "If the Lord will, and we live and do this or that," . . . the conclusion being left to be supplied by the readers. "Our calendars give the longest day and the shortest, the fasts and the festivals: but no Calendar gives the *last* day" (Stier).

16. *ye rejoice in your boastings.*] The verb itself implies glorying or boasting (*v.* Prov. xxvii. 1, LXX); and this may be well-

grounded (in the Lord, in the Cross, 1 Cor. i. 31; Gal. vi. 14), or ill-grounded (in men, 1 Cor. iii. 21). But the noun expresses presumptuous boasting—"All *such* **glorying** (not, all glorying) is evil."

boastings.] (Plural) the aggregate of those instances of arrogances which form the character; as in ii. 1 (literally), "with **respects** of persons."

17.] With this maxim cp. Christ's words in Luke xii. 47; John ix. 41, xv. 22, *seqq.*; and especially xiii. 17. St. James delights in abrupt apophthegms, especially at the end of a paragraph. But here he does not merely say, "Now I have warned you; so, if you go wrong, your sin will be the greater." However abrupt the style, we reasonably expect to trace some connexion with the context. Probably, the reference is to the boastful rejoicing just mentioned. The Jews relied on their knowledge (Rom. ii. 17–20); and their condemnation was, that they said they saw; therefore their sin remained (John, *ut supra*, cp. vii. 49). Their "hearing" was not "doing," and therefore "their religion was vain" (*supra*, i. 26, *seq.*). Some have suspected a direct reference to Rom. xiv. 23, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." We can scarcely assume so much: but the correspondence is very remarkable; and St. James supplements St. Paul. "It is sin to doubt whether a thing be right, and yet to do it. It is also sin to know that a thing is right, and yet to leave it undone."

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. IV.

(A.) Verse 2.

First, we must remember how often Christ directs His discourses, sometimes to one class, sometimes to another, among that mixed multitude which contained alike the ardent disciple and the half-hearted listener, even the secret enemy; all being within the pale of possible conversion so long as, from any motive, they were attracted to the Teacher. Next, we must consider the position of St. James and those to whom he wrote, as still Jews, though believers; still looking on their unconverted brethren as members of the same communion, though they had not yet accepted God's entire revelation. Both these classes were necessarily present to his mind while he wrote; as he was, in fact, connected with both at Jerusalem. See note on ch. v. 1, and Introduction, ii.

We can comprehend, therefore, the state of things here indicated, without directly imputing it to the Christians themselves. Perhaps, indeed, we are too apt to picture to ourselves the Apostolic times as a golden age of a spotless Church. The Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians are enough to destroy this illusion. But St. James's description is far beyond anything that can be imputed to the Christians of his time. It is, however, no exaggerated portrait of that state of Jerusalem which made the Temple (literally) a den of robbers. The well-known politico-religious party of *the Zealots* was probably at first a sincere brotherhood of enthusiasts, not unworthy of the Maccabees, whose era they hoped to revive. Their zeal, we may believe, was for God, though they misread the leadings of His providence, and did not recognise His kingdom as it came. Such a one Judas of Galilee (of Gamala, the Gaulonite) may have been, whose insurrection in the time of the Census (Acts v. 37; Joseph. 'Antt.' xviii. 1, 1 and 6) marks the popular consciousness of the utter departure of the sceptre from Judah. Such, certainly, was Simon *the Zealot—Cananaite*, or *Cananæan*, is a name formed from the corresponding Hebrew *kannâ* (Exod. xx. 5) —so called, doubtless, from his former associations. Such was Saul of Tarsus (though he was of the school of Gamaliel, grandson of that Hillel who gave his name to the moderate party), *a zealot* for God and the traditions of the fathers (Acts xxii. 3; Gal. i. 14;—see Introduction to the Acts, vol. ii. 337). And St. James himself says (Acts xxi. 20) of the "many myriads" of believers at Jerusalem that they were all "*zealots* of the law." But while many became Christians, the Zealots, as a body, became associated, and popularly identified, with the *dagger-men* (*sicarii*, Acts xxi. 38), or *murderers*, in the Jewish war. Josephus uses the names as convertible in describing the bands of Eleazar (a descendant of Judas of Galilee), John of Giscala, and Simon, son of Gioras ('B. J.' ii. 17, 9; vii. 8, 1 and 2, &c.). But it must be remembered that they were Josephus' bitter enemies. This bastard "zeal," or "zealotry," developed itself in two directions during the times of anarchy. In some, it became bloody fanaticism; to others it was a mere cloak for rapine, murder, and all brutality. The doings of the Zealots are the crowning horrors of the siege of Jerusalem. The mischief had not yet reached its climax; for before that came, St. James "the Just" himself became their victim. But this is probably the allusion in his words: and if these may be fairly rendered **ye play the murderers** (*sicarii*) **and zealots**, there will be no lack of force in them.

(B.) Verses 5, 6.

The interpretations of this passage are beyond numbering. Referring, therefore, once for all, to the condensed summary in Theile, 'Comm. in Ep. Jac.,' pp. 213–229, let us enquire what points may be considered as accepted. These will guide us to the general result.

1. The word *or* (omitted in A.V.) carries us back to verse 4, "Know ye not that . . ., or do ye think:" so that "the Scripture" (whether quoted, or only referred to) is something equivalent to the foregoing clause; the alternatives being that the world's friendship is God's enmity, or that the Scripture speaks in vain. A note of interrogation should therefore follow λέγει. It is indeed objected that λέγει must then be translated "speaks," not "says" (as neuter, not transitive); and that this is contrary to usage. But (*a*) in Heb. ix. 5, περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστι νῦν λέγειν κατὰ μέρος, it is simply "to speak." Besides, (*b*) the verb has an intermediate use, especially where it refers to something going before, meaning "to say *this*, to say *so*." So in the parenthetic clause "I speak (or say this) as a man," Rom. iii. 5, vi. 19; and cp. 1 Cor. x. 15, xv. 34; 2 Cor. vii. 3, viii. 8, xi. 21 (in Gal. iii. 15, the reference seems to be to what follows). And though the words usually introduce a quotation, they may refer to something already stated. Moreover, an appeal to the authority of Scripture, to confirm a *foregoing* general statement, does not imply a verbal quotation of any one passage, but may be taken as a summary of the general teaching of Scripture (*e. g.* in Rom. ii. 24; cp. 1 Kings ii. 3; Matt. xxvi. 24; Mark ix. 13); whereas, when the words "it is written," or the like, stand first, they must be followed by an actual quotation.

2. Now the words which here follow ἡ γραφὴ λέγει cannot be found in form or even in substance, either in the O. T., or (as has been attempted) in the N. T. Perhaps Deut. xxxii. 21, *seqq.*, and Isai. lxiii. 7–11, come nearest. But all attempts at identification fail. And the suggestion that the writer means to quote Prov. iii. 34, but after the words "the Scripture saith" interpolates a paraphrase of his quotation, which then follows with "wherefore He saith," in verse 6, needs no refutation.

3. Again, the ordinary rules of construction require that ἐπιποθεῖ (verse 5) and δίδωσι χάριν (verse 6) should have the same nominative case. If ἡ γραφὴ λέγει . . . μείζονα δὲ δίδωσι χάριν are assumed as correlatives, the result is a mere false antithesis. And if κατῴκισε (the true reading, as A, B, ℵ) is balanced with μ. δὲ δίδωσι χάριν, this is equally false; the real antithesis being between πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ and δίδωσι χάριν. Again, δίδωσι χάριν, occurring twice in verse 6, must have the same meaning both times; whence it follows, that θεός (suggested by θεοῦ ἔχθρα, θεοῦ ἐχθρός in verse 4) is the nominative to all three verbs, ἐπιποθεῖ . . . δίδωσι . . . δίδωσι.

4. If then θεός be the nominative to ἐπιποθεῖ, the verb must be used in a good sense, as it is everywhere else in N. T., Rom. i. 11; 2 Cor. v. 2, ix. 14; Phil. i. 8, ii. 26; 1 Th. iii. 6; 2 Tim. i. 4; 1 Pet. ii. 2; and so ἐπιποθία, Rom. xv. 23; ἐπιπόθητος, Phil. iv. 1; ἐπιπόθησις (note its connexion with such words as ἀγανάκτησις, φόβος, ζῆλος, ἐκδίκησις) 2 Cor. vii. 7, 11. It is therefore not "to lust" (as it seems to be in Ecclus. xxv. 21, and perhaps in Ps. lxii. (lxi.) 11, LXX), but "to long affectionately, passionately for" a person or thing.

Proceeding from these data we must understand τὸ πνεῦμα as an accusative after ἐπιποθεῖ, meaning not the Divine Person, but the Spirit which God has given us. If κατῴκησεν were read, it would be the Holy Ghost dwelling in us, and might be the nominative; but this would produce confusion between πνεῦμα and θεός, as subjects of the verbs, and would require ἡμᾶς to be awkwardly supplied after ἐπιποθεῖ.

Omitting for the present the words πρὸς φθόνον, we find the dominant idea throughout to be contained in the word "adulteresses" in verse 4. And the allusion in ἡ γραφὴ λέγει is to the virtual identity between the friendship of the world and the enmity of God, as exhibited throughout the whole of the O. T. history, and enforced in the continual assertion of God's claim to the exclusive love and devotion of those whom He takes to be His own ("Thou shalt have no other gods before Me;"—"Hear, O Israel, the LORD our God is one LORD; and thou shalt love the LORD thy GOD with all thine heart," &c., Exod. xx. 3; Deut. vi. 4, &c., adopted and ratified by CHRIST in His discourses); and especially in those frequent passages where the prophets use the figures of human love, wedlock, and adultery. Note on the one hand the combination of impurity with idolatry in the false worship to which the Israelites were tempted; and on the other the significant punishment of the adulterer under the law of Moses. God was wedded to His people. Therefore, His was a jealous love; and the love of the world was infidelity to Him.

Thus understood, "the Spirit" for which God craves so peremptorily, is not that which He breathed into man on the day of creation,

but that which He makes ours when the Holy Ghost imparts to us the gift of Himself, to dwell in us, moulding and informing our spirits, and making our bodies His temples by His presence;—yet so, that it is still possible for us to lose Him, by grieving Him and doing Him despite (Eph. iv. 30; Heb. x. 29). Compare Rom. viii. 23–27, for the strivings of the Holy Spirit for and in those who "have the first-fruits of the Spirit," —He who dwells within them struggling to retain His place, while the contest goes on between the deep love of GOD to man, and that necessity (so to speak) of His perfect holiness which must destroy the defiler (or destroyer) of His temple (1 Cor. iii. 17).

But what are we to say of the phrase *πρὸς φθόνον*? It cannot be translated "against envy." Most modern commentators render it, "even unto jealousy." This is simple; and few would question it, if the ideas of *φθόνος* and *ζῆλος* were philosophically identical. Usually, however, they are contrasted; see Aristot. Rhet. ii. 11: (*φθονερὸν τὸ θεῖον*, the heathen maxim in Herod. i. 32, &c., is altogether different, ascribing to the Deity a grudge against man's excessive prosperity). And yet the words "GOD craveth for the Spirit, which He hath made to dwell in us, even to the point of—*φθόνος*," are such as to make any other interpretation still more difficult; so that we must submit to interpret *φθόνος*, not indeed as = *ζῆλος*, but as that into which *ζῆλος* passes, when the provocation reaches the extreme point. For there is a relation between jealousy and envy; though jealousy presupposes love, whereas envy implies hate. Both are combined in Plato, Symp. 213 D (cp. also Phaedr. 243 C); and though one shrinks from quoting such passages in connexion with St. James's thought,—for they describe the insanity of unruly passion venting itself in spiteful tricks,—yet the words *ζηλοτυπῶν καὶ φθονῶν*, "jealous *and* envious," are so coupled as to shew that the contrast of their meanings is sometimes lost sight of.

Thus the fundamental idea is, as before, the wedded bond between God and His people, dissoluble only by such profligate faithlessness as in human nature would turn love to hate, but here combines in one, love and hate, passionate yearning and envy (*ἐπιποθεῖ πρὸς φθόνον*); as if nothing short of such a startling paradox could shadow forth the combination of the Divine attributes,—the love that is jealous, the jealousy that slays: see Deut. vi. 15; and cp. *ib.* xxxii. 11 (LXX), where *ἐπιποθεῖν* occurs, followed (in verses 15–22) by the apostasy of Israel and the fury of God's vengeance. That affection, which in its purity is Love, becomes, when suspicion is roused, jealousy; and, when the apostasy of the spouse is certain and irremediable, is changed into something still more terrible, of which the deadly workings are described in sundry portions of Holy Writ (*e. g.* Deut. ll. cc.; Ezek. xxiii., &c.); and which seems to be here expressed, for want of a more accurate word, by "envy;"—being the passion into which jealousy changes, when certainty supersedes suspicion, "for the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, even a jealous God" (Deut. iv. 24). This is indeed a figure of speech most strange and startling in its application to God and His Holy Spirit! Yet our choice among all the renderings which have been proposed, seems to lie only between this and one other, not very different from the A. V., but treating, as above, *ἡ γραφὴ λέγει* as a question:— "The spirit which God gave to dwell in us carries its longings even to envy (see verses 1, 2, "wars, fightings, ... from your lusts"): but He, who gave that spirit, gives all the more abundant grace to control it; wherefore," &c. This gets rid of the difficulty in the translation of *φθόνος*: but it creates several others, some of which have already been considered in detail. It connects the thought exclusively with verses 1–3, so that the mention of the friendship of the world in verse 4 loses its importance, and all reference to the bond of *spiritual* wedlock and its violation disappears. Consequently it requires the adoption of the inferior reading, "ye adulterers and adulteresses;" and these words must then be used in their literal, not their spiritual sense. The omission of the nominative before *μείζονα δὲ δίδωσι χάριν* becomes on this view intolerable. The balance of God's resistance to the overweening and His graciousness to the humble is injured: for He is represented solely in His attribute of mercy, even while sinners are still impenitent; whereas St. James depicts the terrors of the LORD as enhanced, to those that brave them, by the mercies which have been rejected; he shadows forth the great war against the Evil One and the world which is in bondage to him: and he shews that we must take one side or the other, because we cannot be the friends of God and of the world. But if we choose the world's love, we are more than mere enemies of God. Because we have enjoyed His love, we are rebels, apostates, ay, adulterous spouses.

CHAPTER V.

1 Wicked rich men are to fear God's vengeance. 7 We ought to be patient in afflictions, after the example of the prophets, and Job: 12 to forbear swearing, 13 to pray in adversity, to sing in prosperity: 16 to acknowledge mutually our several faults, to pray one for another, 19 and to reduce a straying brother to the truth.

GO to now, *ye* rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon *you*.

2 Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are motheaten.

3 Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your

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CHAP. V. 1. *Go to now.*] See on iv. 13, where the rebuke was directed against those who hasted to be rich, and made sure of living to gain their object. Here St. James turns abruptly to those who *are* rich, only thinking of themselves, careless of charity, humanity, or even justice. The common feature of the two classes is their presumption in boasting of the morrow.

In ii. 2–7, the entrance of a rich man into a Christian assembly leads to the thought of the treatment of the poor believer by the rich; but it is not certain that the rich man is represented as a professing Christian (see note). And many think that the burst of indignation here is not directed against those to whom St. James is writing (the customary "Brethren" does not occur from iv. 13 to v. 6 inclusive), but is to be understood like the denunciations of the enemies of God's people (which it so much resembles) in the Books of the Prophets; the point of application lying in the concluding exhortation to patience (verse 7), in the confidence that the time of the oppressor is short. See the same suggestion in 2 Thess. i. 5, *seqq.* But the subject is wider. The disciples of St. James in becoming Christians had not ceased to be Jews. They were members not only of the nation, but of the Church which was co-extensive with it. They had received an additional revelation, but not a call to sever themselves (so long as they were not violently severed) from the commonwealth of Israel. The Church at Jerusalem was the Society of those Israelites who were true to their God, listening to His revelations, believing on Him whose coming had been so long looked for. They were, in this sense, the true Israel, the element of vitality in a mass which it was still possible that they might leaven. (See Bouman, pp. 37–39.) Note the words spoken by St. James to St. Paul in Acts xxi. 20–24, and his submission to them, *ib.* 26; and the broad distinction made between the Jews and the Gentiles which had believed (*ib.* 20–25). This denunciation of woe (for such it is, rather than a call to repentance) is addressed to persons who were still formally within the pale of God's Church along with "the election," "the true Israel," though they were cutting themselves off from it (*v.* Rom. x. xi.). The night was fast closing in upon them, but their day of grace was not wholly past. (See Introduction, ii.)

Even to eyes devoid of prophetic speculation, *the coming miseries* must have been casting their shadows darkly forward at this time, in the preparations for the siege of Jerusalem. The key to this paragraph is Christ's discourse in Matt. xxiv.; and "the last days," "the coming of the Lord," must be interpreted according to the general analogy of Apostolic thought on this subject, the times and the seasons remaining unrevealed (*ib.* 36). The tribulations are those which usher in the kingdom of Christ in glory; comfortless to such as look not for Him, but birth-pangs of joy (ὠδίνων, *ib.* 8; cp. John xvi. 21) to those who do; affecting the whole Dispersion—indeed all the Believers throughout the world—as well as the Jews of Jerusalem; because in the expectation of the Apostolic Christians her destruction was connected not only typically, but actually, with the Judgment Day.

that shall come upon you.] That **are coming** upon you (cp. Luke xxi. 26, 35), either "soon," or "suddenly;" probably, both.

2. *Your riches are corrupted.*] The general term comes first; particulars are specified afterwards. These riches are not to be thought of as stores of merchandise (which would rather belong to iv. 13–15). The wealth of the ancients was of a miscellaneous sort, consisting not merely of the precious metals, but of more perishable things. Cp. what Horace (Epist. i. 6. 40) says of Lucullus. It is still the Oriental fashion to heap up garments, shawls, carpets, and all manner of stuffs, as the furniture of a princely house. See Matt. xxii. 11, 12, where it is implied that wedding-garments were provided for the king's guests. Such wealth as this was liable to corruption and decay, and especially to the ravages of the moth. Similar allusions are found in Matt. vi. 19, *seq.*; Job xiii. 28; Isai. l. 9, li. 8.

3.] Gold and silver are not, strictly speaking, liable to "canker" or "rust." But they are liable to be so tarnished as to justify the use of the words; cp. the Epistle of Jere-

flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days.

4 Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth.

5 Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter.

6 Ye have condemned *and* killed the just; *and* he doth not resist you.

7 ‖Be patient therefore, breth- ‖ Or, *Be long pa-*

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miah, 24. Chaucer (Prologue to the 'Persoune's Tale') has—

"And this figure he added yet therto,
That if gold ruste, what shuld iren do?"

a witness.] Cp. Matt. x. 18, xxiii. 31.

as it were fire.] By some, these words are thrown into the next sentence—"treasured up, as it were, fire" (cp. Prov. xvi. 27 in LXX); but not so well. Cp. "our God is a consuming fire," Heb. xii. 29, from Deut. iv. 24. The glowing metal itself (perhaps in the form of fetters, unconsciously hugged by the greedy) is thought of as clinging, consuming the living flesh. After this comes a fresh thought. Men lay up treasure *for the future;* but these did it "in (not *for*) the last days." This is spoken as if from the very last day of all. When the end came, it found them heaping up treasures which they could never use. See Matt. xxiv. 38, Luke xvii. 26, 28, of the days of Noah and Lot; and the parable of the rich fool in Luke xii. 16, *seqq.*

4. *the hire of the labourers.*] The Mosaic law was very jealous for the rights of those who had nothing but their labour: see Levit. xix. 13; Deut. xxiv. 14, *seq.* But the rebukes in Jerem. xxii. 13; Mal. iii. 5 (cp. Job xxiv. 6, *seqq.;* Tobit iv. 14; Ecclus. xxxiii. 30 *seq.*) shew the neglect of the duty. The ill-gotten gear *crieth* (like the blood of Abel, the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah, Gen. iv. 10, xviii. 20, xix. 13); cp. Habak. ii. 11; Luke xix. 40. And the ears of the Lord are open to the cry, as in the Egyptian bondage (Exod. ii. 23). Those who have no earthly protector have *Him; the Lord of Sabaoth,* the Lord of Hosts is His name. The Hebrew *Sabaoth,* preserved also in Rom. ix. 29, from the LXX, unites the ideas of might and glory; the angelic hosts being connected with the revelation of Sinai (Deut. xxxiii. 2; Ps. lxviii. 17), and with the Last Judgment (Dan. vii. 10; Matt. xxv. 31; 2 Thess. i. 7; Jude 14). Cp. LXX, Isai. v. 9.

fields.] The word implies large tracts of land, *latifundia,* as in John iv. 35; Luke xii. 16.

5. *Ye have lived . . . . ye have nourished.*] Read, **ye lived . . . ye nourished,** and so in next verse, **ye condemned.** The tenses are emphatic. St. James speaks as if in retrospect from the Judgment Day: "Ye *did* thus and thus: but it is all over now!" "Ye lived in luxury and wantonness (1 Tim. v. 6); ye nourished, pampered your hearts" (Acts xiv. 17). If "*as* in a day of slaughter" be read, the "slaughter" must refer to the preparations for feasting; cp. Isai. xxii. 12, 13; Jer. xii. 3. But, omitting "as" (so A, B, ℵ*, 13, Vulg., Memph.), their own slaughter is probably indicated. There is here an echo of Christ's teaching in Luke xii. 16–21, xvi. 19–31; see too Ecclus. xiii.

6. **Ye condemned** (not *have condemned and*), *ye killed the Just* (or Righteous) **One.**] Suggested by Christ's words, Matt. xxiii. 35 (cp. δίκαιον . . . . τοῦ δικαίου . . . . ἐφονεύσατε there), of the sin of the Jews, from age to age, in killing the prophets of God; till in the fulness of time, when God sent His own Son, they slew Him also (*ib.* xxi. 33, *seqq.;* Luke xiii. 33, *seq.*) The idea had been so distinctly developed in Wisd. ii. 10–20, that that passage must have been accepted as a Messianic prophecy, if it had not been recognised as a summary of prophecies already extant, the religious instincts of the people forecasting the shape in which these should be fulfilled. When thus led up to the Person towards whom all prophecy converged, we cannot accept the series of historical details without seeing here that event, the great Antitype of all, which shews us the significance of the rest—the one blood-shedding, to which all the others point; in short, the death of the only Victim to whom the title of "the Just, the Righteous One" belongs (Acts iii. 14, vii. 52, xxii. 14; cp. 1 John ii. 1). Cp. Bp. Jebb's 'Sacred Literature,' xiii. pp. 258–267.

he doth not resist you.] (Omit "and.") Compare Isai. liii. 7, and see Matt. v. 39, xxvi. 63, xxvii. 12–14; 1 Pet. ii. 21, *seqq.*

It is miserably inadequate to give "wearied and harassed to death" as the equivalent of "condemned . . . . . murdered;" and can only be accounted for by the persuasion that St. James was here denouncing a sin which the *Christians* had committed. But see note *supra,* v. 1. True, the Jews of the Dispersion

tient, or, *suffer with long patience.*

ren, unto the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain.

8 Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.

9 ‖Grudge not one against another, brethren, lest ye be condemned: behold, the judge standeth before the door.

‖ Or, *Groan*, or, *Grieve not.*

10 Take, my brethren, the pro-

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had had no part in this particular act; but in this the national sin had culminated, and from this the thought goes on to the various other sins, which differed rather in degree than in kind. The crucifixion of Christ was a sin representative of a class.

A very few years later, St. James himself followed his Lord, being murdered at Jerusalem by those very Jews who had given him the surname of "the Just," or "the Righteous," and called him "the Bulwark of the people." See Introduction, i. 2.

7. *Be patient.*] Or, "long-suffering," as elsewhere translated, whether in expectation (Heb. vi. 15) or in endurance: here in both. Used of God, as bearing with sinners and delaying vengeance, in Rom. ii. 4, &c.

Herder remarks the pathos with which, at the very climax, when instant vengeance was to be looked for, the curtain falls with "Patience, brethren, patience!" But the words "therefore" here, and "be ye *also* patient," in verse 8, imply a connexion, not a transition. They recall the attitude of the Christ before His murderers; see the prophecy and the history (Isai. liii. 7; Matt. xxvii. 12–14; cp. Rom. xii. 19, *seq.*; 1 Pet. ii. 19, *seqq.*, iii. 17, *seqq.*) But all this has its limit. "Patience, until the coming of the Lord: He will redress the balance, if, meanwhile, you imitate His meekness and patience!" See 2 Thess. i. 6, 7, where St. Paul joins comfort to the sufferers with terrors to the enemy. The "coming" is Christ's, and the whole passage refers to Him; therefore He is the Lord here spoken of, though St. James uses that title both of the Father and the Son. His Second Advent is indicated vaguely; perhaps dimly conceived of; for we know that the "times" were hidden even from those to whom so much was revealed; cp. Matt. xxiv. 27, 36; but it must have been recognised, in type and germ at least, in the approaching day of Jerusalem.

the husbandman.] See the parable, Matt. xiii. 39. The point of comparison here is that faith in the future which makes all present trials bearable. So St. Paul treats husbandry as a work of faith, even faith (virtually) in the Resurrection of the dead, 1 Cor. ix. 10, xv. 36, *seqq.*; cp. also Ecclus. vi. 19.

until he receive.] Rather, "until it receive."

early and latter rain.] Often mentioned in the O. T., *e.g.* Deut. xi. 14; Jer. v. 24; Hos. vi. 3; and especially Joel ii. 23: "the former rain, and the latter rain in the first month"; the "early rain" falling in the early part of the civil year, about October, soon after seed-time; "the latter" at the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, about March. The former made the seed sprout, the latter filled the ears before the ripening. It is to be remembered that "the first fruits" were offered in the Temple service on the morrow of the Paschal Sabbath, *i.e.* on the day of Christ's Resurrection (Levit. xxiii. 10, 11; cp. 1 Cor. xv. 20).

8. *also.*] *I.e.* as Christ was; as "therefore," in verse 7.

stablish your hearts.] Brace, nerve them to endure all that comes between; cp. 1 Thess. iii. 13. The prospect of the Lord's coming makes this easy, for it **is at hand** (as the word is rightly translated in Matt. iii. 2; Mark i. 15).

9. *lest ye be condemned.*] Or, **judged** (as all the best authorities); see Matt. vii. 1, which suggests the idea of passing sentence on our brethren, as included in *grudge* (marg. *groan*, or *grieve*). But probably, the thought is, "If ye grieve under ill-usage, yet let it not be as invoking vengeance on those who use you ill." Long-suffering has the promise of the reward; the want of it becomes uncharitableness, and therefore is "in danger of the judgment." The Judge (*i.e.* the Lord at His coming), who is already at the door (Matt. xxiv. 33; Mark xiii. 29, and especially Rev. iii. 20), ready to avenge His own elect, will judge *you*, if your faith and charity fail; *v.* Matt. v. 39; Rom. xii. 19, on the one side; and Luke xviii. 7, 8; 2 Thess. i. 6; 1 Peter iv. 19, on the other.

10. *who have spoken.*] **Who spake.**

in the name of the Lord.] The idea of "prophet" is of one who speaks in the name of God: not out of his own heart, but as he is moved by the Holy Ghost (2 Peter i. 21), This exhortation carries us back to Matt. v. 11, 12, "Blessed are ye (μακάριοι, as μακαρίζομεν here) . . . . when men shall per-

phets, who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for an example of suffering affliction, and of patience.

11 Behold, we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord; that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy.

12 But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath: but let your yea be yea; and *your* nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation.

13 Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms.

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secute you . . . for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you." See this amplified, Heb. xi. 1—xii. 11, especially xi. 32–38. From all this, as well as the reference to Job in verse 11, it is plain that the "prophets" are those of the Old Dispensation, not of the Apostolic age.

of suffering affliction, and of patience.] Not one idea (as of suffering *with* patience), but two; "of the sufferings which you are to expect, because they are the badge of your profession (2 Tim. iii. 12); and of the spirit in which they must be borne;" the first being the more prominent in Matt. *l. c.*, the second here. "May you not be content, if you are dealt with as they were? Must you not rejoice, if your reward is like theirs?" See 2 Cor. iv. 17.

11. *them . . . which endure.*] This would comprise not only the prophets above-mentioned, but all who follow their faith and share their trials. But the better-attested reading (A, B, ℵ, Vulg., Syr.) is, "who **endured**." From Matt. x. 22, we supply "to the end." In these instances the reward was not in this world, but it was a matter of faith that in God's mercy the sufferings would not always remain unrecompensed; cp. 2 Thess. I. 5, *seqq.* But the example of Job was recorded and "heard of" (Job xlii. 7, *seqq.*; Ezek. xiv. 14; see Tobit ii. 12–15, in the Vulgate).

have seen the end of the Lord.] These words, which in themselves might refer to the example of our Lord in His Passion, must from the context mean the conclusion with which God crowned the trials of Job. The words "that the Lord is," &c., are added by way of explanation.

very pitiful.] Literally, "abounding in bowels of compassion."

It has been asked why St. James limits himself to O. T. examples, and does not refer to our Lord's Passion. Answer—(1) he has already done so in verses 6, 7; (2) he is writing with his mind full of the Sermon on the Mount, v. 10 being suggested by Matt. v. 10–12, and v. 12 being a paraphrase of *ib.* 33–37.

12.] The parallelism between this and Matt. v. 33–37 (omitting the reasons given by Christ for each precept) is as follows:—

St. Matthew.	St. James.
Swear not at all, neither by heaven . . . : nor by the earth . . . ;	Swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth,
neither by Jerusalem . . . ; neither shalt thou swear by thy head . . . :	neither by any other oath ;
but let your communication be yea, yea: and nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.	but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay: lest ye fall into condemnation.

That which St. James makes prominent in the last clause is implicitly contained in St. Matthew: "Say Yea, yea; Nay, nay; and nothing more." Again, "Let your *yea* stand simply and surely for *yea;* and your *nay* for *nay.* Say no more than you mean: make it clear that you mean precisely what you say." The conclusion in each case corresponds with its antecedent—(1) "nothing more: for that is evil;" (2) "nothing different, lest ye be condemned." Note that the vain use of God's name is not noticed in either passage, though Christ (*l. c.*) shews how all swearing whatsoever contains a virtual appeal to Him. Hence it would seem that both these warnings refer, not to the confirmation of the truth by a solemn appeal to God on due occasion, but to a habit of using oaths lightly in business or conversation, especially (if we take the position of this verse into account) under irritating circumstances. In St. Matthew, an exhortation against revenge of injuries follows, and here patience is inculcated in verses 7–11; verse 12 may connect these with the "afflictions," &c., of verse 13, "Bear evil patiently: let no irritation, however natural, under wrong or suffering shew itself in swearing (again note the importance attached to sins of the tongue!). Affliction must vent itself in prayer, as cheerfulness in praise." See the passage from Bp. Sanderson on 'Oaths' vii. 11; (Works iv. p. 356, *seq.*), quoted by Bp. Wordsworth here. In 2 Cor. i. 17–20, there are some remarkable verbal coincidences with this passage. But while the thought in St. James and St. Matthew is nearly the same,

14 Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord:

15 And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.

St. Paul is dwelling on the combination of *yea* AND *nay*—faith and doubt, assurance and uncertainty; "yea" being that which *is*, the objective truth (cp. *Amen*, as a name of Christ, in Rev. iii. 14), while "nay" is its negative and contradictory. So Shakspeare, 'King Lear,' iv. 6, "To say *Ay* and *No*, to every thing I said! *Ay and No too* was no good divinity!"

13. *afflicted?*] The word elsewhere in N. T. is used of outward suffering (cp. 2 Tim. ii. 3, 9, iv. 5); here (in contrast with "merry") of the inward sense of suffering. The remedy is Prayer: not necessarily to obtain the removal of the trial, but at any rate for the increase of faith, to raise the spirits, so that we be *comforted* (*confortari*) and of good cheer. Mirth (in the modern sense of the word) is not meant; but a temper cheerful, faithful, and hopeful, to sustain us while work is still to be done. See Acts xxvii. 22, 25, 36, for the courage imparted by St. Paul to his shipmates. The "afflicted" and the "merry" may be the same persons, first praying to God to remove their burden, and, when He has heard their prayers, singing to Him with thanksgiving. "*Psalms* and hymns and spiritual songs" are joined with thanksgivings as the outpourings of Christian joy in Eph. v. 19, the *Psalter* of David having for ever stamped the word with its religious meaning among Jews and Christians. So, "I will pray . . . I will sing" . . . 1 Cor. xiv. 15, *seqq.*

Are these clauses interrogative, "Is any one," &c.? or hypothetical, "Put the case, one is," &c.? The difference is very slight, but the latter form seems rather the more vivid, and connects itself more clearly with the foregoing verses. There is the same doubt in 1 Cor. vii. 18.

14. *Is any sick . . .?*] See last note. Some limit this to such sicknesses as have been sent to punish the sins mentioned in verse 15 (see note there, and cp. 1 Cor. xi. 30). We recognise, indeed, the mysterious connexion of all suffering with sin in a world which has been put out of joint by the Fall. But this very truth disproves the limitation. Besides, in verse 15, it is, "*if* he have committed sins," which cannot refer to all the cases here mentioned.

the elders of the church.] Doubtless within this body of "presbyters" were found (though not exclusively) all the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, and especially that of healing. But the words point not to certain gifted individuals, as such, but to a solemn visit of the Body, as the representatives—in ecclesiastical language, *the "Persons"*—of the Church of which they are the ministers. So they are joined with the Apostles in Acts xv. 6, 22, 23; cp. 1 Peter v. 1.

let them pray over him.] We seem to see them bending over the bedridden man (cp. Luke iv. 39 with Matt. viii. 14) while they pray for him; cp. too Acts xix. 13. It has been thought that the imposition of hands along with prayer is implied. Not improbable in itself; but not contained in the words.

anointing him with oil.] So Mark vi. 13: "They (the Twelve) anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them." Isai. i. 6, and Luke x. 34, are referred to for the healing properties of oil and its use. But the use of oil as an outward sign in these cases belongs to its more extensive use as a religious symbol, *e.g.* in the unction of King, Priest, Prophet, as well as of the vessels of the sanctuary; see Exod. xxx. 23–33; Ps. cxxxiii. 2, &c. Hence the name MESSIAH, CHRIST, THE ANOINTED ONE (Ps. ii. 2, &c.). And this anointing symbolised the unction of the Holy Spirit, 1 Sam. x. 1, 9, xvi. 12, *seq.*; cp. Isai. lxi. 1 (Luke iv. 18); Acts x. 38; 2 Cor. i. 21, *seq.*; 1 John ii. 20, 27. We are within the sphere of the Holy Spirit's manifestation of Himself in visible miracles. yet all in orderly gradation. Christ spoke the word, and a miracle was wrought. His Apostles spoke, as a rule, *in His name*, with the same result. These elders do not speak as having authority, but "pray;" and "the prayer of faith" is the means of healing. Christ Himself sometimes used outward symbols, *e.g.* John ix. 6, 11. Some suggest "medicated oils;" but common sense shews us that something is described here utterly different from the ordinary blessing of God on medical appliances.

in the name of the Lord.] Not to be joined with "pray," but with "anointing;" the name of Christ being the power which made the outward symbol a means of grace; see the confession of the Apostles in Acts iii. 16, iv. 10–12.

15. *the prayer of faith.*] Note how the

16 Confess *your* faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.

17 Elias was a man subject to like passions as we are, and he prayed ‖earnestly that it might not rain: and it rained not on the earth by the space of three years and six months.

‖ Or, *in his prayer.*

condition of faith is connected with Christ's miracles of healing, just as with the forgiveness of sins; because all evil, spiritual and physical, flows from one source and is healed by one Saviour. The want of faith was an obstacle to healing (Mark vi. 5, *seq.*), as it is to salvation. In Matt. ix. 2, He seems to accept the faith of those who brought the paralytic to Him; but we may take for granted the patient's own faith. And here, though the prayer is that of the elders, the sick man has shewn his faith in calling for them (verse 14). See the promise in Matt. xxi. 22; Mark xi. 22, *seqq.*

save.] Used, as in some of the above references, of bodily healing, the "forgiveness" coming later.

the Lord.] Christ, as in verse 14.

raise him up.] From the bed of sickness, as in Acts ix. 34, &c.

and if he have committed sins.] Possibly, referring to a sickness sent as the punishment of sin. "If he has brought his sickness on himself by sinning;" see John v. 14; 1 Cor. xi. 30. If the sickness be only bodily, it shall be healed; if spiritual also, his sins shall be forgiven; both alike through faith.

they shall be forgiven him.] Literally, "It shall . . . ." *i.e.* the commission of them.

Very few words are necessary on the subject of the authority supposed to be derived from this verse for the so-called sacrament of Extreme Unction in the Romish Church. To quote the title, "Extreme Unction" (sacramentum exeuntium) is enough. For the unction of St. James is primarily and distinctively for the *healing* of the sick.

16.] Verse 15 treated of the functions of the Church's ministers. But though its collective life and spiritual energy take form and action in the persons of these elders, every member has his vocation and ministry; the same duty extends, the like blessing is promised to all; through the sympathy of all the members each one works for good, and receives it (1 Cor. xii. 12–27, especially 26). The words *one to another* carry us from the elders to the whole body: all can give, and all can receive, this benefit.

Confess your faults.] Cp. Rom. x. 9, *seq.* As that confession avouched the reality of belief, so this the reality of penitence. Moreover, it is right that others, who may have been cognisant of the sin, should be equally aware of the repentance; and that the penitent should have the help of all their prayers; —objects not attained by confession under the seal of secrecy.

healed.] Bodily ailments are seldom mentioned in the N. T. without reference to spiritual things; compare the use of the verb "to save," and see 1 Peter ii. 24, "By whose stripes ye were healed." Here both the "sickness" and the "sin" are included: the Spiritual and the Material, the soul and the body, being alike recognised and honoured in Holy Writ.

A cheering apophthegm winds up the exhortation, "Great is the force of a righteous man's prayer, **when urgent**;"—not merely "in its working," for the place which the word holds at the end of the sentence in the original is emphatic. Not as if the prayers of the righteous are ever likely to be slack; but this is a special zeal, a special emotion and fervour of heart, an agony of prayer, such as takes Heaven by storm (Matt. xi. 12, &c.) Observe this in Christ's prayer at Gethsemane, Luke xxii. 44; Heb. v. 7; and cp. Col. iv. 12, "Labouring fervently (Gr. "agonizing") for you in prayers." See also Col. i. 29; 1 Cor. xii. 6, 10, 11, of God "working mightily" in us, and of the operations of the Holy Ghost in gifts of miracles.

17. *subject to like passions.*] **Of like nature, feelings, or affections**, perhaps also "temptations;" so that, notwithstanding the awe with which he impresses us, there is no gulf between us and him, that we should not do what he did. The caution is necessary, because Elijah was so far apart from other men in the whole course of his ministry, especially in his journey to Horeb and sojourn there, his ascension, his appearance at the Transfiguration, and his generally expected return to earth (Mal. iv. 5; Matt. xvii. 10, *seqq.*). Cp. Ecclus. xlviii. 1–12. The word (ὁμοιοπαθής) is used in Acts xiv. 15, where the Apostles assure the Lycaonians that they are men like themselves; also in Wisd. vii. 3, of our kindred earth.

that it might not rain.] In 1 Kings xvii. 1, Elijah announces the coming drought, but his prayer is not mentioned. The gift of rain is afterwards naturally connected with the prayer recorded in xviii. 36, *seqq.*, and

18 And he prayed again, and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit.

19 Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth, and one convert him;

20 Let him know, that he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.

implied *ib.* 42. The promise in xviii. 1 was an encouragement to pray for its early fulfilment. In 2 (4) Esdras vii. 39, his prayer is actually mentioned. The specification of *three years and six months* is remarkable. Lightfoot says that in 1 Kings xvii. 1, "these years" is plural, not dual; and he thence infers that they were three at the least. *Ib.* xviii. 1, has "in the third year;" but from what starting point? Probably from the first actual signs of serious drought, which would not occur for some time after the end of the ordinary rainy season—perhaps "at the end of days," when the brook dried up (xvii. 7, Marg.). This period of 3½ years was certianly familiar to the Jews; for Christ mentions it in connexion with Elijah's going to Sarepta (Luke iv. 25). Extant Jewish writings specify the same period. But there is also something mystical in it as a period of suffering—"a time, times, and a half;" "forty and two months;" a thousand two hundred and threescore days; the half of a prophetic week; see Dan. xii. 7; Rev. xi. 2, 3, xii. 6, xiii. 5; in Rev. xi. 6, the two witnesses, who have power to shut heaven, prophesy for the same period.

18. *the heaven . . . . the earth.*] The reversal of the denunciation in Levit. xxvi. 19; Deut. xxviii. 23. Palestine is described in Deut. xi. 11, as "a land of hills and valleys, that drinketh water of the rain of heaven." We can scarcely appreciate the extent to which in that country water is plenty and drought is famine. But our Indian empire may teach us. See note on iii. 11.

19.] Another practical precept to conclude with: abrupt, as regards the verses immediately preceding, but embodying that thought of the duty of *brotherhood* which runs like a golden thread through the tissue of the Epistle. It has been treated negatively, "Do the brethren no ill; repay no injuries" (v. 9, *seqq.*); then positively, "Minister to them, and pray with them for bodily and spiritual healing" (v. 14, *seqq.*); and now, lastly, "Seek them out; reclaim for Christ His lost sheep." This is the climax of love; more than brotherly, Christlike! In connexion with the exhortation to prayer, this may be looked on as *praying with the hands*, working as God's ministers towards the fulfilment of that which has been uttered by the lips.

err from the truth.] Cp. Gal. vi. 1. This must not be limited to the case of relapses either to Judaism or to the world and its corruptions. It is quite general. The "truth" may be doctrinal, or practical, or (most probably) both: St. James deals little with doctrine, except from a practical point of view. See the words, "error of his way," "sinner," in verse 20, and cp. John iii. 21; 1 John i. 6; 1 Cor. xiii. 6. But the reference is not to details, but to practical consequences of the abandonment of the principles of Christian doctrine by those whom "He begat with the Word of Truth" (i. 18).

20. *Let him know.*] In sense, this is impersonal = "be it known," *i. e.* "know, all of you" (B. has, *know ye*).

which converteth, &c.] Resuming the phrase in verse 19; see note there. But this verse rises from the particular instance to a declaration of the blessedness of all acts of the like character. Perhaps the words "a (not *the*) sinner" are intentionally substituted for "err from the truth," as at once more weighty and more general.

save a soul from death.] A greater work, a higher charity, than "to save (or heal) the sick;" for this is the death of a soul (Matt. x. 28); and the words carry us forward to the Judgment-Day.

hide . . . . sins.] According to a common Hebrew expression (see Ps. xxxii. 1, 2, quoted in Rom. iv. 7; also Ps. lxxxv. 2; Prov. x. 12), connected etymologically and symbolically with the *cover* of the ark, the mercy-seat (*kâphar*, *kappôreth*); *v.* Exod. xxv. 17–22. To hide them is to procure their forgiveness, in so far as God is pleased to give one of us influence over another's eternal lot. It can hardly mean "shall cloak his own sins," or even "shall have his own sins forgiven." The benefit is not represented as being directly repaid *in kind* to the agent. It is true that this recompense is offered in Matt. vi. 14. But to those whose exceeding great reward God Himself vouchsafes to be, He reveals a higher and purer blessing—that, like their Saviour, they "shall see of the travail of their soul" (Isai. liii. 11). Their joy shall be in this fruit of their labour, and they shall share, in their degree, the blessed work of Christ in hiding, blotting out sins, and saving souls from death.

Compare 1 Peter iv. 8, where, however, the context leaves it more doubtful whose are the sins that shall be covered.

And thus St. James concludes, as if saying that if but one soul were won to Christ by his Epistle he would be well repaid, and that he would have every Christian feel this, even as he himself felt it!

EXCURSUS.—ST. JAMES AND ST. PAUL

Much has been written on "the conflict" existing between St. James and St. Paul, especially with reference to James ii. 14–26. And various attempts have been made to reconcile them.

Yet it is probable that no such conflict really exists; because there is no such relation between their arguments as might produce it. The two lines neither cross nor touch one another. But it is not surprising that the idea should have been entertained. The appearance of opposition is very remarkable. Not to mention passages like Rom. iii. 20, 28, Gal. ii. 16, where "the works of *the Law*" are spoken of, and which, therefore, are less strictly applicable (for St. James does not mention these), St. Paul discusses (Rom. iv. 2–5, &c.) the instance of Abraham, prior by four centuries to the Law of Moses; and he denies the justifying power of works in Abraham's case. On the other side we have what St. J. says of the efficacy of "works," and of the inefficacy of "faith" without them (ii. 14, 17, 20, 26). And, as if to sharpen the antagonism, the instances of Abraham and Rahab (cited in Rom. iv. and Heb. xi.) are brought forward by St. J. in confirmation of his teaching.

2. The section of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 8–19, 31) may, however, be set aside; not from any question of the authority of the Epistle, which, even by those who deny that St. P. actually wrote or dictated it, is generally admitted to have been the product of his immediate school, and to contain his teaching; but because, (1) throughout Ep. Hebr. ch. xi., the thing asserted of the Heroes of the Old Covenant is, not that they had faith, but that *by faith they wrought this or that;* according to the summary in *v.* 33, "who through faith subdued kingdoms, *wrought righteousness*," &c.; (2) there is nothing in the references to Abraham and Rahab in the two epistles so striking as to warrant the inference that the one passage is meant to contradict, or indeed in any way to refer to, the other. The bead-roll of saints in Hebr. xi. is so extensive, that it would have been difficult to select a name suitable to St. J.'s argument, which was not contained in it. Abraham, the father of the faithful, could not be omitted.[1] Rahab is only one, and not a prominent example, among the many; nor is anything said of her in Hebr. xi. 31, which is denied in Jam. ii. 25. Moreover, on a different ground there is a special reason why St. J. should mention Abraham and Rahab together, standing as they do at opposite poles—male and female—Jew and Gentile,—he the friend of God, she the sinner, the harlot. We must admit that an argument which is applicable to these extreme cases, must cover all that lies between them.[2]

3. It remains to consider the supposed opposition between the Epistles to the Romans (especially ch. iv.) and the Galatians, and that of St. James. Yet there is a previous question, which it is not easy to answer positively. Was St. J. acquainted with St. P.'s writings, or was he not?[3] They are indeed referred to in St. Peter's second Epistle (iii. 15, 16), but, probably, at a later date than can be assigned to that of St. J. It has even been suggested that the spread of so-called "Pauline" doctrine among the churches over which St. J. presided, was the actual occasion of his writing. And this is chronologically possible, if he wrote his Epistle shortly before his death, A.D. 62 or 63. For the Epistle to the Romans is usually assigned to the early part of A.D. 58. At all events it belongs to the period specified in Acts xx. 3. But the following chapter of that book (xxi. 17–26), describes the relations between the two Apostles in a way which does not justify the suspicion of any doctrinal collision between them, although their characteristic differences are not disguised. On that, as on a former occasion (Gal. ii. 9; Acts xv. 13, *seqq.*), St. P. satisfied St. J. In proportion, however, as we

[1] Especially as "the faith of Abraham" seems to have been a commonplace familiar thesis for discussion in the schools of Jewish philosophy at the time of the Christian era. See the discussion in Bp. Lightfoot on Ep. Gal., pp. 151–7, who refers to 1 Macc. ii. 52, &c.

[2] See J. C. K. v. Hofmann, 'Schrift-beweis,' i. p. 556, *seqq.*; *Id.* 'D. heil. Schrift untersucht,' vii. 3, p. 83.

[3] *Yes*, according to Wiesinger, 'Einleitung,' p. 36, *seqq.*; *No*, say Huther, 'Einleitung,' § 5; Reuss, 'Théologie chrétienne,' ii. 257.

are induced by other reasons to assign a late date to our Epistle, we may admit it as a probability that the errors of some who distorted St. P.'s teaching, may have had a share in calling forth St. J.'s rebukes. But there is no satisfactory, or even plausible, evidence of the imputed antagonism, unless the character and phraseology of the statements in the Epistle itself are construed as containing a deliberate attack on portions of St. P.'s writings and teaching.

Now St. P.'s argument rests chiefly on the statement of the Old Testament, that Abraham's belief was *counted unto him* for righteousness, as being applicable only to one who had received this as a gift by favour, not as a reward for work. But this is the very starting-point of St. J. (ii. 23); who, however, adds that this saying was "fulfilled" (*i.e.* apparently, was revealed in its true significance, and received its complete historical ratification) at a later date, when the works which his faith wrought, proved how true the imputation had been.[1] "Thus," he says, in summing up, "a man is justified by works, not by faith isolated and by itself";[2] ch. ii. 18 and 20.

4. Everything depends on the right interpretation of the two words,—"faith," and "justified." Is it quite certain that they are used by the two writers in precisely the same sense?

First, of *faith*.

It must be remembered that St. J. attempts no analysis and gives no definition of this word. He does not enter into theological speculations. He continually betrays an utter distaste for all controversies, viewing them as mere impediments to the practice of simple Christian duty.[3] "Non magna loquimur, sed vivimus," might well have been his saying. His Epistle has been, not without some plausibility, described by Reuss as a protest against all controversy, almost against all theology except that of a holy life. His object is simply and severely practical.

But in the passages which are the foundation of his argument, and in which he seems to use the word "faith" in the same sense as St. P., he assumes it as the condition precedent to all else; *e.g.* i. 3, "the trying of your faith"; i. 6, "let him ask in faith, nothing wavering"; ii. 1, "have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c.; ii. 5, "the poor in this world, rich in faith," &c. All this adds point to the words "*though a man say* that he hath faith," in ii. 14. Again, he asserts the regeneration by the free will and grace of God, through the Word of Truth, as an accomplished fact, i. 18; and exhorts Christians, as a consequence of this, to "receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save their souls" (*ib.* 21).

5. But he has to do with men who assign a very different meaning to the word "faith." He looks, not backward to the time when they were brought to believe in Christ, but around him, on the actual character and conduct of the converts, and forward to the consummation to which all is tending; and he sees many who profess to hold this foundation, but who nevertheless assert that, as they have "faith," it is enough, so that they are under no necessity of "working." Consciously or unconsciously, such men must have held a definition of faith widely different from that which St. P. indicates in speaking of "faith which worketh by love" (Gal. v. 6). With such persons St. J. will not stay to argue whether they really have faith or not. He accepts their phraseology, and meets them on their own ground. But he tells them that such a faith as theirs is, which works not and loves not, will avail nothing; that it is dead; that it is nothing more than is held by the devils in hell (ii. 8–17, 19).

6. Respecting the exact character of the error thus combated by St. J., there have been two very different opinions. By many it is thought to consist in what is commonly called antinomianism, a fanatical conceit of personal faith as availing to ensure salvation, without effecting anything to purge the soul from sin and uncleanness.

This is, plainly, the falsehood which seeks to shelter itself under the mantle of St. P., being the depravation (only too natural) of his teaching by the carnal mind. And against this he himself makes a vigorous protest in Rom. iii. 8; vi. 1, 2, and elsewhere.

But others[1] are rather disposed to identify the error with the dead orthodoxy of Jewish Pharisaism, which rested contentedly in a cold intellectual assent to articles of faith, and in the precision with which it could controversially maintain correct doctrine, though without any religious feeling in the heart, or any apparent consciousness of moral obligation. Such persons were they who in Christ's day, sitting in the seat of Moses, "said, and did not"; who, when the multitude was inclined to believe on Him, called them cursed because they knew not the Law (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3; John vii. 49). They rested upon a formula (see Rom. ii. 17, *seqq.*): with them

[1] See v. Hofmann, 'Schrift-beweis,' *ut supra*; and cp. Augustin. Enarr. in Psalm xxxi. 3.

[2] On the words "wrought with his works," see the note on ii. 22.

[3] Cp. i. 19, 26; ii. 14; iii. 1–10.

[1] See especially Neander, 'Planting and Training of the Church,' bk. iv. ch. 1 (1 p. 357, *seq.*, Bohn's English edit.).

the acceptance of a creed was everything; the belief in a Person was nothing. And of such as these St. P. had also spoken, "Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity (love), I am nothing" (1 Cor. xiii. 2; cp. Rom. x. 10, "with the heart man believeth unto righteousness").

This latter mischief is, of the two, the more likely to have gained ground among such persons as might have passed from Judaism to Christianity without putting off their Jewish sectarianism. And therefore it is the more likely to have prevailed among those with whom St. J. had to deal. As time went on, when the gap between the Jew and the Christian had become wider, the antinomian error might become the more dangerous. There is no reason to question the coexistence of both in the cities where "Jews of the Dispersion" sojourned among the Gentiles. But the special evil against which St. J. feels himself called upon to do battle is, in all probability, *the spirit of irreligious pharisaism shewing itself among Jewish converts.*

On those who are possessed by such a spirit St. J. turns; and, without disputing the claim which they made to be accounted as "having faith," he says, "*Your* faith—that faith which you profess—a faith without the works of love—will not justify you or any one; for it is not alive, but dead!"

It may be noticed that the subject of "works without faith," is never discussed at all.

7. Secondly, of *justification.*

What is it, in the phraseology of the two writers, *to be justified* (δικαιοῦσθαι)? In St. P. we may say that it is the restoration of man to his place in God's sight as righteous; the new relation in which (objectively) God places man to Himself for Christ's sake, and through the Redemption in His blood,—(subjectively) received and appropriated by the hand of faith. St. P. seems to place it at the beginning of God's work in us, and distinctively makes it an inward operation. Only twice (Rom. ii. 13; 1 Cor. iv. 4) does he himself use it otherwise; and once (Rom. iii. 4) he quotes it from the LXX (Ps. li. 4), "that thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged." But this latter is the all but universal usage of the word in the LXX version of the Old Testament;[1] either, as in a court of law, *to judge, be adjudged righteous*, or in a figurative sense immediately derived from this; see Exod. xxiii. 7; Isai. v. 23; Ps. cxliii. 2; which last passage, when compared with Gal. ii. 16, shews at once the difference and the connexion of the two usages. The word is in LXX not *gracious*, but *judicial.* So in N. T., "to justify oneself," Luke x. 29, xvi. 15; and compare especially the words of Christ in Matt. xii. 37, "By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned."

8. In this sense the word is used by St. J.; and indeed the last quoted passage might be taken as the key-note of his argument and teaching. With him it signifies the maintenance, to the end, of that relation of man to God, into which he has been first admitted through faith. It contains everywhere the notion of *judgment*, as in the Psalm quoted in Rom. iii. 4; see Jam. ii. 12, 13. And this is enough to prove that the "saving" mentioned in ii. 14, refers to the consummation on the last day. But the necessity of maintaining good works, and the judgment according to works, are equally taught by St. P. to those to whom he gives the titles of "saved" (Eph. ii. 5, 8), "sanctified" (1 Cor. i. 2; vi. 11), "justified" (Tit. iii. 7, &c.); see Rom. viii. 4, 13; xiii. 8–10; 1 Cor. vi. 7–11; Gal. v. 6. Thus he calls on those who "live in the Spirit," to "walk in the Spirit" (Gal. v. 25).[1]

9. In fact, St. J.'s subject is not so much "*justification*" (according to scientific theological terminology), as it is "*judgment* by works"; including, however, in that expression the continuous judgment which is always accompanying the course of human action,—the current record of that Book out of which mankind will be judged in the Day to which all is leading up, and in which the sentence will be pronounced. This article of the faith is equally maintained by St. P. in other forms of expression; while in the discourse of Christ which has been already quoted (Matt. xii. 37), the actual words "thou shalt be justified," stand opposed to "thou shalt be condemned," in plain reference to the Day of Judgment.

Those professing Christians, then, who claim to be absolved from the cultivation of holiness and charity on the plea of their acceptance of a creed, are met in this Epistle on the plain ground of human experience. St. James does not profess to be a metaphysical theologian. He judges men by the only test which is available to him—by their works and life. He looks at the Christian life as it exhibits itself; and it is in working that faith exhibits itself.[2] And this is accord-

[1] So in all the thirty-nine instances quoted by Trommius (Concordantiæ in LXX), except Isai. xlv. 25;—in l. 8, which would otherwise be doubtful, the words τίς ὁ κρινόμενός μοι; follow.

[1] See Huther, Exc. on ch. ii.

[2] Schmid, 'Bibl. Theology,' § 57 p. 347, E. T.

ing to the example of his Lord in Matt. vii. 15–23, and many other places.

10. But St. Paul is also—nay, is emphatically—a philosophical theologian. He analyses the work of salvation. Beginning at its source in the Divine counsels, he traces its operations in the inner man, to its consummation when it issues in "the perfect man in Christ." St. P. investigates the process. St. J. tests the results. And the personal history of the two men throws light on this difference. The conversion of St. P. was a convulsion of his inward nature. Who can tell the death-pangs and birth-pangs, the searchings of heart, the revelations of God in Christ, during those three days at Damascus, in which "he was without sight, and did neither eat nor drink?" But St. J., an Israelite of another character, had gradually imbibed the spirit of the new Teacher, till the Old Dispensation was to him purified and glorified, so that it became New without break of continuity.[1] Hence it was to him still "a law;" but now "a royal law," "a law of liberty,"—no longer external, but within,—the law of the nature of the regenerate Spirit.

11. And the views of both these Apostles, however different they may appear, are portions of the truth of God's word. Compare that which Christ says about the tree and its fruit (Matt. vii. 17, 18). If we ask how we are to know that the tree is good, the answer is, "By their fruits ye shall know them." But if the question is, Which is the source of goodness to the other? the answer must be that the goodness of the fruit is contained in the prior goodness of the tree. The first is St. J.'s statement; the second is St. P.'s. Both are true; both are important: both are founded on the teaching of Christ.

12. There is, however, something more to be said. Even when these two Apostles are practically teaching the same thing, their language will not be found to be the same. And this points to real differences in their mental characteristics, which are in themselves interesting and instructive, while they serve in some degree to shew how the Spirit chooses and moulds His own instruments to develope and reveal His truth, one and multiform. The view which St. J. takes is human, outward, *à posteriori*; he deals with trials, with proofs, with results. Nor does St. P. neglect all this. But he is led rather to take the Divine point of view. He sees the answers to his questions as God sees them, prior to experience. He reads the human heart, as changed by the grace of God, before its good treasure has been brought forth in speech or act. He beholds Abraham justified, because he sees him to be from the first, not only potentially, but truly, that which he afterwards manifestly and historically became when he offered up Isaac. This offering shewed how truly "it had been counted to him" for righteousness before.

Both statements are true. That of St. J. is much needed as a safeguard against three very real dangers,—unfruitful formalism, unpractical pride of knowledge, and practical antinomianism.[1] But it must be confessed that St. P. reveals a truth which is deeper, more fruitful, and more Divine.[2] He shews, what St. J. does not so fully shew,[3] the unity and homogeneousness of the Christian life. He brings us face to face with God, as loving children with a loving Father. Law and duty melt into love. "Honour thy Father," is superseded by "My son, give me thine heart." Nay, in Christ we are one with Him. And this carries us far beyond the limitations and imperfections of actual experience.

[1] Schmid, *ut supra*; p. 349, E. T.

[1] Lechler, 'Apostolisches Zeitalter,' 1. i. 4, 2 (p. 259 *seq.*).

[2] Reuss, 'Théologie chrétienne,' ii. 261.

[3] Yet see ii. 10, 11.

I. PETER.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Introductory Remarks.*
§ 2. *The Objects of the Epistle.*
§ 3. *Class of readers to whom the Epistle was addressed.*
§ 4. *Time and place of its Composition.*
§ 5. *Characteristics of this Epistle.*
§ 6. *Evidences of its authenticity, external and internal.*
§ 7. *Bearing on the state of the Apostolic Church.*

§ 1. Introductory Remarks.

IN this Epistle we have one of the most important and deeply interesting monuments of the Apostolic age. Accepted without a trace of doubt or hesitation by all early Christian writers, beginning with the immediate successors and contemporaries of the Apostles, quoted largely and repeatedly by those Fathers to whom we are indebted for the fullest and most authoritative testimony to the canonical Scriptures[1], the first Epistle of St Peter has always retained its high position in the estimation of the Church; nor was there any question as to its authenticity until within the last few years, when rationalism, guided by the sure instinct of antipathy, has assailed it in common with all documents which attest the faith and unity of the primitive Church.

Questions however of considerable importance towards the right understanding of the Epistle have been raised and are still contested by writers of various schools; they will receive due attention in this Introduction and in the following Commentary.

The first two questions concern the immediate or principal objects of the Writer, and the class of readers to whom the Epistle was addressed. These points being determined, we shall be in a position to estimate its bearings upon the doctrine and constitution of the Apostolic Church, and upon the relations between the great leaders to whom the establishment and guidance of that Church were specially intrusted by its Divine Head.

[1] For proofs of these statements see § 6.

§ 2. The Objects of the Epistle.

As it appears to the present writer, two objects closely connected, and indeed inseparable in their development, were present with equal distinctness to the mind of St Peter.

It is scarcely questioned that the immediate occasion of this Epistle was the approach, or outburst[1], of persecutions in Asia Minor. This stands in front of the Epistle; but the extreme importance of bearing it in mind has never been so fully drawn out as by Ewald[2], who in his short but interesting introduction fixes attention upon the fact, that in this Epistle we have the only Apostolic model of exhortations and consolations addressed to Christians under circumstances, which formed at once the trial and the test of their faith. In other Epistles allusions are frequently made to sufferings and difficulties, in this the readers are presented to our minds as undergoing, or on the

[1] This question is discussed in § 7.

[2] 'Sieben Sendschreiben des N. B.;' see especially p. 5. "The great and permanent merit of our Epistle is to have first distinctly set forth the right view as to the position of Christians in reference to the whole power of heathendom, and to its persecutions of the Church."

eve of undergoing, fiery persecutions. This is the first image impressed upon us in contemplating their external condition, though with admirable skill, or we should rather say in the true spirit of a Christian Apostle, St Peter gives precedence to their internal and permanent condition. We see Christians regenerate to a lively hope, assured of an inheritance of glory, but subject as a matter of necessity to trials which, though severe and searching as of fire, are temporary, which are indispensable to the full development of their spiritual life, and are therefore to be borne not merely without repining but with exultation, as an earnest and pledge of glory. The first and most direct object of the writer is to inspire Christians with an absolute confidence in the Divine favour and support.

This point elicits the thought which specially occupied the mind of St Peter. All the confidence of Christian hope depended upon the certainty of the truths which converts had already received. Were they still to be inquirers, painfully comparing the teaching of rival or antagonistic leaders, looking out for more distinct revelations of God's will and purposes: or were they to repose upon the truth, in its principle and in its practical applications, which they had already received? To this consideration St Peter addresses himself at once; no shadow is permitted to rest upon the relations between the doctrine of the older Apostles, and that which the people, in all the districts contemplated by the Writer, had received from their own first teachers. The entire system as it stands before us in the Epistles of St Paul, as it stood before the minds of those who first listened to St Paul—many of whom must have personally known Silvanus, by whose hands this Epistle reached them—is presented by St Peter, not indeed in terms which indicate the existence of any previous controversy, but in every form of direct affirmation, constant allusion, frequent quotation of the best known writings of the Apostle of the Gentiles, which might impress upon the readers' minds the certainty of absolute unity of doctrine and perfect harmony of action. This characteristic is indeed so prominently marked, the allusions to or citations from the Pauline Epistles, the intention of confirming the readers in a faith already received, to which nothing could be added, from which nothing could be taken away, are so manifest, as to constitute a conclusive evidence of spurious origin in the minds of those who invented or still maintain the calumnious fiction of antagonism between the two chief representatives of Apostolic Christianity: and we may admit without hesitation that if their widely spread assertions could be established by conclusive reasoning, this great Epistle would fall in the general overthrow of nearly all[1] that the Church has retained of the sacred deposit intrusted to her by our Lord. Here it may suffice to bring forward distinctly the fact that we have the admission, or we may rather say the well-founded asseveration, of the strongest opponents of the faith, that this Epistle asserts, implies, and most distinctly proves that the doctrinal system of its Writer was in perfect harmony with that of St Paul.

This however is a point of so much importance that we would at once request the reader to examine the following passages (chh. i. 1, 2, 3, 12, 14, 17, 21, 25, ii. 16, iii. 6, 16, 18, iv. 1, 3, v. 12) and to consider the notes appended to them in this Commentary. He will find that St Peter is most careful to take the leading points which had raised controversies or occasioned doubts, and to intimate the perfect agreement between himself and St Paul. Thus the election of the Gentiles as well as Hebrews is attributed to the foreknowledge of God, and that in terms evidently intended to remind the reader of St Paul's own language and arguments[2]. Faith is specially represented as the moving principle of Christians, the basis of their hope, and their preservative unto final salvation. The tone or, so to speak, the colouring of the Pauline Epistles, especially of that to the Ephesians, with which the people to whom this Epistle is specially addressed would naturally be most familiar, is preserved throughout. So too is that of the great Epistle to the Romans, in which we find

[1] The four Gospels, the Acts, in short all the New Testament, except four epistles of St Paul and the Revelation of St John, each and all have been abandoned as unauthentic by the leaders of the Tübingen school.

[2] See the Introd. to Ephesians.

the fullest statement of doctrines at present assumed by the critics of Tübingen to be most directly antagonistic to the Petrine system, and certainly most specially characteristic of St Paul[1]. The turns of language, as well as the mode in which the principles are presented, leave no room for reasonable doubt that when St Peter wrote he had both those Epistles before him or distinctly impressed upon his mind. This point is indeed forcibly urged, and it may be said demonstrated, by critics who on that ground impugn the authenticity of this Epistle[2]: and it is a point which can only be accounted for in a satisfactory manner by the supposition that it was St Peter's express intention to cut off all occasion for misunderstanding, and to guard against intentional misrepresentation. Such a supposition is in accordance with all that Christian antiquity, setting aside heretical forgeries of the second century, has handed down to us in the Canonical Scriptures and in the writings of the weightiest and earliest Fathers, and we maintain it without hesitation. But our Apostle is not satisfied with allusions, references, and statements bearing upon this object; he takes occasion at two most critical points in the Epistle to attest the soundness of the doctrine which his readers had received from St Paul, to whom their conversion is incontestably to be attributed. First at the close of his introductory exhortations, ch. i. 25, "but this is the Word which was delivered as evangelic truth to you[3]." Secondly, not less forcibly, at the winding up of the whole Epistle, ch. v. 12. Here the Apostle first asserts that he transmitted it through Silvanus, in whose faithfulness he takes occasion to express his own perfect confidence, whom his readers knew well as the comrade, and so to speak the fellow Evangelist and fellow Confessor of St Paul; a circumstance which is of importance in its twofold bearings, upon the personal relations of the Apostles and upon the position of the Churches which saw in the agent and deputy of St Peter a man whom they recognised as the trusted friend of St Paul. In this latter passage he emphatically states that the especial object of the Epistle was to affirm, in the strongest form of words, and attest that the faith which they had received was **the true grace of God**, an expression in itself so distinctly Pauline as to be regarded by some critics (*e.g.* De Wette) as a sure indication of Pauline authorship; but, as we have a right to regard it, a certain proof of the spiritual influence of which that Apostle was the chosen exponent. To this St Peter adds—if we retain the common reading—"*in which ye stand*," thus adopting St Paul's own words, 1 Cor. xv. 1, or—if we accept the preferable reading of the oldest MSS.—"in WHICH STAND!" thus substituting for a simple declaration of their secure position as adherents to the Pauline doctrine of grace, an emphatic exhortation to steadfastness in maintaining it.

We shall presently have[1] to discuss other questions raised by those who regard the two great representatives of Christian truth as opponents, but we may here observe that, taking St Paul's own account of his personal intercourse with St Peter, we learn that the two Apostles resided together at a crisis of the highest importance in their ministry; that the younger Apostle sought out St Peter with the express purpose of inquiry; and that on the very occasion which caused a brief alienation St Paul appealed without hesitation to the fundamental principles recognised by both; while all other accounts concur in representing the elder Apostle as justifying and maintaining the cause of St Paul when that Apostle was assailed by the Judaizing party.

[1] See notes on i. 12, 14, 20, 21, ii. 1, 6—10, 11, 13 and 19, iii. 9, 22, iv. 1, 10, v. 1, 5.

[2] The most complete inquiry into this statement is that by Seufert, in two articles of Hilgenfeld's 'Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie,' 1874, 1875. His object is to prove that the writer intentionally adopted Pauline doctrine, and therefore could not be St Peter; we accept his facts, substituting, however, agreement with the Epistle to the Romans for dependence upon it; as for Seufert's conclusion, it rests upon the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of antagonism between the two great teachers of Christendom.

[3] Special attention should be given to this statement, the force of which is inadequately expressed by the literal version in our translation: see note in loc. and on ch. i. 12.

[1] These points are fully discussed further on, § 7. We may remark that Bleek took nearly the same view as that here advocated, whereas his late Editor, Mangold, adopts that of the Tübingen school. See 'Einl.' p. 665.

§ 3. Class of Readers to whom the Epistle was addressed.

The foregoing arguments may indicate the conclusion at which we have arrived, and to which we adhere with entire confidence, viz. that the Apostle throughout the Epistle is addressing not any separate or distinct party, faction, or class in the Church, but the entire body of Christian converts in those districts where the Gospel was undoubtedly planted by the instrumentality of St Paul. That body of course included a considerable number of Jewish converts, and all its members were deeply penetrated by Hebrew influences, were familiar with the Old Testament, and were well aware that the origin and root of Christianity was, as our Lord (John iv. 22) and all His Apostles state, to be sought in the revelation to the Patriarchs and to Moses. But not less certainly the great majority of the first converts, and of those who were added to the Church in the interval between St Paul's preaching and the issue of this Epistle, were Gentiles by birth, training, and previous religion. This being the case we should expect to find in the Epistle a pervading tone of ancient Hebrew thought, equally however intelligible to Jews and Gentiles under Apostolic teaching, but at the same time forms of address, exhortations, and injunctions specially adapted to those who were most exposed to heathen influences, and were undergoing a rapid but not yet complete process of transition from old heathenish customs to Gospel purity and light.

Now if we examine the forms of address we find that while the Hebrew tone is unmistakable (*e.g.* in the introductory clause, ch. i. 1, and in the description of believers, ch. ii. 9, taken from Exodus and Isaiah), yet by far the most numerous and specific expressions are applicable, not indeed exclusively to Gentiles, but to a body in which they constituted the predominant and characteristic portion[1]. They are exhorted to eschew the habits formed in a state of ignorance (i. 14), a term expressly applied to heathens, being redeemed from ancestral corruption, called out of darkness, once not a people —an expression which certainly was never applied to faithful Israelites—and they are warned to be on their guard against heathen practices. Women are represented as having become, *i.e.* on their conversion, daughters of Sarah. Men are reminded of their old Gentile habits, iv. 3, 4—habits which were repulsive to the Jews scarcely less than to Christians. In short the general tone and special injunctions equally justify the conclusion at which the majority of modern commentators have arrived, that, far from having Israelites exclusively before his mind, the large-minded baptizer of Cornelius gave his deepest and most earnest thoughts to a body in which there is neither Jew nor Gentile, in which Christ is all in all.

This conclusion has indeed against it the opinions of many ancient writers, none however of really early date[1], none who learned from Apostles or Apostolic men, but who generally belonged to a time when the true relations between the members of the primitive Church were somewhat obscured and often misapprehended. Some modern writers[2], deserving of all consideration, maintain that the Epistle written by the Apostle of the circumcision[3] must have been addressed exclusively to that party in the Church. But they do not and cannot point to a time or to probable circumstances in which Jewish communities could have been established in those districts which, as all Christian antiquity concurs, recognised St Paul as their first, and at that time (before St John resided at Ephesus) their only Apostolic Teacher; nor indeed is there the slightest ground

[1] See the notes on chh. i. 1, 14, 18, 20, 22, ii. 9, 10, 12, iii. 3, 6, iv. 3.

[1] The earliest is Didymus.

[2] *E.g.* Erasmus, Bengel, Hug, Pott, Mason. See Huther in Meyer's 'Exegetisches Handbuch,' who agrees with Steiger in the view here maintained.

[3] It should be borne in mind that the Apostle of the Gentiles invariably addressed himself in the first instance to the Jews, and that his arguments are often specially applicable to them. In fact both Apostles always contemplated the Church as an undivided whole, noticing differences connected with race or party, only with the view of pointing out their incompatibility with Christian principles. We should also remember that both Apostles suffered from the envy and jealousy of adversaries common to both, who had first attacked St Peter, see Acts xi. 1, 2.

for the assumption that in any Christian community, in any city or district, believers who acknowledged their union with the Apostolic body were separated into distinct classes of worshippers. Even at Corinth, where factious movements gave occasion to indications of such tendency—sternly repressed by St Paul—no such distinct bodies were formed. The Epistle of Clement of Rome, written about a quarter of a century from the probable date of this Epistle, proves that whatever might be the internal tendency in the Corinthian church, no such distinction was dreamed of as that which is implied in this assumption. That Epistle, addressed to a Church in which the Gentile element was unquestionably predominant, is most deeply tinctured by Hebrew teaching, but it does not suggest or indeed permit the notion that Hebrews and Gentiles stood apart, worshipped apart, or could be addressed apart by an Apostolic teacher. Nothing can be more futile than the attempt to find traces of separate Hebrew bodies of worshippers tolerated within the Church. In Palestine the Hebrew element of course predominated for a time; in other districts, especially in Europe and Asia Minor, the Gentile element as certainly predominated. Tendencies existed which issued on the one side in the ultra-Gentile heresy of Marcion, on the other in the Ebionite faction, which has a fitting exponent in the worthless Clementine forgeries; but no sooner did they come to a head than they broke out in open separation, not within, but from the Church; noticed, so far as they are noticed by any Apostle, only to be uniformly condemned. Assuredly no such countenance as that which would have been given to the most mischievous and inveterate enemies of Church unity, had such an Epistle as this been addressed to them exclusively, ought to be attributed to the chief of the old Apostolic body—the friend and the consistent supporter of St Paul.

§ 4. Time and Place of the Composition of this Epistle.

1. The time is approximately settled if we admit the fact, now scarcely open to serious controversy, which has been discussed in the preceding sections, that the Apostle was acquainted with the Epistle to the Ephesians, which was certainly written towards the close of St Paul's two years' residence at Rome, in bonds but not yet incarcerated. This leaves no option of a composition earlier than A.D. 63. A much later date is certainly precluded by the notices of the constitution of the Church[1].

With this agree other clear indications in the Epistle, especially those which refer to the condition of the Christians in Asia Minor. It is evident on the one hand that partial, but very frequent attacks had been made upon them; that accusations of disloyalty, neglect or violation of legal enactments, had been urged; that the name of Christian was held up to scorn (iv. 14) and apparently was regarded as in some cases a sufficient ground for condemnation even to death (iv. 15, 16). Such was evidently the general condition of Christians from the time when the Gospel was first preached in those districts, and there is good reason to believe that the persecutions, regular or irregular, of which we find notices in the earlier Epistles, continually increased in intensity. The irritation of the Gentiles against those who themselves rejected, and induced numbers to reject the national superstitions; the fury of the numerous citizens and merchants whose interests were bound up with the public worship of the old and popular idols; the persistent and skilful machinations of the unbelieving Jews, especially influential in the "wrangling marts" and commercial sea-ports of the East, are brought before us in lively colours by the Epistles of St Paul: nor can it be doubted that those movements approached their culminating point about the time when Nero—not unskilful in discerning indications of popular excitement—first brought them to a focus in that fearful persecution of which the horrors are scarcely conceivable, to which indeed full justice could scarcely be done save by a writer who combines a lively imagination and singular historical tact with utter irreverence and disregard of ordinary feelings of modesty and tender-

[1] See notes on ch. v. 1, and § 6, towards the end.

ness[1]. But it seems clear that no regular, systematic persecution conducted under imperial authority, had broken out at that time either in the city where this Epistle was written or in the districts to which it was addressed. The mutterings of the storm were heard, and there were frequent anticipations of impending woes; but the great judgment had not yet begun from the house of God (iv. 17)[2]. This Epistle had certainly for one object consolation under present sufferings, but far more distinctly and impressively preparation for a coming woe[3]. The Christian is the object of incessant calumny, of vigilant espial, but is not as yet in a position to be subject to the last penalty without any form of trial, simply on the ground of his adherence to a new faith.

On these grounds we must assign the Epistle to the interval between the first year of St Paul's imprisonment and the burning of Rome A. D. 64, July.

2. Closely connected with the question as to the time of the composition is that of the place.

Here we have first to examine the statement at the close of the Epistle, v. 13.

If we read it without reference to any early tradition, to any consideration of the history of the Apostle and of early Christendom, it would at first sight appear that when he gives the salutation of the *lady* or *Church* co-elect—doubtless with the Christians to whom the Epistle is addressed—in Babylon, the Apostle distinctly intimates that well-known city as the place where he was then residing.

This view accordingly has had numerous and very weighty supporters in modern times: critics of the highest eminence, and certainly little affected by party considerations, have adopted it without misgiving.

It implies that towards the close of St Peter's public ministry there existed at Babylon a Christian community, faithful to the whole system of Christian doctrine, equally under the influence of Pauline and Petrine teaching; that Silvanus, St Paul's old and tried friend, was living there, in close connection with St Peter; and that the Church was on terms of affectionate intercourse with those communities in Asia Minor which owed their existence to St Paul.

But to this whole statement and to each of its details serious and indeed insuperable objections exist.

In the first place we have to encounter the uniform, unvarying, testimony of early Christian writers. From whatever quarter their voices reach us, they affirm that Babylon here is a recognised appellation of Rome, the city which occupied the place of that ancient city as the central world-power, the head-quarters of Anti-Christian influences[1]. In fact no other view of the passage was entertained or suggested before Calvin, who argued that the old tradition was connected with false notions as to the position of the Roman Church, and that in this as in all other cases the literal interpretation ought to stand, unless it is shewn to be untenable.

Now the main point to be determined is whether it is probable or even possible that, at the date assigned to this Epistle, a Christian community under the presidency of St Peter existed at Babylon.

One thing is certain, and seems of itself almost conclusive. The early records of Christianity, which give very full accounts of Christian Churches, and which especially give prominence to those

[1] The 'Antechrist' of Renan stands alone in its vivid and fearful portraiture of the agony of that terrible crisis: see especially pp. 164 to 181, to which Bishop Lightfoot refers with a well-merited note of disapproval.

[2] So Steiger, Wieseler, Huther, and others.

[3] It is scarcely conceivable that a critic so acute as Hilgenfeld should misunderstand or misinterpret intimations of such a character, as referring to the persecution under Trajan; nor indeed does it seem admissible to refer them to any period after the burning of Rome, when Christianity was for the first time formally denounced as an illicit religion, and persecution from that time if not continuous, yet breaking out in frequent intervals, became the normal condition of the Church of Christ. See an excellent article by M. Boissier in the 'Revue archéologique,' 1876, pp. 119 f. The notices in this Epistle refer to a different and early stage in the process. See notes on i. 6, ii. 12, iii. 16, iv. 19, v. 6.

[1] Papias, Clem. Alex., Jerome, Œcumenius, Eusebius; all state this as a well-known fact, needing no defence. Œcumenius gives the true account of the matter. "He calls Rome Babylon, on account of the pre-eminence which of old had belonged to Babylon." Renan observes that "Rome devint comme Babylone une sorte de ville sacramentelle et symbolique." 'Antechrist,' p. 178.

founded by Apostles or under their guidance, are absolutely silent as regards the existence of a Church at Babylon. We have no notice of a succession of Bishops, no intimation of persecutions in that city; the Church must have been swept away without a trace of its existence—all points which, if they stood alone, would compel us to inquire if no other interpretation could be maintained.

But we have historical evidence, accepted by all critics as genuine, which proves conclusively that a community of Christians, more especially of Hebrew Christians, to whom St Peter is assumed to have confined his personal ministrations, did not and could not exist in that city or the adjoining district at the time in question. Up to the time of Caligula the Jews formed a large and very influential community in Babylon. They were staunch religionists; bigoted adherents of all Hebrew traditions; they supplied Palestine with some of its most distinguished teachers; Hillel, a descendant of David, came from that city before our Lord's birth; and the school in that district continued to flourish in all branches of rabbinical doctrine. Christianity, had it been introduced there at any time, would have encountered fierce and persistent opposition, of which traces would certainly have been found in the traditions of the Babylonian Talmud.

But about A.D. 40, towards the end of Caligula's reign, the whole Jewish population in Babylon was exterminated by a series of calamities, of which a full account is given by Josephus in the last chapter of the 18th Book of his Jewish Antiquities.

We learn from that account that after the total destruction by the Parthians of the warlike colony of Hebrews at Nearda —a most remarkable and interesting episode in the history of the province—the old and bitter enmity between the native Babylonians and the Jews residing among them burst out; the Babylonians set upon the Jews, who being unable to resist them by arms, or to endure their insults, migrated in great numbers to Seleucia; and that six years later, in consequence of losses caused apparently by a fresh outbreak, those who had remained left the district of Babylon. At Seleucia 50,000 of the fugitives were afterwards massacred. There can be no doubt that, as Josephus expressly states, the Jews abandoned the whole province; and though at a later time we find them in adjoining districts, there is no indication of their presence within the precincts of Babylon[1].

It is in short utterly incredible that a Christian Church, consisting as critics assume chiefly, if not wholly, of Hebrew converts, should have been established in Babylon within less than a quarter of a century from that catastrophe.

With regard to the probability of St Peter's own presence and active work in that district, or, speaking generally, near or beyond the Eastern limits of the Roman empire, it must be observed that although we know nothing definite of the Apostle's movements after the dispute between him and St Paul at Antioch, probably in the year A.D. 53, yet that intimations in St Paul's Epistles[2], and

[1] The extent and importance of this calamity are much underrated by Huther, in Meyer's 'Exegetisches Handbuch,' who does not seem to have read the chapter in Josephus, certainly not with due care. For he says that only 50,000 Jews are said to have left Babylon, whereas the historian says expressly that of those who fled to Seleucia 50,000 were massacred, and that Jews, who did not join in the first migration, six years afterwards deserted the city in consequence of great losses (φθορά?). In the last section of the same chapter Josephus says that "the whole race of Jews in this province (πᾶν τὸ τῇδε Ἰουδαίων γένος) abandoned it, dreading the natives of Babylon and Seleucia." Huther in fact shews by this mis-statement that he feels the incompatibility of the facts with the assumption of the existence of a Hebrew Christian Church at Babylon in St Peter's time.

[2] The most distinct allusions to St Peter's presence or action in Corinth are found in St Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. In the first chapter, *v.* 12, he states that certain persons at Corinth took the name of Cephas, as also his own name and that of Apollos, nay, even of Christ Himself, as a badge of party; of course, without any concurrence on his own part or on the part of Apollos or Cephas. In the third chapter, *v.* 22, St Paul names Cephas, together with himself and Apollos, as ministering to the Church in Corinth. We may add that the reference to the wife of Cephas, ch. ix. 5, implies personal knowledge on the part of the Corinthians. In no passage of that Epistle does St Paul suggest, or permit the suggestion, that St Peter countenanced his opponents. It is also to be remarked that in the long and very grave series of charges that St Paul brings against certain members or parties in the Church of Corinth, none are connected with questions between Hebrew and Gentile Christians, but

in the earliest Christian writers, point distinctly to his presence and activity in Europe; as for instance at Corinth, where the most ancient and trustworthy notices shew that he preached, as a joint founder[1] with St Paul, and at Rome[2], where, as it is generally admitted and is positively asserted by the writer above all others competent to speak with authority, he was accompanied by St Mark[3]. St Mark would certainly not have been needed as an interpreter in a Hebrew Christian Church at Babylon; at Rome he may have been and probably was almost indispensable. We find also in the mention of Silvanus a further and most cogent argument against the supposition that the writer was resident at Babylon. Nothing more probable than that Silvanus should be drawn to Rome by St Paul's presence in that city; nothing more probable than that in that city he should have been directed by St Peter, or induced spontaneously, to undertake a mission to the quarters where he had laboured of old in company with St Paul; and certainly nothing more suitable to St Peter's purpose, whether or not he acted with the direct and open concurrence of St Paul, or guided only by his own Christian feelings, than to send this missive of encouragement, exhortation, and earnest injunction to steadfastness in the faith as the readers had received it first, by the hands of Silvanus, under the sanction of both Apostles, and with St Peter's personal attestation to his faithfulness.

An argument in favour of the Babylonian hypothesis has been drawn from the order in which the provinces addressed by St Peter are enumerated in the beginning of the Epistle. It is remarked that they do not begin with the west and proceed eastward—as might be expected had the letter come from Rome—but that they begin with the east and end with Asia and Bithynia. But on close examination the argument tells in the opposite direction. The first district mentioned is Pontus. Now Pontus was a district in constant communication with Rome; a vessel proceeding from Rome would probably proceed there directly if its course was determined by the lines of traffic; and whether we suppose that it was sent on public, or on Christian business, the sea-ports of Pontus would be equally convenient. On the other hand, had the messenger of St Peter started from Babylon it is impossible that Pontus should have been the first district which he reached, or that which would naturally present itself first to the Apostle's mind.

The foregoing arguments seem to leave no alternative but to accept the old unvarying testimony of the Fathers, who must have known the sense in which the statement was understood throughout Asia Minor, that St Peter designates Rome by the name of Babylon.

The objection however is strongly urged that it is highly improbable St Peter should have used a mystic term in an Epistle dealing not with apocalyptic visions but with simple matters of fact.

But we should observe that the whole clause in which this appellation occurs must be understood in a symbolical sense. This salutation is given, not—as is elsewhere the case where Churches are distinctly specified as sending or receiving greetings—by the Church in Babylon, but by *the co-elect*, a feminine adjective, to

with errors of doctrine and corruptions of practice, which had their source in Gentile laxity of morals and pseudo-scientific speculations. Compare the notices of dissensions at Corinth in the Epistle of Clement of Rome, *e.g.* ch. 48.

[1] So Dionysius, Bp of Corinth, about A.D. 170. It is inconceivable that the positive statement of this Bishop in reference to his own city, and to Rome, with regard to which his statement is confirmed by Irenæus, should be slighted in deference to conjectures "aping the truth." We have abundant testimony in the Epistle of Clement Rom., in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans c. 1., and in Irenæus, that the memory of both Apostles was cherished with grateful affection at Rome and Corinth. In a most important passage, ch. 44, Clem. R. attributes to *our* Apostles, *i.e.* St Peter and St Paul, the organization of the Christian ministry at Corinth. In this sense the word joint-founders may properly be applied to both, as by Irenæus and Dionysius.

[2] The presence and martyrdom of St Peter at Rome are attested by Dionysius Cor., Caius of Rome, the Canon of Muratori, Irenæus, Clem. Alex., Tertullian, and by all later Fathers. The facts, questioned or denied by some modern writers, chiefly of the extreme negative school, are maintained by Credner, Bleek, Wieseler, Meyer, Hilgenfeld, Renan, Mangold, and nearly all unbiassed critics. See Gebhardt's note on Clem. Rom. v. 4, p. 81, Bishop Lightfoot on the same passage, and Schott, p. 348 f.

[3] The oldest witness is Papias, Eus. 'H. E.' III. 15; thus too Irenæus III. 1. and Clem. Alex.

which the literal reader would naturally supply the word *woman* or *lady*. In fact some expositors have adopted this interpretation and suppose that St Peter sends the salutation in the name of his wife, elect together with himself—an interpretation rejected by the common sense of Christians, and too unreasonable to need refutation; for who could imagine that he should name his wife on such an occasion, or speak of her as co-elect in Babylon? This expression must be accepted as a mystical designation of the Christian community, dwelling in a city which the Apostle styles Babylon, the head-quarters of idolatrous worship, the abode of antichristian and persecuting powers; such as Babylon was in the times of the prophets, to whose voice St Peter was ever listening; such as Rome, and Rome alone, was in his own time. What could be more natural than that the Christians of Rome should send such a greeting to their co-elect brethren, just at a time when the "vanward clouds of evil days" were gathering thickly and threatening to burst over both?

But would the designation be understood by those to whom it was addressed? Of course if explanation were needed it would at once be given by the bearer of the Epistle; but we know for certain that the inhabitants of Asia Minor became familiarly acquainted with the expression before the close of the first century, and we must therefore admit as probable that, when the Revelation of St John first reached them, it found them prepared to receive the name of Babylon as symbolically designating Rome. We may safely assume that the great majority of commentators are right in the interpretation of the name Babylon, which is given in the commentary on the Revelation in this volume. The Christians must have had constant occasion to refer to the imperial city as the central hold of idolatry and persecution; and they might naturally use language which would not expose them to Gentile indignation.

St Peter indeed appears in this clause to have intentionally used very guarded expressions. The term "co-elect," as applied either to an individual or a Church, has no parallel in Scripture or in early Christian writers. It would not be understood by any heathen who might hear or read it; nor give occasion to a charge of disloyalty to the Empire: a charge equally perilous to the Christians of Asia Minor and to those of Rome. It had moreover a peculiar suitableness in an Epistle addressed to Christians who had been converted by St Paul. It would remind them that the Church in which St Peter was residing and in whose name he spoke, owed its origin probably, and certainly its full development, to St Paul their own Apostle. "Fellow elect" in all senses, fellows in the Divine purpose and foreknowledge, elect together from heathenism and Judaism, and brought to the knowledge and realization of their election by the same instrumentality. This is in fact one more point supporting the view insisted upon throughout these pages, that St Peter was specially intent upon confirming the Churches in their acceptance and maintenance of Pauline doctrines.

But it will be said, late critics are all but unanimous in upholding the literal sense. We are however dealing here not with authorities, but with reasons: were we indeed to listen to authorities we might argue fairly that the testimony of Fathers nearly contemporary with the writer, and certainly competent witnesses to the belief of those who received the Epistle, would be entitled to preference over views founded on conjecture or questionable interpretations. We might further argue that the opponents of the old view were certainly influenced in the first place by strong party feelings. Calvin[1], the first maintainer of the modern view, says that the old interpretation is "a stronghold of popery;" a statement which is at once controversially dangerous in reference to Romanists, who would justly claim the support of all Christian antiquity, not to speak of internal evidence, in their favour, and subversive of his own position; for who would attach weight to an argument suggested by such a consideration? Luther, whose vigorous intellect guided him safely, felt

[1] Even Calvin admitted that St Peter may have died at Rome: see 'Instit.' IV. ch. 6, § 15, "Propter scriptorum consensum non pugno quin illic mortuus esset." On the feeling which affected the judgment of some modern critics see Hilgenfeld's remarks quoted further on in note 1, p. 66.

that it would give a vantage-ground to his bitter opponents were he to forsake the old view, and he maintained it fearlessly. In fact there is nothing in this closing salutation like an assumption of authority, much less of supremacy. St Peter does not speak in his own name, nor in the name of the Apostolic body, to which he never alludes as recognising his authority or even primacy, but simply conveys the salutations of the Christian body, of which every member is entitled to the highest of all designations—one of the Elect of God. We must also observe that among the latest commentators some of highest repute for critical discernment and absence of party feeling[1] accept the old tradition as well founded both on external evidence and internal grounds.

§ 5. Characteristics of this Epistle.

We first remark the extreme simplicity of the general structure. It is divided broadly, at the 11th verse of the 2nd chapter, into two sections. The first presents us with a portraiture of the Christian in his high privileges, elect by the Divine will, in full possession of the means of salvation, animated by a new life in virtue of his regeneration, overflowing with spiritual emotions, rooted in faith, abounding in hope, full of unfeigned fervent love, especially developed in the relationships of the new family; we have the dogmatic truths of the pre-existence, the divinity, the majesty, of the Head of the Church set before us with a vividness and completeness unsurpassed in the sacred writings, while the Church stands out as a temple of which every stone is instinct with spiritual life, the home and realization of the ideal Israel, ever present to the mind of God's heralds and interpreters, in which the old people became a true spiritual people, and those who had been for ages wholly alien were made full partakers of all blessings, brought out of the darkness of heathenism into marvellous light, shewing forth the praises and thanksgivings which attest their union with each other in Christ.

In the following section, to the close of the Epistle, the Apostle dwells in detail upon the duties which spring from that new relationship, with special reference to the temptations to which at that time all classes of his converts were exposed. In the foremost and central place we find the inculcation of purity[1] as the condition of victory, both in the desperate struggle between the flesh and the spirit (ii. 11), and in the great work assigned to Christians of evangelizing the Gentile world (ii. 12, see note). Then come in order the duties of Christians as subjects and citizens (ii. 13—17), recalling the exhortations of St Paul, but dwelling with peculiar force upon the possible abuse of Christian liberty—a point urged elsewhere by the younger Apostle, but here introduced with singular aptness in reference to civil and political subordination.

Next come exhortations to Christians in a state of servitude, again reminding us, and doubtless recalling to the readers' minds, the exhortation of St Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians, but having one most impressive peculiarity. In that Epistle St Paul dwells on the relation of all classes to Christ, and on the future reward; St Peter, in his special capacity as "witness of the sufferings of Christ[2]," fixes attention upon Christ as the one example of all Christians, especially of those who are called upon to suffer in His name and for His sake, and who are thus made true followers of Him who by His death accomplished the redemption of man. Wives and husbands next receive counsels and admonitions, those to the former based on their adoption into the family of Sarah, to the latter with special reference to the new inheritance of which husbands and wives are equally partakers, and to the development of their new spiritual life in common prayer.

Then follows a singularly complete and condensed summary of the duties of men called to inherit a common blessing[3], and warnings against undue terror and despondency, remarkable not only for force and persuasiveness, but for their combination with a survey of the deepest mysteries of grace, with a presentation of the Saviour's work on earth and in the unknown region of spirits, and of His

[1] *E.g.* Ewald, Thiersch, Mason, Wieseler, Schott, &c. See note 2, p. 56.

[1] See Dean Church, 'The Gifts of Civilization,' p. 134.

[2] See note on ch. v. 1.

[3] See note on iii. 8.

present exaltation to dominion over all the powers of the universe[1]. The same strain of exhortation to all Christian good works, mingled and blended with references to present or impending afflictions, and to the mighty truths of Revelation, is preserved to the end of the 4th chapter. It is followed in the 5th by an admonition to the leaders of the Christian community, whose position is at once defined and limited, as sharing the duties and prerogatives of the ministry with the Apostle himself (who claims but to be their fellow presbyter), and who are strongly warned against their special temptation to undue assumption of lordship. The whole is wound up with exhortations, and warnings, remarkable for intense concentration, and with an ascription which presents in the most condense and completest form the claims of the Father as the source, and of the Son as the channel of all spiritual strength and life.

With a salutation corresponding in brevity and completeness to that which introduces the Epistle, St Peter closes what he himself describes as a *brief* summary of Christian doctrine and admonition, once more and emphatically enjoining perseverance in the true grace of God, of which his readers had already been made partakers; taking occasion to name two persons, Silvanus, well known to all as the old fellow worker of St Paul, and St Mark, an attendant of that Apostle both at the commencement, and towards the close of his career, and then commending all to the peace which is in Christ.

When we consider the purport and bearings of the Epistle, as thus briefly indicated, and look more closely into each portion of it, endeavouring to realize the character and intentions of the inspired writer, certain points, sometimes strangely overlooked, strike us with exceeding distinctness and force.

We observe that not only does St Peter, like St Paul and indeed all inspired teachers, give equal prominence to the duties and the privileges of Christians, to dogma and to practice, but that he keeps them throughout in the closest imaginable connection. In this we find, not a point of difference between the two Apostles, but a remarkably vivid illustration of the principle common to both. Not one thought connected with the mystery of salvation is presented without an instant and emphatic reference to what a Christian ought to feel and what he ought to do. No place in the spiritual temple is so humble that he who holds it has not before him the loftiest sphere of spiritual action and thought. Injunctions which touch the heart most powerfully are impressed upon us as we contemplate the eternal glory, the manifestations of Christ's love: Christ's power and majesty flash out most vividly as we follow His workings in the heart of the slave.

This characteristic of the Epistle requires close and repeated study to appreciate duly, but it forces itself upon the mind and works upon the feelings of all who read with open and devout hearts. If among Christian teachers St Peter ranks as one thoroughly and conspicuously practical, it is because he is thoroughly spiritual and evangelical. Christ suffering is at once the example and the salvation of believers, Christ in glory at once the object of devout contemplation and the exceeding great reward of His followers. Among commentators, who have brought this aspect of St Peter's teaching to bear upon the conscience and life of Christians, Archbishop Leighton stands foremost, a man who himself combined the resources of learning with the truest and most vivid appreciation of the lowliest graces and loftiest gifts of God's people.

But one characteristic, not in fact different, but yet distinct, from this harmonious intertwining of doctrine and practice, has yet to be considered. We refer to the very remarkable comprehensiveness of St Peter's representation of the work of Christ and the privileges of His Church, and the extreme completeness and conciseness of his statements, both as regards doctrine and practice. Thus for instance when he brings before us the mystery of salvation, he at once points out that it is the end of the faith which is fixed intently upon Christ and developed in perfect love and unspeakable joy: but he does not rest there; he directs our thoughts to the ages past; there he sees, and makes us see, the

[1] iii. 18—22. See further on in this §.

Spirit of Christ—thus regarded as eternally coexisting in the Godhead—dwelling as giver of life in the prophets, distinct from their own spirit, informing and enlightening them, and making them feel themselves to be, what the Church has ever acknowledged them to be, the channels and agents of a salvation, which they and the Angels contemplate with intense interest and unwearied admiration. This point, though according with all Apostolic teaching, is in its form and development peculiar to St Peter. See note on i. 10.

For other instances of complete and condensed statement we may refer the reader to notes on chh. i. 4, ii. 17, iii. 8, 18, 22, iv. 3, 19, v. 10.

Here we would however call special attention to the bearing of this point upon the most obscure, but certainly most deeply interesting passage in the whole Epistle, iii. 18—22. The Apostle sets before us Christians undergoing every species of trial and persecution, and calls upon them to defend the truth fearlessly by reasoning, and above all by the manifestation of genuine Christian principles and entire blamelessness of life (*vv.* 13–17). He points at once, as before in addressing servants, to the example of Christ's suffering; and then, having Christ thus present to his mind, he follows Him from the scene of that suffering into the intermediate state: he fills up the gap between the death on the Cross and the Resurrection; and he gives us a glimpse, not an obscure glimpse, into the interval passed by the human spirit of our Lord in the unknown realms of the departed. He sees and hears Him preaching, and singles out, as special objects of that preaching, the multitudinous souls who in every stage of disobedience had been swept from the earth at the Deluge—thus, as ever, bringing the past and greatest judgments to bear upon present trials and future accomplishment. In this representation St Peter stands, so to speak, alone[1]: other passages of Holy Scripture point in the same direction, but to him it was given to indicate a part of Christ's work, which was appreciated most thoroughly by the greatest teachers of the early Church, and which has a special interest for minds now anxiously exercised by questionings touching the condition of disembodied spirits. But St Peter deals with it, according to his usual system of complete statement, as a link between the work done on earth and the following glories: the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the culmination of all that had been anticipated by prophets, the Session on the right hand of God, the inauguration of the everlasting kingdom of Him to whom the highest created powers are ministers and slaves. It is the same St Peter who, in the Gospel of St Mark written certainly under his influence, and in his speeches recorded in the Acts, ever reverts to the first announcements of Gospel truths, and points onward to the accomplishment of all in the conversion of the world and the manifestation of the kingdom of God.

[1] For a corresponding notice in a speech of St Peter, see Introduction to the Acts, p. 340. Cf. Eph. iv. 9.

§ 6. Evidences of Authenticity.

A. External Evidence.

In the case of a writing, which is admitted by all critics to have been ranked among those whose authenticity was unquestioned in the early Church, it might suffice to refer to the brief but conclusive statements of Eusebius 'H. E.' III. 25. 3, and to a few passages from the most ancient Fathers upon which the statement rests, or by which it is confirmed.

But independently of the advantage of having a ready and, to unprejudiced minds, a conclusive answer to cavilling objections, a somewhat full inquiry into the writings of the Fathers, which bear upon this point, may serve to shew, not only the general reception of the Epistle in the first and second centuries, but the deep impression which it made upon those who best represent the mind of early Christendom.

The notice in the second Epistle of St Peter, iii. 1, is admitted, even by those who impugn the authenticity of that Epistle, to be conclusive as to the fact that this one was known and generally accepted at the beginning of the 2nd century, the latest time which critics assign for the composition of the second Epistle. Accepting, in common with all

the Churches of Christendom, that Epistle as genuine, on grounds which will be stated in the Introduction to it, we have the highest possible attestation, that of the Apostle himself.

We learn from Eusebius[1] that Papias of Hierapolis quoted this Epistle in writings no longer extant. Now Papias, as we learn from Irenæus, v. 33. 4, was "a hearer of John, and a companion of Polycarp[2]." The statement is conclusive as to the reception of the Epistle in that district of Asia Minor to which it was specially addressed.

But passing on to those Fathers whose works are in our hands, and who are the best representatives of the early Church, we find a remarkable series of testimonies, whether we turn to the city, from which, as we have argued, the Epistle was sent, or to those communities to which it was addressed. It must always be remembered in consulting the earliest Fathers for information that it was not their custom to quote any books of the New Testament with scrupulous accuracy, or to name the writers. In addressing heathens such a process would have been utterly useless, in addressing Christians familiar with the Apostolic writings they would seem to have deemed it needless. What we do find in the case of those portions of Scripture, which are accepted as genuine by the most unscrupulous critics, are allusions, adaptations of striking thoughts and utterances, words and sentences embedded, so to speak, in exhortations or addresses to the heart and conscience of Christians, indications of familiarity with the works so noticed both on the part of the writers and of those to whom they were writing. If we bear this in mind we shall find, as the result of careful inquiry, that, compared with any other portion of equal extent, we have a most unusual quantity of such allusions in reference to this Epistle, sufficient, if not to convince those who start with a fixed opinion of its irreconcilableness with their own theories, yet to satisfy all other critics, however free and bold in their inquiries, of its acceptance by the early Church.

Rome, for instance, is represented most perfectly by St Clement. Addressing the Corinthians he abounds, as might be expected, in allusions to the Pauline Epistles. Yet if we apply the broad test of indices, compiled, as in the edition of Gebhardt and Harnack, without any view to controversy, we find in that Epistle no less than seventeen passages bearing more or less satisfactory indications of familiarity with St Peter's words and thoughts, a larger number in proportion than even the references to Romans (18), to 1 Cor. (23), 2 Cor. (5), Gal. (6), Eph. (12): larger even than to the Epistle to the Hebrews, with which, as is well known, the mind of St Clement was so thoroughly impregnated that critics of high authority have attributed to him its authorship. Nor is this general impression materially weakened when we examine the references in detail. Some of these passages are cited in the following commentary, see notes on chh. i. 16, 19, ii. 21; they leave a distinct impression that the writer had St Peter's Epistle present to his mind, and had reason to believe that it must have been known to his readers. There are two references to 1 Pet. ii. 13, 15, in the newly-discovered portion of St Clement's Epistle. See §§ LIX. and LXI.

The only other writer of very early date who represents in any sense the Church of Rome is Hermas. In his well-known, but fanciful work, the 'Shepherd,' very few clear quotations are found from any books of the New Testament. His vague and inaccurate style, both as regards thought and the expression of thought, would seem incompatible with what is called diplomatic exactitude. Still the traces of familiarity with this Epistle are numerous and tolerably clear. He adopts figures of speech common in St Peter, expresses doctrinal views in similar language, and though he cannot be relied upon as an independent authority, he must be regarded as one whose notices harmonize with those which, as all admit, in the course of the next cen-

[1] This notice of Papias is of great importance. Eusebius, 'H. E.' II. 15, says that, according to Papias, St Peter mentions Mark in his first Epistle, which he wrote in Rome itself, and that he calls Rome Babylon, metaphorically. See also Eus. 'H. E.' III. 25.

[2] This statement, so far as regards St John, has been questioned, but abundant proof of its credibility is given by Bishop Lightfoot; see his two articles on Papias in the 'Contemporary Review,' 1875.

tury prove the universal reception of this Epistle by the Churches of Christendom.

We turn to the East; to those Fathers who represent the Churches of Asia Minor most completely. There we have positive and most important results. Of all the early Fathers none stand higher in character and position, none are entitled to, or have received, more reverence than Polycarp[1], the faithful disciple of St John, saint and martyr, Bishop of Smyrna at the close of the first century, a man who won the crown of life promised in the book of Revelation, ii. 10, to him who in the hour of trial should "be faithful unto death." Now in the Epistle of that great Bishop addressed to the Philippians there are quotations from our Epistle so distinct and so accurate, that no critic questions the fact. Their only resource is a reckless, and, we must add, futile attempt to disprove the authenticity of Polycarp's Epistle, in spite of all the strongest imaginable[2] attestation to its unquestioned reception in early ages. The reader need but glance at the passages from that Epistle referred to in this Commentary or conspicuously marked in the margin of the editions of Bishop Jacobson, of Hefele, and of Gebhardt and Harnack, to be satisfied that St Polycarp, the disciple of St John, the staunch follower and admirer of St Paul, dwelt with special earnestness upon the teaching of St Peter in our Epistle[2].

We need not discuss the question whether Justin Martyr had read this Epistle. It is well known that in addressing heathens and unconverted Jews that writer had no occasion for quoting Christian works, and that the evidence of his familiarity with the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles rests on deductions rather than on positive data. Yet traces there are—scarcely less distinct than those which in other cases have satisfied most critics—of familiarity with our Apostle's teaching and language. Without claiming him as a witness we hold that his testimony is far from adverse to the general reception of our Epistle in his time.

In the second and early part of the third centuries we have a host of unquestioned and unquestionable attestations. Foremost stands Irenæus, a man representing both the East and the West. Born in Asia Minor, and educated under Polycarp, Presbyter and, after Pothinus of the same great Johannine school, Bishop of the Church of Lyons, well known at Rome where he represented as ambassador the Churches of Gaul, Irenæus combines every claim upon our acceptance of his testimony; and that testimony is positive and conclusive. His quotations are clear and copious: in fact they are admitted as such by all critics. But in Irenæus we have, in all questions of Scriptural canonicity, the authoritative testimony of the whole Church.

Were any adverse testimony[1] from writers of the second century alleged, it might be worth while to adduce Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and Origen as witnesses; it certainly is worth observing that each of these writers proves that he and his readers were not less familiar with our Epistle—which they quote repeatedly and either expressly,

[1] On Polycarp see the exhaustive article by Bp. Lightfoot in the 'Contemporary Review,' May, 1875; he deals thoroughly with the internal as well as external proofs of the authenticity of this Epistle. The date of Polycarp's death has been lately established, in a manner satisfactory to all critics (*e.g.* Hilgenfeld, Lipsius, and E. Renan), by inscriptions of which a full account has been given by M. Waddington. It must have taken place between A.D. 154 and A.D. 156. We know from Polycarp's own statement that he had then been 86 years a Christian; and he was probably not much less than 100 years old. We have thus a practically contemporary testimony to the reception of our Epistle in Asia Minor. See the note in Vol. II. p. 163 of 'Patres Apostolici,' Gebhardt and Harnack, and Bp. Lightfoot, l. c.

[2] It is somewhat remarkable that Polycarp has a larger number of passages evidently taken from this Epistle than from any of the Pauline Epistles. This shews the peculiarly strong impression which it had made upon the minds of Christians in Asia Minor.

[1] The only exception is the Muratorian Canon, which omits the Epistles of St Peter in its list of canonical books. Routh, and the critics whom he quotes, account for the omission by the fragmentary and imperfect state of the document in the portion where the notice ought to have occurred. See 'Rel. S.' Tom. I. p. 424. We have in fact, to use Bp. Lightfoot's words, "an unskilful Latin translation from a lost Greek original," and "the extant copy of this translation has been written by an extremely careless scribe, and is full of clerical errors." See 'Cont. R.' 1875, October, p. 836.

or what is of equal, if not higher importance, in half-unconscious allusions—than with the Evangelists and the writings of St Paul. Origen indeed states positively, in speaking of doubts raised as to the authenticity of the Second Epistle, that the first was acknowledged by all as genuine: he quotes it frequently, and especially in reference to the most characteristic points in the Apostle's teaching, *e.g.* ch. iii. 18—21.

The testimony of the early Church is summed up by Eusebius, 'H. E.' III. 23. 3. He places it among those writings about which no question was ever raised, no doubt ever entertained by any portion of the Catholic Church[1].

B. Internal Evidence.

This depends upon a variety of points, to most of which attention will be directed throughout the following Commentary. Here it may suffice to notice, (1) The indications of personal character, brightness of hope, fervour of love, strong personal attachment to the Saviour, singular humility, shewn—as in the Gospel of St Mark written, as most critics admit, under his influence, if not personal superintendence—by a studious omission of all reference to his unquestioned position as foremost among the Apostles, nay, even to the special marks of Divine approbation conferred upon him by our Lord[2]. (2) The harmony of his teaching, and mode of citing the ancient Scriptures, with what we have remarked in his speeches recorded in the Acts, a point of great importance, on which see 'Introduction to Acts,' p. 339 f. (3) The notices of the constitution of Churches which he addressed; it is evidently the same as that with which they were left by St Paul. Presbyters are recognised as the governing body in each community. Subordinate officers, probably deacons, are mentioned, but not so distinctly as to imply their general existence as a separate order; see notes on ch. v. 1 f. If in any cities Bishops as distinct from Presbyters were already appointed, they are not so addressed or designated in this Epistle. But there is no reasonable ground for doubting that within a very few years from the date of this Epistle, if not in every Church, certainly in all the most important Churches of Asia Minor, the powers, first exercised by presbyters collectively or individually, devolved upon Bishops, most probably under the influence and authority of St John[1]. In fact, to whatever cause it may be attributed, the Epistles of Polycarp and Ignatius, the contemporary evidence of Hegesippus, and the concurrent notices in all extant writings of the second century, prove the existence and recognised position of Bishops as depositaries of Apostolic authority. The notices in this Epistle belong beyond controversy to the primitive and as yet undeveloped constitution of the Church. (4) Arguments from style, usage of words, correspondences with other contemporary portions of Scripture would require a special treatise to deal with them adequately. It may be hoped that the reader of this Commentary will find sufficient to satisfy him, and that the investigation, if pursued fairly and thoroughly, will issue in the confirmation of all preceding arguments, and others of a similar character which have long satisfied unbiassed critics. It will be felt to be certain that in this Epistle we have the teaching of that Apostle who is at once the special representative of the original Apostolic body, and, together with St Paul, conspicuous among the chief founders and teachers of the Christian Church.

§ 7. Bearing on the state of the Apostolic Church.

This Epistle, if we admit the points here advanced and defended, gives us a lively illustration of the relative position of the Apostolic body represented by St Peter, and of the Apostle of the Gentiles: that Apostle whose vast field of

[1] The external testimony is fairly stated by Davidson, who holds it to be most satisfactory. 'Introduction to N. T.' Vol. III.

[2] See notes on ii. 4, and v. 2.

[1] For this we have the very early and positive statements of Clem. Alex. ap. Eus. 'H. E.' III. 23, and Tertullian, 'adv. Marc.' IV. 5. See also 'Const. Apost.' VII. c. xlvi. The passages are quoted in the commentary on the book of Revelation, note F on v. 20, ch. i. We may infer from the Epistle of Clement of Rome that a similar course was pursued at Rome and Corinth by the Apostles who founded or organised their churches; see 'Cl. R. ad Cor.' c. 44.

labour, occupied independently of the original body, might be held to suggest, if not to justify, views which of late years have been vigorously maintained, and have exercised a deleterious influence upon the leaders of opinion in some quarters of the Church.

What we have seen is a distinct recognition by St Peter of the soundness and completeness of the younger Apostle's teaching, a recognition which at that time was most important, if not indispensable to the general reception of that Apostle's claims. We may perhaps be justified in attributing to this recognition the fact that those Epistles, which are regarded by some critics as antagonistic to Petrine doctrine, were accepted by all the Churches of Europe and Asia Minor, in short by all Churches represented by the early Fathers, *e.g.* Polycarp and Irenæus, to whom we owe the strongest attestations to the reception of the Canonical Scriptures. Nor is this recognition less important as completely cutting away the grounds on which modern speculation has attempted to overthrow the authority of the elder Apostles, representing them as imperfectly imbued with the true Christian principles which St Paul consistently and powerfully upheld. The doctrines of salvation by faith and grace, and the supremacy of God's will, in fact all Divine truths vindicated by St Paul, are declared so plainly by our Apostle that —as we have seen—some critics mainly for that reason have affirmed that this Epistle could not have been penned by any one not belonging to the Pauline school. This Epistle presents us with the clearest possible proof of the fundamental accordance of principle and the thorough unity of spirit in those two Apostles, in whom the earliest and best representatives of Christian life recognised "the most righteous and most noble columns" of the Church[1].

It may be objected that some doctrines specially characteristic of St Paul have no certain or distinct place in this Epistle; that of justification by faith alone being the most conspicuous instance. To this a satisfactory answer may be given. The Epistle is much shorter than either Romans or Galatians, in which *alone* St Paul explicitly sets it forth, having special reasons for dwelling upon the doctrine in opposition to those who maintained the sufficiency of the law. It would not indeed have been possible within so small a compass to develope or even to state every application of the central truth, to which in common with all essential doctrines, that of justification by faith must be referred[1]. Now that truth of truths, vital union with Christ, and hearty reception of the inseparable truths of atonement and redemption, stands out with singular distinctness in the highly wrought representation of the Church as a spiritual temple, and with as singular completeness in the summary statements of doctrine which have been noted above as specially characteristic of this Apostle. Had there indeed been any repugnance to the form in which the great doctrine of justifying faith was preached by St Paul, assuredly St Peter would not have hesitated to indicate his apprehension that it was liable to be misunderstood and misapplied. He was not likely to be less outspoken than St James; nor, had such been his feeling, would he have withheld the warning which he afterwards gave, probably elicited by Antinomian teaching, in his second epistle[2].

In conclusion we would briefly call attention to these facts. The Epistle is admitted in its principles, its form and substantial bearings of doctrine, to be at once Petrine and Pauline; that at least is the outcome of most careful, and, it must be added, most jealous scrutiny. We would simply add that the unity of spirit thus manifested accords with all the notices of the mutual relations between

[1] See Introduction to Acts and further on at the close of this §.

[1] See note on v. 12. At present it is a very common and exceedingly mischievous habit to assert or suggest that points of fact, or of doctrine, not expressly stated in any book in the N.T., are unknown to the writer. Applied to any one of St Paul's shorter Epistles, indeed to any except Romans and Galatians, the results would be confessedly misleading. Applied to this Epistle, shorter than Galatians or Ephesians, it is used to justify the astounding assertion that St Peter knew not the deepest and most fundamental principles of the Christian faith. That assertion is the more remarkable, inasmuch as it is urged most vehemently by critics who reject the central truth on which the doctrine specially in question rests.

[2] See note on 2 Pet. iii. 16.

the two Apostles which are to be found (1) in St Paul's own writings, (2) in the other books of the New Testament, specially in the Acts of the Apostles, and (3) in Christian writers in all quarters of Christendom within the period when the Apostolic tradition is held by the soundest critics to have been retained without intermixture or deterioration.

(1) St Paul tells us (Gal. i. 18) that fifteen days of his visit to Jerusalem, the first after his conversion, were spent in personal intercourse with St Peter, probably in the same house, if not in St Peter's own home; that on the next occasion of his visiting that city, at a crisis of exceeding interest and importance, St Peter in common with the two Apostles who are equally calumniated, St John and St James, accepted his doctrinal teaching as complete and sound, needing no addition and calling for no amendment[1]; that they gave him the right hand of fellowship, and distinctly recognised his peculiar position as called to evangelize the vast realms of heathenism; and that on the solitary occasion when the two Apostles, each acting in accordance with his own position and temperament, stood out in open opposition, St Paul had not to maintain a different principle, but to appeal with full confidence to the deepest feelings of St Peter and to the identity of principles maintained by both. See Gal. ii. 11 f. Observe also the explicit affirmation by St Paul touching the entire correspondence between his teaching and that of the other Apostles, 1 Cor. xv. 11.

(2) In the Acts (ch. xv. 7—9) we find St Peter, in exact accordance with these statements, vindicating the proceedings of St Paul which had been assailed by the party which St Peter is said to have countenanced, and most materially influencing the decision of the Apostolic council which attested the soundness in the faith, and confirmed the authority, of the beloved Barnabas and Paul. It should be remembered that St Peter had himself been specially assailed by the representatives of the Pharisaic party after the Baptism of Cornelius; see Acts xi. 2, 3.

[1] See Bishop Lightfoot's note on Gal. and our Introduction to Acts, p. 324, note 3.

(3) The testimony of Polycarp, Irenæus, Dionysius of Corinth, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and in short every Christian writer of the first three centuries, is beyond all question in perfect agreement with these utterances of inspiration. Foremost and most distinct among them we have the words of St Clement of Rome, addressed, within some 30 years, to a Church in which, if in any Church of Christendom, traces of the assumed antagonism of the two Apostles might be looked for. Those words in part we have already quoted in the Introduction to the Acts, p. 326, note 1, but cannot refrain from citing here at length as they now stand in the edition of Bryennios, and as they are accepted by Bishop Lightfoot and other critics. They convey the strongest imaginable attestation to the judgment of the early Church touching the mutual relations of St Peter and St Paul. "But to pass from the ancient examples let us come to those athletes who are very near to us in time: let us take the noble examples of our own generation. Owing to jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars (cf. Gal. ii. 9) were persecuted and suffered even unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good[1] Apostles: Peter who, owing to unrighteous jealousy, endured not one or two but numerous sufferings, and thus, having borne witness as a martyr, departed to the abode of glory which was due to him. Owing to jealousy and strife Paul exemplified the reward of patient endurance. Seven times he was a prisoner in chains, he was exiled, he was stoned, he preached both in the east and in the west, and attained the noble renown of his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world; and finally having arrived at the boundary of the west, and borne witness as martyr before the governors, he was then released from the world, and departed unto the holy place, having become the greatest pattern of endurance."

[1] The word is emphatic, in the special sense of kindliness and generosity, see 1 Pet. ii. 18, and cp. Grimm, 'Lex. N. T.' s.v. "arctiore sensu, *benevolus*." Hence the appropriateness of the epithet in this passage, which inculcated such a feeling as indispensable to peace; a point seemingly overlooked by editors, who have even proposed an alteration in the text.

'Clem. Rom. to the Corinthians,' c. vi.[1] These two Apostles are thus held up together as the two great examples for the imitation of all Christians, with special reference to the maintenance of the unity of the Church and to the suppression of all unseemly antagonism[2].

[1] On this whole passage the reader should consult the notes of Bishops Jacobson and Lightfoot, especially the Appendix by the latter. Readers interested in German speculations will do well to compare Hilgenfeld, who, both in his 'Introduction to the N. T.' and in an article in his 'Zeitschrift f. w. T.' 1877, pp. 486—508, entirely disposes of the arguments alleged by Lipsius and other critics against the presence and martyrdom of St Peter in Rome. He twice administers the caution, which we have suggested above, p. 57, in reference to Calvin, against the blind and dangerous spirit of partizanship, which in this and other questions seriously damages the cause of truth, and gives a vantage-ground to Romish controversialists.

[2] Bishop Lightfoot has an important statement in the Appendix to his edition of the Epistle of St Clement. "In the close of the epistle mention is made of the bearers of the letter, two Romans, Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito. —These delegates are described as 'faithful and prudent men who have walked among us from youth unto old age unblameably'—they must have been close upon thirty years of age when St Paul first visited Rome. They must therefore have had a direct personal knowledge of the relations between the two Apostles, St Peter and St Paul (supposing that St Peter also visited Rome, as I do not doubt that he did), and of the early history of the Roman Church." We owe this among other facts of exceeding interest to the late discovery, by Archbp Bryennios, of the missing portion of St Clement's Epistle. Bishop Lightfoot further adds, "to this theory (sc. the Tübingen theory of antagonism between the teaching of the two Apostles) the Epistle of Clement, the one authentic document which has the closest bearing on the subject, gives a decided negative."

THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF

PETER.

CHAPTER I.

1 *He blesseth God for his manifold spiritual graces:* 10 *shewing that the salvation in Christ is no news, but a thing prophesied of old:* 13 *and exhorteth them accordingly to a godly conversation, forasmuch as they are now born anew by the word of God.*

PETER, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,

2 Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through

THE SALUTATION (i. 1, 2).

CHAP. I. 1. *Peter*] In addressing Christians the Apostle here calls himself by that name which was most precious to himself and most impressive for them, inasmuch as it was given to him by his Lord, Matt. xvi. 18. In the Second Epistle he uses the two names, Simon, or Symeon, Peter.

an apostle] A Roman Catholic commentator (Estius) remarks, as an instance of modesty, that St Peter does not call himself the Prince of the Apostles. He might have also drawn the obvious inference that the Apostle neither claimed nor recognised any distinction of rank or authority between himself and his colleagues.

to the strangers...] Lit. "to the strangers, or sojourners, of the dispersion." The word rendered "strangers" means persons sojourning for a brief season in a foreign land. See Note at the end of the Chapter. The question whether it here applies exclusively or chiefly to the Jews, or includes all believers, is of considerable importance for the right understanding of the Epistle. There can be no doubt that the expression did primarily apply to Hebrews dispersed throughout the world, whether they were voluntary or involuntary exiles. But it is equally certain that the Apostles and intelligent Christians of the Apostolical age understood such designations in a wider and more spiritual sense. See Bp Lightfoot on Clem. Rom. '1 Cor.' p. 32. They knew that Israel was a type of the Church, and that every one of its special privileges and peculiar circumstances has a true and far more perfect fulfilment in Christians. These words, therefore, apply to all believers, Jews or Gentiles, whose true home, whose citizenship and conversation, is in heaven, and who, like their prototypes the patriarchs, are strangers and pilgrims upon earth. Hengstenberg (on Revelation xi. 13) remarks that "the words as here used include all Gentile converts, and exclude all unbelieving Jews, for the Apostles always understand the elect of God, even His Church, when they use words which, in their primary sense, belonged to the people of Israel." Thus too Grimm, 'Lex. N. T.' s.v., holds that the name is applied to Christians dispersed among the Gentiles. Cf. John xi. 52. So also Hilgenfeld, 'Einl.' p. 627. In this Church there is neither Jew nor Gentile, nor did St Peter, when he wrote this Epistle, admit or recognise any peculiarity of position or privileges in the converts of the circumcision. He was their Apostle, but, as such, it was his special work to complete the fusion which had been commenced by his special ministry in the case of Cornelius.

Pontus...] Some commentators consider that the order in which these countries are named shews that the Apostle directed his Epistle to them from the East. (Bengel and Steiger.) This is very doubtful. The provinces are not geographically situate in an order corresponding to this enumeration. In that case, as Ewald observes, Cappadocia would have come first. It is possible that St Peter may have had in mind the route which his emissary would pursue, but that route was determined by considerations which we have no data to appreciate. His messenger may have gone by sea to Pontus, which had lately been made a Roman province (cf. Sueton. 'Nero,' c. XVIII.), and thence to Galatia and Cappadocia, and afterwards proceeded to Ephesus, the capital of the province then called Asia, and thence to Bithynia. In all these provinces would be found numerous Churches, planted by St Paul. See notes on Acts ii. 9 and xvi. 7.

2. *Elect*] (On the probable construction see Additional Note.) The question will of course be raised whether St Peter addresses all baptized and professing members of the Church, elect to the means of grace and to the hope of glory, or those only who are elect unto final salvation. But it is clear that he speaks to all who require exhortation, reproof and correction, and that he considers all

sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ: Grace unto you, and peace, be multiplied.

to be in a state of salvation, but far from being assured of the same result.

according, &c.] We have here the origin of election, viz. the foreknowledge of God the Father. It is a weighty question whether this expression necessarily implies that election depends upon personal qualities in individuals foreknown to God, or rather upon the use which they will make of the means of grace offered equally to all. This appears to have been generally the opinion of the early Fathers, and without an exception of the Eastern Church for ages. See Additional Note. The Latin Fathers, however, who are followed by the great majority of modern divines, especially by those who represent most faithfully the tradition of the Western Church, held that foreknowledge is inseparable from predestination. As Augustine says, God foresees nothing of good which He does not effect. There is no difficulty so far as regards the general purposes of God with reference to His Church. That He foreknew, or that He predestined the gathering of the Church of the elect from Judaism and heathendom, is not a proposition which can be controverted or which could give offence. This we believe to be the meaning of the Apostle. It accords with one principal object which St Peter keeps in mind throughout this epistle, that of shewing the perfect harmony in doctrine between himself and St Paul. Cf. Introd. to Ephesians. It must also be remembered that the categories of time and space do not apply to God or to His eternal acts. Thus Dionysius Alex., Ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἔστιν ἀεὶ, καὶ σύμπας ὁ αἰὼν ἐνέστηκεν ὅλος αὐτῷ καὶ πάρεστιν. ap. Routh, 'Rel. Sac.' IV. p. 442. It should suffice for His creatures to know that their salvation depends upon His infinite justice, which is absolutely identical with His love.

through sanctification] Sanctification is the cause, condition, and means of the admission into the inheritance. The precise meaning of the word, in fact the sense in which it would naturally be understood by the Jewish, as well as Gentile converts, is separation from an evil world and dedication to God. (Hence קדוש is explained פרוש by the Rabbins. See Schoettgen 'Hor. Heb.' I. p. 487.) The expression is not without ambiguity as it may mean sanctification of the Spirit, bestowed by the Holy Ghost, or sanctification of the believer's spirit. This ambiguity may represent the certain truth that sanctification is the result of a complex work wrought by the Spirit on the consenting will.

N.B. Remark the force of the three prepositions, (κατὰ) *in accordance with* the foreknowledge and eternal will of the Father, (ἐν) *through* or, more exactly, *in* the initiative act and the progressive course of spiritual sanctification, (εἰς) *unto* the effect and end of that election and work. Observe also that the word *sanctification* (ἁγιασμός) is used eight times by St Paul, but does not occur elsewhere in the N. T.

unto obedience and sprinkling] The end, so far as our actual state is concerned, is twofold. We are brought into a state of obedience, prompt and willing obedience to our Lord, and of purification from guilt by virtue of His atoning blood. It is perhaps singular that St Peter should make obedience precede the sprinkling Since, however, obedience is the immediate result of the sanctifying work of the Spirit, this order may be taken to indicate that the first movement of the awakened will is to obey the call (cf. Acts ix. 6), and so to approach the cross, of the Redeemer. Obedience is therefore the first act, as well as the permanent characteristic of true faith.

and sprinkling] The sprinkling of blood, according to the terms of the eternal Covenant, has the special effect of cleansing from the guilt of sin. It is applied to the conscience by the Spirit in Baptism; thus "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins," Acts xxii. 16. The blood of the paschal lamb, and of other sacrifices, especially of the heifer, typified this expiatory efficacy of Christ's blood, and also the propitiation which it ensures: cf. Heb. ix. 13, 14, 22. Our Lord expiated our sins by pouring out His blood, *i.e.* the life-blood of the human nature which He assumed, and federally represented. At the same time, and by the same act, He propitiated the Father, inasmuch as He then and there, on our behalf, and in our stead, exemplified the entire fulfilment of the fundamental principle of His Law, absolute, entire, all sacrificing love. Faith makes Christians partakers of that act, represents and applies to the conscience the shedding of that blood; being thus sprinkled with it they have remission of sins and entire acceptance, for "God hath set Him forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past." Rom. iii. 25.

(Ῥαντισμὸς, in the passive sense, the act of being sprinkled. Thus Bengel, passive quia obedienter admittitur aspersio.)

Observe the mode in which each Person of the adorable Trinity is represented as concurrently acting for our salvation, the Father foreknows, the Son atones, the Spirit applies the work of the Son to the conscience.

Grace] St Peter, like St Paul, Rom. i. 7, and St Jude, combines the two beautiful salutations of the Greeks (χαῖρε) and of the He-

3 Blessed *be* the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his † abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead,

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brews (שלום), but gives to each the true and full Christian significance. Grace, that is not merely favour with man, and earthly joy, but spiritual blessing bestowed gratuitously by a loving Father (thus Theophylact and Œcumenius); and peace, not merely security and tranquillity in temporal matters, but peace with God, peace in Christ accorded to those who were enemies to God, peace applied to the conscience by the Spirit, and pervading the whole existence of believers. Thus the Angel, who announced the Incarnation, saluted the Virgin, Hail thou who art highly favoured, or *endued with grace*, and thus our Lord saluted His disciples after the resurrection, *Peace be unto you.* St Peter adds "be multiplied," an expression which has a peculiar fitness, for they to whom it was addressed were elect, called, and sanctified, and had therefore the firstfruits of the Spirit, needing only continuance and increase.

N.B. Πληθυνθείη is used in the New Testament only by St Peter—in both epistles—and by St Jude; cf. Daniel iii. 31, LXX. St Polycarp uses it in the salutation of his Epistle to the Philippians. The same form is found in Rabbinical writers, quoted by Wetstein; Sanhedrin f. 11. 2, Scribit fratribus filiis meridiei: pax vestra multiplicetur.

3—12. St Peter now introduces the great subject of his epistle (*a.* 3—5) with a thanksgiving for the privileges of Christians, sc. regeneration, living hope, a future inheritance and preservation unto final salvation. (*b.* 6—9.) He passes on to the feelings which characterize true Christians in seasons of severe trial, such as were then afflicting them; they rejoice in sufferings which are needful for the attestation of faith, and by which it is fully developed, giving a sure earnest and foretaste of salvation.

3—5. Thanksgiving.

3. *Blessed*, &c.] St Paul begins the second Epistle to the Corinthians and that to the Ephesians with the same form of words. If, as we believe, St Peter had seen one or both of those epistles, he must have adopted the words expressly to indicate the perfect harmony of feeling, as well as of doctrine between himself and the apostle of the Gentiles, an object which he had very specially at heart. See Introd. §§ 2 and 5.

Father of our Lord Jesus Christ] It is a peculiar characteristic of the Christian revelation that it makes God known to us in those personal relations upon which the economy of our salvation is based. It is because the Father is the Father of our Saviour that we bear to Him the relation of adopted children, that He is our merciful, forgiving and loving Father.

N.B. Εὐλογητὸς in the New Testament is always used in speaking of God, εὐλογημένος in speaking of man.

which ... hath begotten] Rather, **who... begat.** St Peter refers our regeneration to the act, by which Christ completed His work. This passage teaches us (1) that the original cause of our regeneration is the will of the Father, determined solely by His own great mercy: thus St James "of His own will begat He us," and St Paul "not for works of righteousness which we had done, but according to His mercy He saved us." (2) That the effective cause, *i.e.* the agency by which that purpose was carried into effect, was the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. In the same way as His death both represented, and virtually effected, the death of the old man in Christians, so His rising both represented, and assured, as a pledge and means, their resurrection from the death of sin, when being regenerate, they were born again unto the life of Holiness. It was a pledge, inasmuch as He lived again unto righteousness, to become a sanctifying as well as justifying principle of life; it was the means, because He rose to take possession of His throne, there to receive, and thence to bestow, gifts upon men, that the Lord God might dwell among them. "He rose again for our justification;" see note on Rom. iv. 25. Nay more, the whole Church is declared to have risen again in the resurrection of Christ, in virtue of that spiritual union which identifies Him with His members. That resurrection recommences, or is repeated in the regeneration of each Christian, it will be completed in the ultimate glorification of all true believers.

N.B. This construction connects δι' ἀναστάσεως with ἀναγεννήσας, not with ζῶσαν, compare, Rom. iv. 25, and this Ep. iii. 21. Thus Estius, Calvin, Huther. The other construction however is preferred by Œcum., Luther, Bengel, Steiger, De Wette, &c., and it gives an excellent sense—the hope of the Christian lives and is quickened by the power of our Lord's resurrection.

lively hope] Or, **a living hope**, *i.e.* a hope having in it the principle of spiritual life, springing as from a root, from the resurrection of our Lord, and producing the fruits of life. It has been often remarked that St Peter dwells with peculiar earnestness and frequency on the doctrine of the Resurrection, and on the hopes and blessings which it involves; and also that he loves the epithets, lively and living,

4 To an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven [1] for you,

5 Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation ready to be revealed in the last time.

[1] Or, *for us.*

and the mention of hope, so much so that a late commentator observes that if St John may be called the apostle of love, and St Paul of faith, our Peter is especially the preacher of hope. It is remarkable that the word *hope* does not occur in the synoptic gospels. As a Christian grace it is derived from the Resurrection. In fact in classical writers the word rendered *hope* means simply expectation.

(Bengel. Amat Petrus epitheton *vivus*, et mentionem spei. Thus also Pott and Steiger. Heidegger. *ζῶσα* quia et fructus vitæ edit, et spes vitæ est et permanet.)

4. *To an inheritance*] The Christian is born again not merely to the subjective, or inward, change from despair to living hope, but to the objective change from the mortality, corruptible, polluted, and withering, which he inherited from Adam, to the immortality incorruptible, not liable to dissolution—undefiled, not subject to pollution—that fadeth not away, having in it the principle of eternal youth, which is his inheritance in Christ. Each word is emphatic and refers to a special blessing and privilege of the Saints in light. This redundance of epithets, with a remarkable fulness of spiritual meanings, is characteristic of St Peter. In each of these expressions there appears to be a tacit reference to the temporal, and therefore typical, inheritance bestowed upon the people of the ancient covenant.

reserved in heaven] The ancient commentators infer from this that Christians are not to look forward to a state of millennial felicity *on earth*. The inference may be evaded, but it is obvious, natural, and in accordance with many important declarations of Holy Writ. The expression "reserved" is remarkable. It implies (Est.) that the care of God for His elect is from everlasting, and that in founding the heavens He reserved a portion for the inheritance of His children, not like Paradise open to the assaults of the evil one, but having salvation for its walls. Some have believed that the ancient Paradise was taken up into heaven at the Fall, and is there "reserved" until the Second Advent, an opinion which, though fanciful and unfounded, typifies the great truth, that the paradisiacal state of bliss and innocence will be restored, and that the purposes of God remain unchanged.

N.B. Thus Didymus, Theophylact, and Œcumenius, who uses the strong expression *μυθώδης ἡ χιλιοέτης ἀποκατάστασις* "the millennarian restoration is purely fabulous." The vehemence with which all the Fathers, from the third century downwards, attack all modifications of the millennarian doctrine is most remarkable. See especially S. Basil 'Ep.' 263, c. 4, S. Greg. Naz. T. II, p. 92 and 95, and Dionys. Alex. ap. Eus. 'H. E.' VII. c. 24. The passages of the earlier Fathers are collected, and carefully examined by the Oxford translator of Tertullian, Vol. I. p. 120. He holds that they generally, indeed without exception before Origen, believed in a Millennium, but not a carnal one, a spiritual reign of resuscitated saints preparatory to the entire fruition of the Godhead. It is difficult to reconcile that view either with such passages as this in Scripture, or with the statements of Hegesippus and Polycrates ap. Eus. 'H. E.' III. c. 20 and V. 24. N.B. Schoettgen quotes a passage from the Sohar which bears some resemblance to this, Beata est portio illius hominis (דיריית אחסנתא דא ונטיר לה) qui accipit hæreditatem hanc; et cui illa adservata est; נטיר corresponds very accurately to *τετηρημένην*. Sohar Exod. f. 36, col. 142. See also the passage quoted by Schoettgen on Rom. xi. 16.

for you] There is a great preponderance of authority for this reading.

5. *Who are kept*] An expression which suggests a warning, for it excludes those who do not remain in the faith, but which is full of comfort, since it assures us that the Father who preserves the inheritance, also protects and guards the heirs. The word for *kept* here used in the original is a military term, and means such a guard as is maintained by a powerful garrison to protect a fortress from assault or surprise. The Christian is thus kept by the power of God and by His hosts, for "the angel of the Lord encampeth around them that fear Him."

by the power] The original has "*in* the power," a striking and peculiar expression, which here implies that the believer is kept within the sphere of God's special manifestation of power. He is encircled by the everlasting arms. "He lives and exists *in* the power of God, and within this he is kept." Steiger.

through faith] Lit. "through **the** faith," that is the subjective condition, not that faith has any power in itself, but it constrains us to keep within the fortress, trusting in His protection.

ready to be revealed] The Apostle thus speaks of the salvation, unto which we are kept, as already accomplished, though not yet fully manifested. The inheritance is already secured, but it will not be bestowed until the last time. Even to departed saints who are secure of salvation, if the ancient Fathers are right, that glory will not be fully manifested

6 Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations:

7 That the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and ho-

until Christ who is their life shall appear, and they with all believers will appear with Him in glory. Can such an anticipation be reconciled with a preliminary manifestation of the Messiah upon earth? Whether St Peter and the other apostles believed that the last time was close at hand according to our ordinary notions is quite uncertain, nor should we attach weight to the arguments of commentators who always adopt that interpretation of Holy Scripture which is most unfavourable to the inspiration of the sacred writers. The word "ready" proves absolutely nothing. The salvation was "ready" in the eternal counsels of God. See note on ch. iii. 7. (T. Burnett was among the first, if not the first, who held the notion that the Apostles, mistaking the meaning of our Lord's prediction, believed in a speedy termination of the world. 'De statu Mort. et Resurg.')

6—9. FEELINGS OF CHRISTIANS.

6. *Wherein*] This word may refer either to the last time, or to the whole sentence enumerating the Christian's privileges. The contemplation of the last time is always represented as a source of rejoicing to believers, for, notwithstanding all the terrors of judgment, the predominant idea is that of a manifestation of the sons of God (Rom. viii. 19), which will accompany the full revelation of the glory of Christ: so that believers may truly be said to rejoice greatly in the contemplation of the last time. It is however more probable that "wherein" refers to the statement of present and future blessings, the lively hope and the assured inheritance. There is no real incompatibility between the two states of rejoicing and sorrow. The sorrow is on the surface only, the joy pervades the very depth and centre of the believer's being, "Blessed are they that mourn;" blessed even now, who are "rejoicing in hope," "as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing." Rom. xii. 12; 2 Cor. vi. 10.

for a season] Literally, "for a little," which may mean, little in degree, slight in comparison, or, as is more probable, brief in duration; brief, that is compared with eternity, although the affliction might, and very generally did in those days, extend over the entire earthly existence of believers. Their light affliction which was but for a moment, worked for them "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." 2 Cor. iv. 17.

N.B. Ὀλίγον is not used thus in the N. T., excepting in v. 10 of this Epistle, in the same connection. Syr. ܙܥܘܪ, Vulg. modicum; *i.e. in a moderate degree.* Œcumenius says, μικρὸν ἄρτι ἐπεὶ μικρὸς καὶ ὀλίγος ὁ παρὼν βίος. It seems not improbable that St Peter combined both notions in one word, as St Paul keeps both in view in the beautiful text which is quoted above.

if need be] This implies that afflictions do not come unless they are necessary conditions of the accomplishment of God's work, whether they be for the salvation of the suffering believer, "for through much tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of God," Acts xiv. 22, or for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, the blood of martyrs being the seed of the Church. Both motives concur in teaching, not merely resignation, but cheerful acquiescence in this trying proof of His love, who "doth not willingly afflict" any.

N.B. The passages from Lysias and Antiphon quoted by Wetstein do not correspond to, or serve to explain, this phrase. In the one passage εἴ τι δέοι, "whatever might betide," is an euphemism for death; in the other εἰ δέον ἐστὶ means since it is needful, and does not involve any notion of contingency. Œcumenius gives the true interpretation, "If need be," because not every believer is tried by affliction, not every sinner. Luther remarks that the phrase is equivalent to that which best explains it, "if such be the will of God," iii. 17.

ye are in heaviness] This should rather be translated, **have been afflicted.** St Peter does not refer to possible, or general trials, but to afflictions which actually had befallen the churches planted by St Paul.

7. *That the trial*, &c.] The result of all temptation to the faithful is uniform. It at once purifies them and attests the sterling qualities of their hearts. If gold, which is a material and therefore a perishable thing, is benefited by the purifying fire, much more must this be the case with the imperishable man. The fire of affliction can only affect the accidents of his external condition, it will prepare him for a state of grace, and entitle him to those rewards which, though proceeding from free grace, are bestowed conditionally—the reward of praise, for then "every man shall have praise of God," 1 Cor. iv. 5; of honour, "for them that honour me will I honour," 1 Sam. ii. 30; and the reward of glory, "for glory, honour and peace shall be to every man that worketh good," Rom. ii. 10. The order in which these rewards are mentioned depends upon their internal relation. Commentators have not been generally careful enough

nour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ:

8 Whom having not seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see *him* not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory:

9 Receiving the end of your faith, *even* the salvation of *your* souls.

10 Of which salvation the pro-

in explaining these words; but "praise" means the approbation of God, the immediate result of triumph over temptation; "honour" refers to the distinction conferred upon the good soldiers of Christ in the Church militant; "glory," which includes both the preceding, and raises them to their highest intensity, is already their portion, now reserved in heaven, and to be manifested when the Church triumphant will be enthroned with the Lord, and share that glory which was His "from the beginning of the world."

N.B. Τὸ δοκίμιον, a good classical word used by Plato in the sense of "touchstone." Here it means the result of the trial. Calvin observes, there is a twofold trial of gold by fire, one when it is purified of dross, the other when it is assayed. Both are here included. This metaphor is so common among classical writers that it had become proverbial. Wetstein collects numerous passages, to which may be added this older and more forcible one. Pindar 'Pyth.' x. Ep. iv. πειρῶντι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν βασάνῳ πρέπει καὶ νόος ὀρθός. This passage also from St Augustine is worth quoting. Sicut sub uno igne aurum rutilat, palea fumat —ita una eademque vis irruens bonos probat, purificat, eliquat: malos damnat, vastat, exterminat. Tantum interest non qualia, sed qualis patiatur. 'De Civ. D.' I. c. 8. Greg. Nyssen also has a fine passage on repeated trials of gold compared with those of Christians. 'Vit. S. Macrin.' II. p. 187. There is some difference of opinion as to what is meant by gold being perishable. Perit aurum vel a furibus ablatum, vel certe morte domini. Wetstein. Quod aliquando periturum est. Grotius. Aurum cum mundo perit, nec tum juvabit quemquam. Bengel. The word rendered "which perisheth," is omitted in some editions and MSS. of the Vulgate, probably on account of this difficulty. There is no doubt of its genuineness. Cf. Irenæus, IV. 9.

at the appearing] Or, **revelation.** The word implies that a glory now complete will be unveiled, and manifested. See iv. 13; Rom. viii. 18, 19; 1 Cor. i. 7; 2 Thess. i. 7.

8. *having not seen*] St Peter seems to refer to our Lord's saying, "Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed." The Gentile converts in Asia Minor could not have seen Him, nor probably had many of the Jews resident in those parts. The expression is rightly understood to imply that the writer had himself seen the Lord, and it is therefore a mark of authenticity. This passage is quoted by Polycarp, 'Ep. Ph.' I.

9. *Receiving*] This represents believers as already receiving, if not in complete possession of, the object and reward of faith. The Christian who is virtually dead with Christ is also virtually risen with Him, and in a very true, though inchoate, or incomplete sense, does receive salvation. "By grace ye *are saved* through faith," Eph. ii. 8, "According to His mercy He *saved* us," Tit. iii. 5. "We *have* peace with God," Rom. v. 1.

N.B. Thus Clemens Alex. 'Strom.' VII. p. 727 A, says of the mature Christian χαίρει μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς, γέγηθε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπηγγελμένοις ὡς ἤδη παροῦσιν. In the preceding page he says very beautifully that their souls not yet arriving unto the absolute good dwell, as it were, in the vestibules of their Father's Palace, near to the Great High Priest. Τέλος includes the two ideas "result" and "reward." This is admitted by Calvin and Beza, a point of some importance, since the interpretation is sometimes objected to, as not Protestant.

even the salvation] Some have inferred from this text that Faith which secures justification is indefectible. Of course if we were to take "rejoice" in the future sense (see note above), the interpretation would fall, and with it the inference. This, however, is not necessary, for in truth the participle "receiving" has an imperfect sense, very different from "having received." It implies that in proportion as the Christian realizes by faith, he appropriates and enjoys by anticipation, the ultimate blessings of salvation. De Wette says untruly that "salvation" is a word and an idea peculiar to St Paul. There is not a book in the New Testament in which the word, either as a verb, or as a concrete noun, does not occur. The idea is the very foundation of the Gospel. See the Concordance for "save, Saviour, salvation," &c.

10. *the prophets*] No sacred writer refers more frequently to the prophetical Scriptures than St Peter, both in his speeches and epistles. The view of prophetic inspiration in this passage is peculiar and striking. The words and declarations which the prophets were commissioned to utter are represented as subjects of diligent inquiry to themselves; so far were they from being the products of their own intelligence. Doubtless had the prophecies been the result of reflection, or of a certain instinctive intuition, in minds quickened by the Spirit of God, they would be truly represented as inspired. This passage, however, goes much farther. It certainly implies

phets have enquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace *that should come* unto you:

11 Searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow.

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that the Spirit of Christ presented images to their minds, and put words into their mouths, which so far from originating they were unable to comprehend. Thus we read of Daniel inquiring of the Angel as to the meaning of the revelations which he received, Dan. vii. 16. Some of the earlier commentators (Œcumenius and Theophylact, followed by Est) consider that this inquiry and diligent searching refers to the movements of the prophets' spirits before and during the process of inspiration, and that having found what they sought, they recorded it in the sacred oracles. The former interpretation seems preferable. The Targum on Ecclesiastes i. 8 says, the ancient prophets inquired earnestly about all events that were preordained in the world, and were unable to discover their limits, and Rashi on Numbers xxiii. 23 represents the Angels as inquiring from the Saints, what is God doing?

of the grace] De Wette says that "grace" is an expression so entirely Pauline that its occurrence in a work attributed to any other Apostle makes its authenticity questionable. That it is Pauline is true, but it is Pauline because it is thoroughly Christian. In the controversy against Judaizers the mind of St Paul was especially directed towards this aspect of Christ's religion, but the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ are the common treasure of the faithful. There is no point which such writers as De Wette are more anxious to establish than the radical discrepancy of Pauline and Petrine doctrine, a notion which is completely overthrown by this Epistle, and by the frequent use of such expressions as "grace," "salvation," &c. See Introduction to Acts, p. 330.

11. *what, or what manner*] The points, about which the prophets are said to have been specially anxious, are the date and the circumstances of our Lord's Advent in the Flesh. There seems to be a special reference to Dan. ix. 25. It is certain that believers in prophecy were convinced from the study of that and other passages that the Messiah was to come about that very time; a persuasion which extended far beyond the borders of Palestine, and was noted by the historians of Greece and Rome.

N.B. *εἰς τινα* refers to the simple date, *εἰς ποῖον* to the characteristic features of the time. Thus all commentators of any weight from Œcumenius downwards.

the Spirit of Christ] In this most important text we have to consider in the first place the exact meaning of the expression "Spirit of Christ." In some passages it might signify the Spirit, as communicated to Christ, the Incarnate Mediator, and through Him, to His people; in others, the higher or spiritual principle of life in our Lord's humanity; but neither signification can apply to Him before the Nativity. Here it must mean the Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son, who therefore is called indifferently the Spirit of God, the Spirit of the Father, and here, the Spirit of the Son, or, as in Rom. viii. 9, of Christ. See also Gal. iv. 6. We have therefore the strongest possible declaration of the Godhead of Christ, for none ever doubted that the Spirit which dwelt in the prophets was the Spirit of God. The text is of great weight in the controversy with the Eastern Church, which does not hold the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son; but of still greater, as expressing in the clearest and most convincing form that truth, on which all the early Fathers dwelt so lovingly, that the Spirit, which dictated the laws, inspired the seers, and animated the heroes of patriarchal and Jewish times, was the same Spirit by Which the Son even now lives and works in His Church, bestowed then indeed partially, manifested but in figures, speaking in enigmatical utterances, but still the same Spirit then preparing the hearts and understandings of men for His coming in the Flesh, even as now It is preparing them for His second coming in glory.

N.B. St Athanasius states a doctrine held by the greatest doctors of old that the Spirit bears a special relation to the Son, Εἰ γὰρ ἐφρόνουν ὀρθῶς περὶ τοῦ Λόγου, ἐφρόνουν ὑγιῶς καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἴδιον ὂν παρ' αὐτοῦ δίδοται τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν, 'Epist. ad Serap.' pp. 518, 519, Tom. II. ed. Bened. In the same treatise he quotes this and other passages, in which the Spirit is specially called the Spirit of the Son. See also Didymus 'de Spiritu Sancto,' who takes great pains to shew that the Holy Spirit is equally called the Spirit of the Father and of the Son.

when it testified] It was a saying of the Jews that the prophets universally and exclusively prophesied of the days of the Messiah.

the sufferings of Christ] St Peter was especially concerned to shew that the sufferings were foretold, because one of the very chiefest points of controversy with the Jews referred to the question whether Christ was to suffer. (See Acts iii. 18, and xxvi. 23, and Justin Martyr, 'Dial. with Trypho,' cc. 22 and 68.) Our Saviour had declared repeatedly before

12 Unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us they did minister the things, which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the gospel unto you with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven; which things the angels desire to look into.

13 Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope † to the end. † Gr. perfectly.

and after His crucifixion that those sufferings had been represented by all the prophets as necessary conditions of His triumph. See especially Luke xxiv. 25, 26, "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken. Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into His glory?" The veil which still hangs over the Jews (see 2 Cor. iii. 13—16), and prevents them from recognising their own Messiah, is their invincible prejudice touching His humiliation and suffering.

N.B. Remark the construction *τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα*—the sufferings destined for Christ, or rather which were to befall Him, as Hippolytus 'de Antichristo,' § 12, who seems to have had this passage before his mind, *τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν συμβησόμενα πάθη*. Some few commentators follow Luther and Calvin, who contrary to all authorities ancient and modern understood the Church, as well as the Person of Christ, to be comprehended in this expression. Their interpretation proceeded from a profound and spiritual view of the union of the Body with the Head, but it has no place here.

12. *Unto whom it was revealed*] The truth here inculcated is that the prophets were taught by a Divine revelation that the subject-matter of their inspired utterances belonged not to their own time, or the special circumstances of Israel, but to the latter days, *i.e.* to the Christian dispensation. That both they and their faithful hearers derived spiritual benefits from such instruction is certain, but it was a partial and so to speak reflected light caught from the far-off dawn of the rising of the Sun of righteousness. This was the only view of the text taken by ancient commentators, though it appears with a slight modification in the Syriac version: "and to them it was revealed because they sought it not for themselves."

but unto us] All the best MSS. have "**unto you.**" St Peter has the state of his readers' minds before him.

they did minister] All preaching of the Word is called a ministration, with the special idea of subordination to God and service to man.

which are now reported unto you by them that have preached] Rather, **which were now reported to you by them that preached the Gospel.** The two expressions *reported*, *i.e.* announced as actual and realized events, and *preached the Gospel* (a single word, *evangelized*), are correlatives with "testified beforehand" and "prophesied." The same Holy Spirit which predicted the events by the prophets announced their fulfilment by the preachers of the Gospel. In the former He was the indwelling Spirit of Christ, even as in the latter, but with this difference, that in these He was present in a special manner, having been sent down from heaven, a mission first manifested at Pentecost. The reverence which all converts, Jews or Gentiles, were ready to render to the prophets, is thus claimed by St Peter for those who had preached the Gospel to his readers, *i.e.* for St Paul and his fellow-labourers; a point to which attention is repeatedly called in these notes, as most important in its bearings upon the special object of the Epistle.

which things the angels desire to look into] The word rendered "to look into" is emphatic and highly graphic. It means to lean sideways in order to look into a vessel, or place; as in Joh. xx. 5, where see note, and James i. 28. Here the mysteries of the Gospel are represented as objects of deep contemplation and earnest inquiry to the angels; a truth which, as even Grotius and Beza hold, was mystically signified by the two cherubs whose wings overshadowed the ark, and, as we may reverentially assume, by the two angels whom Mary Magdalene saw in the Holy Sepulchre. The early Fathers, Justin M. and Irenæus, IV. 67, understood this statement to refer to the desire which the angels felt when pondering on the prophecies upon our Lord's coming. But Didymus, Œcumenius and others take it more generally as including the whole scheme of redemption predicted by the Prophets and announced by the preachers of the Gospel. Cf. Ephes. iii. 10.

We must not omit to notice the comprehensive grandeur of the view thus presented to us by St Peter of the agents engaged in the ministry of redemption: prophets from the beginning, evangelists in the fulness of time, angels throughout watching and inquiring, all alike overshadowed, possessed and energized by the ever-present Spirit of Christ.

Exhortation to earnest efforts. *vv.* 13—16.

13. *Wherefore*] This connects the exhortation closely with the preceding statement; if such were the feelings and acts of prophets, evangelists and angels under the abiding presence of God's Spirit, what ought your exertions to be?

gird up the loins of your mind] As persons

the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ;

14 As obedient children, not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance:

15 But as he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation;

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setting out on a journey, or undertaking a great work, gathered up their loose robes with a girdle, that their movements might be unimpeded, so Christians must bring all loose thoughts and feelings under restraint, and brace all the powers of the inner man, or, as the word (*διάνοια*) signifies, the "thinking faculty, the soul as the living intellectual principle of our nature," in order to meet the trials and fatigues of a pilgrimage towards heaven. The metaphor is scriptural, cf. Luke xii. 35; Eph. vi. 14; and classical; but the word here used does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. This passage is quoted verbatim by Polycarp, 'Ep. Ph.' § 1.

be sober] This may be a practical explanation of the metaphor; but more probably it points to the sobriety of spirit, specially characteristic of Church teaching, which Divine grace alone makes compatible with fervent zeal and lively hope. Enthusiasm combined with self-control and perfect self-possession is found in such a Christian warrior as St Paul, who when accused of madness for preaching doctrines which to the cold man of the world savoured of fanaticism, could answer: "I speak forth the words of truth and soberness," Acts xxvi. 25.

hope to the end] Rather, **hope perfectly**, *i.e.* with a perfect and enduring hope. The exhortation applies specially to the grace offered to you, and bestowed upon you by the revelation of Jesus Christ.

that is to be brought unto you at the, &c.] Rather, "which is (now) **being brought** unto you **in** the revelation of Jesus Christ." The A.V. takes the word as referring to future salvation, but the Greek is clear, and grace is a present blessing. The word "revelation" here does not mean simply the disclosure of saving truth proclaimed by Christ, but the manifestation of Himself; the highest truth, which involves all other truths. Cf. John i. 14.

14. *As obedient children*] Lit. "children of obedience," an emphatic Hebraism, denoting the inherent and inseparable union between the soul and its motive principle. The Christian is not merely an obedient child, so that if he ceased to be obedient in will and intention, he would still be a child (the adjectival form not implying, of necessity, an essential and characteristic attribute), but he is a child of obedience; his obedience makes him a child, first, as above, in the act of obeying God's call, and it keeps him a child, by preserving his union with God.

N.B. In Hebrew and Arabic two distinct words are used in such phrases as these; the one (meaning "possessor") denotes an accidental, the other (meaning "son") a permanent connection of ideas. The reader who would judge for himself of this not unimportant point may consult the long list in Freytag's 'Arabic Lexicon,' Tom. I. pp. 7, 54 and 161. He will find exceptions, but the principle seems to run through the whole series of examples.

not fashioning] Or, **not conforming yourselves**, a distinct allusion to Rom. xii. 2; cf. Eph. ii. 3. The expression implies that the soul becomes similar to, all but identified with, the object which it pursues. Contemplating Christ it becomes Christlike, pursuing sensuality it becomes gross, sensual, devilish.

according to the former lusts in your ignorance] This refers to the state of the unconverted, and doubtless applies to Jews as well as Gentiles, but it has a special force and significance as applied to the latter. The unconverted Jew sinned against light, the Gentile without direct or sufficient light (*ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ*, a state of absolute, but not wilful ignorance; see Eph. iv. 18 and Acts xii. 30): nor can it be questioned that the strange grossness of Gentile sensuality called for special warnings, such as we find most strongly urged by St Paul in Epistles addressed to Gentile converts. So Hilgenfeld, 'Einl.' p. 448. Bleek notices the bearing of this passage on the date of the Epistle. It is addressed not to the descendants of converts, but to men themselves recently converted. 'Einl.' § 215.

lusts] The Greek Fathers are most careful to point out the distinction between inordinate lusts and strong but natural appetites. Even the word here used is regarded by Chrysostom in very different aspects when connected or not connected with unjustifiable excess (*πλεονεξία*). We do well to confine the word which is here used, exclusively to inordinate sensuality.

15. *he which hath called*] Or, **He who called you.** *I.e.* God the Father, to whom the calling and election of believers are always attributed. The Christian is called upon to look up to God as his example, an exhortation in accordance with our Saviour's word, Matt. v. 45. Compare also Eph. iv. 24; Col. iii. 10. The special end of God's calling and election is "holiness" (see 1 Thess. iv. 3, and 7), consisting characteristically in entire separation from sin, and here, most probably with reference to sensual defilement.

conversation] The word (*ἀναστροφή*) here

[a] Lev. 11. 44. & 19. 2. & 20. 7.

16 Because it is written, [a] Be ye holy; for I am holy.

17 And if ye call on the Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning *here* in fear:

18 Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, *as* silver and gold, from your

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used applies peculiarly to the outward course of life, the discharge of relative duties. It occurs twice in the Apocrypha, thrice in St Paul's Epistles, once in St James. St Peter uses it very frequently, six times in this, and twice in the second Epistle.

16. *Be ye holy*] Or, according to all the best MSS. **Ye shall be holy**, as in the Septuagint version of the five passages in Leviticus to which St Peter refers. This injunction involves the necessity of conformity to God, a spiritual change going farther even than submission to His will. Bp Lightfoot compares Clem. Rom. '1 Cor.' xxx.

17—21. EXHORTATION TO GODLY FEAR, FOUNDED UPON CERTAINTY OF GOD'S JUDGMENT, AND KNOWLEDGE OF REDEMPTION BY CHRIST'S BLOOD.

17. *And if*] The word "if" does not imply doubt, or contingency, but marks an indispensable condition. It is not quite equivalent to "since," but means that you cannot be Christians if you do not pray.

if ye call on the Father] Or, **if ye invoke as Father Him** who. So every Christian does who uses the Lord's Prayer: in doing so he must bear in mind that his Father is his Judge; and that He judges every man according to his own work, without reference to his nation, his position, or his privileges—points specially applicable to Jewish converts, cf. Rom. ii. 1—3—but of practical importance to all. The word here used by St Peter *without respect of persons*, is peculiar to our Apostle, cf. Acts x. 34, to St Paul and St James, and as such is a characteristic of style; see also Clement of Rome, '1 Cor.' I., and 'Ep. Barn.' IV. 12; but the corresponding idiom is found in Luke xx. 21; and is not uncommon in the Old Testament. Steiger takes great but unsuccesful pains to reconcile this statement with the doctrine of absolute justification by faith, as exempting the believer from judgment to come. It is evident that St Peter, in that agreeing entirely with St Paul (Rom. xiv. 10; 2 Cor. v. 10), inculcates a godly fear, in this life a preservative from sin and a guide of conduct, as inseparable from the sense of an ever-present Judge. "Man" in fact, as St Augustine, speaking of the struggle between the flesh and the spirit, observes, "is ever in peril until the hour of his death," 'Serm.' 151. 6. It is also to be observed that in this passage St Peter refers not to the future, but to the present, continuous judgment of a man's work.

of your sojourning] See note above, on *v.* 1, and cf. Eph. ii. 19.

18. A second and not less cogent argument; ye ought to be holy because your deliverance from the bondage of inherited guilt has been effected at an infinite cost. You have not the excuse of servitude, for the bonds are broken, the ransom has been paid.

redeemed] Or, "ransomed." All theologians agree that the ransom was the life-blood of Christ, and that the bondage from which we were thus delivered was subjection to the power and guilt of sin, specially from the evil spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience, and leadeth them captive according to his will. The principle underlying the act of redemption is variously apprehended, see Thomson's 'Bampton Lectures,' and the note on Rom. iii. 24. Here it may suffice to remark (*a*) that our Lord took not *a man*, but *man's nature* into His Person, and that He so completely identifies Himself with His own that His blood becomes, mystically, but to all intents and purposes, their blood; and (*b*) that His offering represents and virtually effects an entire surrender of that nature in and by Him to God. This passage of St Peter expresses, more fully than any other in which the word occurs, the special object of the Redemption, viz., deliverance from sin. It is also remarkable as resting the duty of obedience and holiness on the highest and most sacred ground.

vain conversation] Or, "manner of life." See note on *v.* 15. It is here described as insensate; wickedness and folly are synonymous terms in Holy Scripture: the word rendered *vain* has generally a special reference to idolatry and is equivalent to *heathen* (cf. Acts xiv. 15 and note on Rom. i. 21), a point of importance in reference to the following statement that it was "received by tradition from your fathers." St Peter here uses an idiom common in Rabbinical writings which speak of heathen rites and customs as to some extent excusable, being derived by tradition from their fathers: see 'Meg. Esther,' and 'Cholin,' quoted by Wetstein. Thus the Koran represents idolaters as generally rejecting God's messengers because they preferred to follow the traditions of their fathers: cf. Sur. x. 79. It can therefore scarcely be doubted that Gentiles are specially addressed in this passage. Of course St Peter would not have

vain conversation *received* by tradition from your fathers;

19 But with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot:

20 Who verily was foreordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you,

21 Who by him do believe in God, that raised him up from the dead, and

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exempted the Jewish converts from the charge, but it applied to them far less forcibly than to idolaters practising cruel and licentious rites without compunction or remorse.

19. *But with the precious blood*] The doctrine of atonement by Christ's blood, typified by that of the paschal lamb, is thus stated with the utmost completeness and distinctness. It was the doctrine which the Apostle had learned originally from John the Baptist, John i. 29, where see note. The correspondence between the type and the Antitype, and the distinction, are expressed with equal clearness. The lamb was without blemish and spot, a law which applies to all sacrificial offerings, see Lev. iv. 32; to the peace-offerings, Lev. iii. 6, xxii. 22—24; and to the burnt-offering, Lev. i. 10, xii. 6, xiv. 10; Num. xxviii. 3, 11. The first condition of an atoning sacrifice is that it shall be free from the pollution which it expiates; so our Paschal Lamb, in a sense peculiar to Himself, was without all taint of sin. The word "precious" intimates the fundamental distinction between all legal sacrifices and Him who was not only sinless Man, but One with God. Isaiah undoubtedly referred to the paschal lamb when he represented Christ under this image, ch. liii. 7. Compare Clement of Rome, '1 Cor.' c. vii, "Let us fix our thoughts intently on the blood of Christ, and know how precious it is to God His Father, because being poured out for our salvation it brought the grace of repentance to the world." Again in ch. xii., "Through the blood of the Lord there will be redemption to all who believe and hope in God." See too chh. xxi. and xlix. These passages indicate familiar acquaintance with our Epistle on the part of St Clement, and shew how deeply the doctrine of Atonement was impressed upon the consciousness of the primitive Church.

20. *foreordained*] Lit. "foreknown;" but the knowledge of God is inseparable from His will.

before the foundation of the world] Not in time, which began with creation, subject to vicissitudes and change, but in eternity, resting upon the unchangeable will of God, and determined by considerations which cannot be fully understood by His creatures. The events by which the determination was effected, were simply manifestations of eternal realities. The sacrifice of Christ has been from the beginning the only meritorious cause of salvation. Thus Quensted, "the eternal contemplation of Christ's sacrifice is the ground of all divine grace." See the fine remarks of Augustine, 'Confess.' VII. 1. No spiritual work of God falls under the categories of time or space. This is a truth of vital importance, for it teaches Christians to rest with confidence on the eternal and unalterable goodness of the Father who sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins; and it refutes the erroneous notion that the sacrifice thus offered in accordance with His will was the cause of a change in His purposes. Both Jews and Gentiles thus learned that the election of the whole body of believers was not a new thing, but the accomplishment of an eternal purpose; see the Introduction to the Ephesians.

in these last times] Or, **at the end of the times**, *i.e.* in the period which appertains to the final dispensation of God. The "last," because it is not to be superseded by any further manifestation until the end of time. N.B. The reading ἐπ' ἐσχάτου follows the best MSS. and is undoubtedly correct.

for you] The manifestation had for its special object those who through faith should receive Christ as their Saviour, *i.e.* all believers, Hebrews and Gentiles alike, without reference to any previous qualifications or privileges. It is contrary to the principles held alike by St Peter and St Paul to limit this declaration to the one or to the other. Faith in the Resurrection levels all distinctions.

21. *Who by him do believe*] Or, according to two principal MSS., "Who through Him are faithful to God." Our version however gives the true meaning. The expression applies with special force to Gentile converts, who learned to know and to believe in God through the Gospel of Christ; but St Peter certainly includes all his readers, Jews as well as Gentiles; both receiving from Christ the only saving knowledge, that which is inseparable from living faith.

N.B. The reading πιστοὺς is supported by A, B, but πιστεύοντας rests on high authority, and yields at least as good a sense as the other reading.

that raised him up from the dead] The two main truths which effected the conversion both of Jews and Gentiles were the Resurrection of Christ and His Ascension. To these, considered as one in substance, St Peter in his first address to the Jews, and St Paul in the beginning of his great doctrinal Epistle, Rom. i. 4, appeal as proofs of Christ's relation to

gave him glory; that your faith and hope might be in God.

22 Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren, *see that ye* love one another with a pure heart fervently:

23 Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.

24 For all flesh *is* as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away:

‖ Or, *For that.*

the Father. Salvation is purchased by the death of Christ, justification is appropriated by the faith which was established by His resurrection. Observe that the Scriptures indifferently represent the Father as raising the Son, thereby recognising Him as His true Son, Rom. i. 4, and the Son as raising Himself, thereby declaring the absolute oneness of the Godhead in both, and the unity of Their work.

that your faith and hope might be in God] Or, more accurately, **so that your faith and hope are in God.** The A.V. follows the generality of the old versions and early commentators, and the construction, though not common, is certainly admissible, cf. Matt. xxiv. 24, xxvii. 1: but the idiom is more probably explained as referring to fact rather than to intention. St Peter shews that inasmuch as the proof and completion of Christ's work was the resurrection, effected by the will and power of God, all Christian faith and hope rest upon the Godhead, and are therefore like Him stedfast and unchangeable.

22—26. EXHORTATION TO BROTHERLY LOVE, AS A RESULT AND PROOF OF OBEDIENCE AND REGENERATION.

22. *Seeing ye have purified*, &c.] St Peter argues thus. The souls of Christians are purified, an actual process begun at conversion and going on through life (such is the force of the perfect part. ἡγνικότες), having one permanent and paramount object, the unfeigned love, in which our Apostle, like St John, St Paul, and St James, recognises the true fulfilment of the law of righteousness, see therefore that ye so love one another, heartily and fervently. Here we must notice the force of the expression "in obeying the truth," *i.e.* in the obedience which has for its object truth as made known by Christ, that is the condition and the effective instrument of Christian sanctification. Two sayings of our Lord are thus illustrated: "sanctify them by Thy truth," John xvii. 17, and "hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye love one another." John xiii. 35. The best MSS. omit the words "through the Spirit." They are probably a gloss, stating a true doctrine, but not needed in this passage, where St Peter is dwelling throughout on the living power of God's truth. Again, the word "pure," though found in some ancient MSS. and versions, is omitted in the oldest, and, like the preceding, was probably a marginal gloss. The word rendered "fervently" is emphatic; it involves the idea of intensity, and, as used in later Greek, persistency; Grimm, 'Lex. N.T.' intentus, assiduus.

The exhortation throughout may possibly imply that St Peter felt anxious about the state of his readers, who in all regions, and it may be more specially in the districts which he specially addresses, were moved by various and conflicting influences; but there is no indication of his making any distinction between them; Jews and Gentiles equally need his pastoral monition and are equally its objects. The earnestness indeed is but the outcome of his own loving and affectionate heart.

23. *Being born again*, &c.] A further and even deeper appeal, not merely to an intellectual, though spiritual process, but to the very principle, root and origin of the Christian life. They must love one another, and thus fulfil "the royal law" of Christ by reason of their "having been born again," become regenerate. The spirit of sonship is the spirit of brotherhood: becoming children of one Father we become brethren, members of one family, of one body, members each of the other: this in a far higher sense than that of natural relationship, since we are born not as in our first birth of corruptible seed, with sensual affections, but of incorruptible, the germ of spiritual life, of which the giver and implanter is the living and eternal Word of God. Here the question rises whether by the Word of God (in this verse λόγος, in the 25th ῥῆμα) St Peter refers to the will of God expressed and revealed in the Gospel, or to the Personal Word incarnate in Christ Jesus. Comparing our Apostle's own words in Acts x. 36, we infer that the preaching, not the person, of our Lord is here meant; but the connection between the word uttered and the Son, the Divine Word who utters it, is invariable, and is always distinctly recognised by St Peter and St Paul. See note on James i. 18. No teacher of the early Church ever dissociated the ideas of the Word and the Son, as was done at a later period on the one hand by Paul of Samosata and Photinus, on the other by Marcellus of Ancyra: see S. Basil, 'Ep.' 235, 263. and Euseb. 'c. Marcell.'

24. *For all flesh is as grass*, &c.] The

25 But the word of the Lord endureth for ever. And this is the word which by the gospel is preached unto you.

immediate object of St Peter is to enforce the preceding argument. As men born of flesh, merely natural men, your feelings of love might be transient and fickle, like the nature to which they belong, and however attractive and specious they would perish without result; that nature is like grass that is scorched by the sun, and flowers that fall off yielding no fruit: but the Word of God being eternal must produce durable effects, and, as the Apostle declares in the next verse, that is the word which has been preached to you in the Gospel. The whole passage however and its application suggests other considerations of the highest importance in their bearings upon the general purport of the Epistle and the question to what class of readers it was specially addressed. In the first place St Peter follows the Septuagint so closely as to prove that he addressed persons who would be more familiar with it than with the original Hebrew, omitting one verse, Isai. xl. 7, which is not found in the Septuagint, but which, though omitted in some MSS. probably influenced by the LXX., is unquestionably genuine. It is true that it does not bear directly upon the argument here, but the omission indicates a feeling in St Peter that it would be strange to most of his readers. Thus too the adoption of "glory" for "comeliness" or "grace," of "grass" in the second clause for "the field," and "falleth off" for "withereth," is best accounted for by assuming either Gentile or Hellenistic readers, to whom the Hebrew was unknown. On the other hand, two changes are highly significant: instead of "all glory of man" in the LXX. St Peter has all *its* glory, agreeing with the Hebrew, thus shewing his own knowledge of the original; and again, in the concluding clause he substitutes "the Lord" for "our God," a most important point, for it proves that St Peter identifies the Lord, that is our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the usage of the New Testament, with Him whom Jews and Christians alike call "our God:" see the following note. These considerations may not prove, but they are thoroughly in accordance with, the view that St Peter has in mind the position, feelings and knowledge of a class of readers, all of whom were familiar with the Old Testament, especially with the great Messianic prophecy of Isaiah, but of whom the great majority knew it only through the medium of the Septuagint version.

25. *But the word of the Lord*] As it was observed in the preceding note, St Peter substitutes "the Lord" for "our God," as it stands in the Hebrew and in most, though not all, copies of the LXX. Both Hebrews and Gentiles would see in this a distinct recognition of the Godhead of Christ, and that in reference to the grand attribute of God as source and giver of revealed truth. Having brought his readers so far, St Peter clinches his whole argument with a declaration, bearing upon the point which lay especially near to his heart, viz. that this Word, eternal in duration, is that which had been preached to his hearers and had been received by them. The expression which he uses is singularly forcible, this word is the joyous tidings or Gospel which was declared unto you. Now there is no question as to the person by whom the Gospel had been introduced into the districts; what St Peter here asserts is that in the form in which it was presented to them it was substantially and essentially the very Word of God. So that here, as in the close of the Epistle, we have the attestation of St Peter to the absolute integrity of Gospel truth as it had been preached in the Churches of Asia Minor by St Paul. Such an attestation would be specially needed, it may be, by that portion of the converts which may have still retained aught of the old leaven of Judaism, to whom however no distinct allusion is ever made in this Epistle; but it would be unspeakably precious to all true-hearted Christians, who looked up with equal love and reverence to their own converter St Paul, and to St Peter as the recognised mouth-piece and representative of the Apostles, to whom our Lord first committed the ministry of the Word.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. I. 1, 2, 6, 8.

1. (*a*) παρεπίδημος is used by the LXX. as a translation of תּוֹשָׁב, Gen. xxiii. 4; Ps. xxxix. 12. The Syriac uses the same word here ܓܝܪܐ It is nearly equivalent to πάροικος, Acts vii. 6, 29. Ps. cxx. 5, οἴμοι ὅτι ἡ παροικία μου ἐμακρύνθη. Both words are used together in Ps. xxxviii. 17, quoted by Œcumenius. Some commentators consider that the prefix παρὰ has no special force: but Œcumenius is quite right in maintaining a distinction. παρεπίδημος, one who sojourns without any fixed home or special right in an alien land. The παρὰ in composition is here not local, but denotes transitoriness. See Bp Lightfoot on Clem. Rom. p. 32. Mangold observes that the word indicates persons attached to the Jews of the dispersion, not

Jews themselves, but Gentile converts to Christianity. See Bleek's 'Einleitung,' ed. Mangold, p. 658, note.

2. Elect. Electis in cælo, advenis in terrâ. Bengel. Thus Didymus and Œcumenius. Compare the fine passage in the 'Epistle to Diognetus,' appended to the works of Justin Martyr, c. 5, *πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι—πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρὶς ξένη.* Thus Œcumenius, *ἤτοι διὰ τὴν διασπορὰν εἶπεν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ κατὰ θεὸν ζῶντες παρεπίδημοι λέγονται τῆς γῆς.*

Chrysostom expresses very faithfully the doctrine of the early Greek Church. On Romans, 'Hom.' xvi. 5, *Ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει καθάπερ ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τῶν πραγμάτων ἰδεῖν τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸν οὐ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τούτων οἶδε τίς μὲν ὁ πονηρὸς τίς δὲ ὁ μὴ τοιοῦτος.* Abundance of similar passages may be quoted from Justin M., Clement Alex., Origen, &c. Spencer on Origen 'c. Cels.' II. p. 38, ed. Cant. says, somewhat too broadly, that all the Fathers before Augustine held the opinion that predestination is based on foreknowledge. It is, however, quite true of the Greeks, and even of St Ambrose, who stands nearest to Augustine in doctrine as well as time; he says, Quorum merita præscivit, eorum præmia prædestinavit. 'De Fide,' Tom. II. p. 565, n. 83. It is difficult to see why *πρόγνωσις* should mean anything but foreknowledge, as *e.g.* in Clemens Rom. 'Ep.' I. 44, of the Apostles, *πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν.* Thus all the ancient commentators. Didymus (who says, præscientia nihil est putanda quam contemplatio futuri, an expression which is taken from Origen, *πρόγνωσιν γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἡγητέον ἢ ἐσομένων θεωρίαν*, ap. Cramer, 'Caten.' *in loc.*), the Greek Scholiast ap. Matthæi, and many of the moderns. The fact that what God knows He wills, and what He wills He knows, does not affect the meaning of this word.

N.B. We have followed modern commentators in making the construction of the sentence to depend upon *ἐκλεκτοῖς*, as it does of course in our version. Most of the ancients however, (all the Greek Fathers, as Cyril, Œcumenius, Hesychius, the Scholiast in Cramer's 'Catena,' and Theophylact,) refer the words *κατὰ πρ.* &c. to *ἀπόστολος.* There is much to be said for their view. *Ἐκλεκτοῖς* is not placed wnere it was to be expected, and where it occurs in our version. On the other hand the word "Apostle" has its position marked out at the beginning of the epistle, while the designation of the persons to whom it was addressed is naturally placed in a parenthesis. It is indeed no exaggerated description of an Apostle to say that he holds that office in accordance with the Father's foreknowledge, under the consecrating influence of the Spirit, to win men to obey Christ, and to be sprinkled by His blood. It is also in accordance with St Paul's custom, thus to state the grounds of his apostolical authority in the beginning of an Epistle. There is indeed a very remarkable resemblance between this passage, if thus constructed, and the opening of the Romans. There the words *κλητὸς, ἀφωρισμένος εἰς ε. θ.*, and *ὃ προεπηγγείλατο* are nearly equivalent to *κατὰ πρόγνωσιν* and *ἐν ἁγιασμῷ*, while *εἰς ὑπακοὴν* corresponds to *εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως.* A comparison of these passages with the introductory sentences of the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians, strongly confirms this interpretation. It may further be remarked that a full enumeration of the blessings, duties, and characteristics of believers is given in the following verses, and is scarcely needed here. The tendency of modern criticism is to undervalue ancient commentators, who were often men of sound judgment and acute perception, and were generally guided by a sure instinct in questions depending upon the construction of their own language. Bede, Lyranus, the Syriac, and Estius agree with our version.

6. Some of the ancients read *ἀγαλλιάσεσθε*, thus Origen, Syr. ܬܚܕܘܢ, adding ܠܥܠܡ, for ever. Thus also a few MSS. On the other hand Œcum. *τὸ γὰρ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε ἀντὶ μέλλοντος εἴληπται· ἢ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐνεστώς.* This makes it doubtful whether the Latin translator, who uses the future tense, followed the common reading or not. Most commentators take the second construction, *e.g.* Bede, Est, Grotius, Bengel, Steiger, &c.

8. Some MSS. have *εἰδότες*, not having known. Theophylact, however, who reads *εἰδότες*, understands it to mean *ἰδόντες· οὐκ εἰδότες αὐτὸν σαρκὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκ μόνης ἀκοῆς ἀγαπᾶτε.* We doubt much whether this is admissible. There can be no question that *ἰδόντες* is the preferable reading, and it has stronger support of MSS. St Polycarp read *εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες*, 'Ep. ad Phil.' c. 1. But the reading there is not certain. Two MSS. have *εἰδόντες*, which may be for *εἰδότες*, ed. Dressel. *Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε*, Irenæus seems to have read *ἀγαλλιάσεσθε*; he certainly understood the word in the future, exultabitis, and draws from it an argument for the resurrection, v. c. 7. This gives a satisfactory connection with *κομιζόμενοι* in the next verse, which in that case would refer to the future realization of the believers' hopes.

CHAPTER II.

1 He dehorteth them from the breach of charity: 4 shewing that Christ is the foundation whereupon they are built. 11 He beseecheth them also to abstain from fleshly lusts, 13 to be obedient to magistrates, 18 and teacheth servants how to obey their masters, 20 patiently suffering for well doing, after the example of Christ.

WHEREFORE laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speakings,

2 As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby:

CHAP. II. 1—5. EXHORTATIONS AND WARNINGS FOUNDED ON THE PRECEDING VIEWS ON THE CONDITION AND NATURE OF CHRISTIANS.

1. *Wherefore*] This word connects the following exhortations closely with the last four verses of the first chapter. Inasmuch as you have been regenerated by the word of God (i. 23), and have received it from your spiritual teachers (i. 25), you must in the first place lay aside, put away from you, all evil passions, especially those which are opposed to brotherly love. Compare Eph. iv. 22—31, where most of the words and all the topics occur which St Peter here uses. They are common to all, bearing equally upon Jewish and Gentile converts, and are pressed with equal force by the two Apostles.

malice] St Peter takes this first, as the main cause of dissensions, whereas St Paul places it last, as the climax of all offences against brotherly love, Eph. iv. 31. The Greek (*κακία*) refers specially to malignity, and is best rendered by the word malice.

all guile, &c.] There is a connection of sequence between the three vices included in this group; guile the inward disease, hypocrisy its outward manifestation, and as a result of the consciousness of evil, envy in its various forms, specially directed against those who have the peace in which the hypocrite knows that he is lacking, a feeling which sooner or later breaks out in calumnious aspersions, for which St Paul, Eph. iv. 31, uses the words clamour and evil speaking (*κραυγὴ καὶ βλασφημία*). The comparison with Ephesians is important as bearing upon the question whether St Peter has one class only of readers in mind; the evils were common to all, not even, as might be supposed, peculiarly prevalent in the Churches of Asia Minor, but equally prominent at Corinth, see 1 Cor. i. 10—12, iii. 3, 4, and indeed in all Churches. The word rendered "laying aside" or "putting off" (*ἀποθέμενοι*) is used twice by St Paul, Eph. iv. 22, 25, in reference to the same or similar vices, and stands in antithesis to *putting on* (*ἐνδύσασθαι*), *v.* 24. *καταλαλία* is a rare word, used by Clem. Rom. '1 Cor.' xxx., and by Polycarp.

2. *As newborn babes*] Referring to i. 23 the Apostle addresses Christians as newly regenerate. The metaphor was not unknown to Hebrew writers, who call disciples "sucklings;" see Targum on Job iii. 18; and Song of Sol. viii. 1. It is common in St Paul; and in the mind of both Apostles was undoubtedly associated with our Lord's saying; cf. Matt. xviii. 3; Mark x. 14, 15.

desire the sincere milk of the word] Each word is emphatic; desire means long for earnestly as a babe cares for milk and for that only; it is its proper nourishment; so yours, as spiritual babes, is pure unadulterated doctrine, which is conveyed in and by the Word. Our translators properly refer the adjective (*λογικόν*), rendered elsewhere "reasonable," Rom. xii. 1, to the Word, ch. i. 23; as "bodily" refers to the body, psychical to the psyche (living to life), spiritual to spirit, so (*λογικός*) lit. logical, but equivalent in sense to "rational," refers to the Word, which is the true and proper nourishment of the "inner man," "renewed," and "created" after God in the holiness of truth. The nearest equivalent word is *spiritual*, which however could not be used here, as it would disguise the reference to the Word.

sincere] Lit. "without guile," or deceit, in antithesis to the guile which must be put away. The Greek order of words is "logical guileless milk;" doctrine derived from the Word, unadulterated by any falsehood. The Personal Word, who is the Truth, informs the intellect, and quickens the spirit, for in Him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Whether St Peter identified the Son of God with the Word may be questioned, but that he regarded Him as its source, and it as His perfect manifestation, is certain. The teaching of the early Fathers is deeply interesting. Irenæus, l. iv. c. xxxviii. p. 699, ed. Stieren, "And for this reason (viz. the incapacity of man to receive Christ in the fulness of His glory), He, who is the perfect Bread of the Father, gave Himself as milk, as to babes—that by this milky diet, being accustomed to eat and drink the word of God, we might be enabled to retain in ourselves the bread of immortality which is the Spirit of the Father." See also Origen 'c. Cels.' iv. c. 18.

that ye may grow thereby] Lit. "therein," in the Word as the element wherein the Christian life is developed. The oldest and best MSS., ℵ, A, B, C, and oldest versions, add "unto salvation," possibly an early gloss, yet important as indicating the true end of spiritual growth; cf. Rom. i. 16. "The word of God," as Tertullian says, "must be desired for the

3 If so be ye have tasted that the Lord *is* gracious.

4 To whom coming, *as unto* a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God, *and* precious,

5 Ye also, as lively stones, [1] are built up a spiritual house, an holy

[1] Or, *be ye built.*

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sake of life, devoured by the hearing, ruminated by the understanding, digested by faith."

3. *If so be ye have tasted*] Rather, IF ye tasted; St Peter refers to the first experience of converts. The conjunction *if*, according to Greek usage, here implies that such a desire must exist in those who, as may be assumed in the case of Christians, have known experimentally (for sensible apprehension produces clearer knowledge than any mere reasoning, Œcum.) the sweetness of spiritual food, and learned from it to appreciate the graciousness of the Lord. The word here used by St Peter (χρηστός) has the special meaning of benignity; some have held that the Apostle refers to the name Christ; but this is hardly probable, though the two words *chrestus* and *Christus* were confused at a very early time, as in the well-known account of Christians by Tacitus. It has been suggested, but seems unlikely, that there is a reference to Eucharistic food, administered at that time immediately after baptism. The passage is taken verbatim from the LXX. of Ps. xxxiv. 8.

the Lord] In the New Testament, as a rule, the Lord Jesus Christ; here it represents the Hebrew, Jehovah: an important point in its bearing upon St Peter's Christology.

4. *To whom coming*, &c.] St Peter passes on to another and distinct metaphor in order to shew the necessity of perfect union with, and conformity to, Him from whom spiritual life is derived. St Paul has the same metaphor in Ephes. ii. 20—22, and elsewhere. The Christian comes to Christ to be built up in the faith, and He to whom he comes is conceived of as the head corner-stone, instinct with life, holding together the building and felt as the principle of stability in every part. St Peter refers explicitly to our Lord's own saying, Matt. xxi. 42. It should be observed that he omits altogether to notice the place in the building assigned to himself by Christ, Matt. xvi. 18, the whole mind and spirit of believers being directed exclusively to the only source of life. The epithet "living" points out, of course, the metaphorical sense of the expression, but it is emphatic; that stone is all life in itself, and the cause of life to all the stones that are joined to it. Christians come to Him as living and life-giving that they may live on and by Him.

disallowed] St Peter could not allude to this passage without reference to a point, not bearing upon his immediate argument, but constantly present to his mind, viz. that the stone so precious in the sight of God was rejected and cast out by man.

precious] Not the same word as above, i. 19; that (τίμιος) referred to intrinsic preciousness, this (ἔντιμος) refers to the recognition of that preciousness by the Father.

5. *Ye also, as lively stones, are built up*] Rather, as the grammatical structure and the inner sense indicate, Be ye also built up as living stones. Both words "coming" in *v.* 4 and "be built up," or, "let yourselves be built up" (lit. "be built up upon"), intimate the concurrence of an active will in all true converts; they are drawn to Christ, but follow willingly. The epithet living, not *lively* (which obscures the connection of thought), shews that we receive life from Him who hath life in Himself, and must therefore be fellow-workers with Him. Cf. Hermas v. iii. and ix.

a spiritual house] The antitype of the material house of God, the temple, of which the glory, together with the uses which it prefigured, is transferred to the Church of Christ. The frequent use of this metaphor by St Paul in epistles specially addressed to Christians of Gentile origin sufficiently proves that St Peter may have had, and makes it probable that he really had, such believers present to his mind, though not to the exclusion of Hebrews. He had long learned the lesson that in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew, nor Gentile; cf. Acts xv. 9.

an holy priesthood] The best MSS., ℵ, A, B, C, and late critical editions insert the preposition for (εἰς) before these words. There can be little doubt as to the correctness of this reading; Christians built up in Christ are made a spiritual house, or temple, for a special purpose, that they may become a holy priesthood, qualified and empowered to offer spiritual sacrifices. The term "holy priesthood," here and in *v.* 9, is not precisely the same as "holy priests," but points to the great truth that Christians constitute a corporate unity, collectively possessing and exercising the functions of the priesthood. In reference to the preceding statement, St Augustine says, "Simul omnes unum templum, et singuli singula templa sumus," 'Ep.' 187, § 20; so Christians are one priesthood collectively, and individually in a limited, but definite, sense they are priests, see Rev. xx. 6; thus too Barnabas, 'Ep.' 4, "Let us become spiritual, a perfect temple to God." The priesthood of Christians does not trench on the peculiar province of our one High Priest, nor on the

priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

6 Wherefore also it is contained in
[a] Isai. 28. 16. the scripture, [a] Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner stone, elect, precious:

and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded.

7 Unto you therefore which believe *he is* [1] precious: but unto them
[1] Or, *an honour.*
[b] Psal. 118. 22. Matt. 21. 42. Acts 4. 11. which be disobedient, [b] the stone which the builders disallowed, the

other hand does it exclude the office of a vicarious priesthood, representing and acting on behalf of the body corporate; this is sufficiently proved by passages in the Old Testament, which at once recognise the people as priests, and yet restrict certain functions to the Aaronic priesthood. Augustine 'de Civ. D.' XX. c. 10, "Sicut omnes Christianos dicimus propter mysticum Chrisma, sic omnes sacerdotes, quoniam membra sunt unius Sacerdotis." Irenæus, dwelling on the other point, expresses the mind of the early Church, "Sacerdotes sunt omnes Domini Apostoli—qui semper altari et Deo serviunt," 'c. Hær.' IV. c. XX. By parity of reasoning all ministers and stewards of the mysteries of Christ constitute a true, though vicarious and representative, priesthood. On the whole subject see Waterland, 'Distinctions of Sacrifice,' § XIV. vol. VIII. p. 341.

by Jesus Christ] Or, **through** Jesus Christ. The spiritual sacrifices of prayer, praise, and all Christian works, are offered through Him as the One true High Priest; they are also acceptable to God through Him, by reason of His One perfect oblation of Himself. The construction admits of either sense; the former corresponds to ch. iv. 11; Heb. xiii. 15; Rom. i. 8, vii. 25; but it is probable that the expression as here used includes the whole statement; so Didymus, Bede, Schott, and De Wette.

6—10. IN THESE VERSES THE PRECEDING STATEMENTS ARE CONFIRMED, EXPANDED, AND ILLUSTRATED.

6. *Wherefore also it is contained*] The meaning of the idiom here employed, which is somewhat peculiar, seems to be, "with reference to the previous statements compare the following passages." N.B. The verb περιέχει, lit. *it contains*, is held to be equivalent to "there is this passage" (περιοχή); cf. Acts viii. 32, where A.V. renders the word "place." A similar usage is pointed out in Josephus, 'Arch.' XI. 4. 7: περιέχει is thus taken as an impersonal verb.

Behold, &c.] This passage is quoted freely, still more freely by St Paul, Rom. ix. 33. The original text is correctly rendered in our Version, cf. Isai. xxviii. 16; but the Septuagint comes very near to St Peter's quotation; it omits "a tried stone," a "sure foundation" (מוסד מוסד), and for "shall not make haste," it has "shall not be ashamed," or, as A.V. here renders it, "be confounded." The last expression, however, probably expresses the true sense of the original; the intimate connection between the words "hasten," "fear," and "be ashamed," is best shewn in the Arabic, in which the verb which exactly corresponds to the Hebrew has these three significations, see Pocock, 'Port. Mos.' p. 67. It seems clear that St Peter quoted from the Septuagint, and that memoriter.

7. *precious*] Or lit. **is the honour**, not as in the marg. *an* honour; *i.e.* that preciousness, spoken of in the preceding passage, appertains to you who believe. As living stones, consolidated by faith, and mystically in union with that corner-stone, you partake in its excellency.

but unto them which be disobedient] Another reading, "which are unbelieving," has the support of the three oldest MSS. ℵ, B, C, and some versions. It agrees better with the context, in antithesis to "you which believe," but it may possibly be an early gloss.

the stone] St Peter, as is not uncommonly the case in the New Testament, combines references to two texts, Ps. cxviii. 22, and Isai. viii. 14; the former, cited by our Lord, Matt. xxi. 42, bearing upon His rejection by the Jews, and the completion of His work in building up the Church, and by St Peter himself, Acts iv. 11; the second predicting the result of that rejection to those who incurred the guilt. The passage from the Psalms means that the persons upon whom the duty of completing the edifice properly devolved, viz. the rulers and priests of the Hebrews, rejected and cast out the living stone, which was proved by the event to be the only one on which the building could rest; but in consequence of that very act, by virtue of the sufferings which He then underwent, that same Christ **became** (A.V. *is made*) at once the very corner-stone on which and by which the two great divisions of mankind, Jews and Gentiles, were compacted into one harmonious whole; but at the same time He, whom they were called upon to recognise as the corner-stone, became to them who rejected Him, as such, "a stone of stumbling," not, that is, a stone at which they stumbled, being unwilling to acknowledge its goodness, but against which they came into collision; and "a rock of offence," it being, as Simeon (Luke ii. 34) states, set for the *fall* and rise of many in Israel. They had the option of

same is made the head of the corner,

c Isai. 8. 14. 8 c And a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence, *even to them* which stumble at the word, being disobedient: whereunto also they were appointed.

9 But ye *are* a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, [f] a peculiar people; that ye should shew

[f] Or, *a purchased people.*

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resting upon the rock, but not availing themselves of that option they impinged upon it and were broken in pieces, to the destruction of their souls individually, and nationally to the subversion of their temple and country.

This passage is omitted in the Syriac version, and rejected as an interpolation by some critics—wrongly for it is extant in all the best MSS., and the omission is easily accounted for by a common error of transcribers in passages when the same word recurs after an interval.

8. *even to them*] The construction is more simple than might appear from this rendering. Lit. **who being disobedient**, that is, who by reason of their disobedience, or rebellious unbelief, stumble at the Word. Here the Word is clearly identified with Christ, if not with His person, yet with His doctrine, the truth of which He is the manifestation.

whereunto also they were appointed] *i.e.* to which result of unbelief; sc. utter overthrow, they were appointed. The immediate object of the Apostle is to shew that the rejection of the Jews, brought about by their disobedience, was not a new thing, but had been foreseen and predetermined. Commentators are divided, rather in accordance with their doctrinal views than as a result of grammatical and critical inquiry; some referring the words to the unbelief of the Jews, others to the punishment which followed justly upon their unbelief. The former view may be defensible on the ground that the infatuation of the Jews, their utter blindness to the evidences of Christ's Truth, was a judicial infliction, as it is represented in many passages of the Old and New Testament; but the other view, which refers to their punishment as a just and inevitable consequence of wilful unbelief, fully meets the requirements of the Apostle's statement. Thus Wetstein concisely, "non ut peccent, sed ut peccantes puniantur;" so too Benson, Hammond, Glass, Grotius, Hensler, Steiger, and Huther. Vorstius quoted by Huther, "increduli sunt designati vel constituti ad hoc, ut pœnam sive exitium sibi accersant sua incredulitate."

9. *But ye*] The *ye* is emphatic; but as for you, who in contradistinction from the unbelieving Jews have received the Messiah, ye are the new generation consisting of the "remnant of grace" among the Israelites and of all Gentiles who are united to the Head of the Body by faith. St Peter does not address or regard them as separate bodies, but as one Body in Christ.

a chosen generation] Thus "the Lord had a delight in your fathers to love them, and to choose their seed after them," Deut. x. 15. This applies in a higher sense to those "who are born again not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God," John i. 13; and who are therefore "counted to the Lord for a generation;" thus again Isai. xliii. 20, 21, "My people, my chosen; this people have I formed for myself; they shall shew forth my praise."

a royal priesthood] See above on *v.* 8. Here instead of "holy" St Peter has "royal," in reference to Exod. xix. 6, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests." The expression in Greek follows the Septuagint. Christians are in a peculiar sense all "kings and priests," or "a kingdom of priests," Rev. i. 6, where see note, and v. 10, by virtue of their mystic union with the One King and One Priest of the universe. See Augustine 'de C. D.' x. 10. Didymus on this passage says, "Wherefore we also are named a chosen generation, being the offspring of a king and priest; for since He who begat us hath both offices, we must needs also as of a king hold the kingly office, and as of a priest the priestly." The term "royal" might mean either "belonging to the king," or "having royal prerogatives;" the former explanation is more probable, according with the other designations of Christians, and with the principle that all their rights and dignities depend upon their relation to their King. The Fathers dwell much upon the necessary connection between the royalty and the priesthood; cf. Irenæus, IV. c. 20. It is also observable that Rabbinical writers recognise the application of the foregoing texts to both dispensations, the old and the new covenant. Thus 'Tanchuma' ap. Wetstein, in which treatise Num. iii. 12, xviii. 6, and Exod. xix. 6 are quoted, with special reference to the expression "unto Me" in those passages.

an holy nation] "A nation" applies to Christians collectively, as forming a distinct polity, or society. The Hebrews were a holy nation, as being separated from the heathen by moral and ceremonial law; Christians in virtue of spiritual association with each other, and of renunciation of all evil heathenish habits. They are sanctified by the blood of Christ applied to the conscience by His Spirit. Steiger observes that "generation" in the preceding clause refers to spiritual descent,

forth the [1]praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light:

10 [d]Which in time past *were* not a people, but *are* now the people of God: which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy.

[1] Or, *virtues.*

[d] Hos. 2. 23.

"nation" to unity of customs; a possible distinction, and involving the true thought that as Christians derive their life from one King-Priest, they must have customs and morals in accordance with their descent.

a peculiar people] Lit. "a people of acquisition," equivalent to a people acquired and possessed as a special and peculiar treasure. The passages to which St Peter refers are Deut. vii. 6, "a special" or peculiar people, Mal. iii. 17, where A.V. has "jewels," a peculiar treasure; and especially Isai. xliii. 21 (where the Septuagint has a word equivalent to that which is here used by St Peter, ὃν περιποιησάμην [sic]). "This people which I have formed unto myself; they shall shew forth my praise."

N.B. The words εἰς περιποίησιν, περιούσιος, and סגלה, of which the first is used here, the second by the LXX. in rendering Exod. xix. 5, and by St Paul, Tit. ii. 14, and the third in the Hebrew of Exodus and Malachi, convey the same idea under different aspects; all imply possession, the first as an acquisition, the second as an excellent, the third as a special and peculiar, possession. The Chaldee use of the verb סגל, *acquisivit*, probably determined the version here adopted by St Peter.

The appropriation of all these epithets, in their fullest and most spiritual meaning to Christians, shews how distinctly the Apostles, St Peter and St Paul, who are often misrepresented as taking different positions, inculcated the truth that all the promises made to Israel, as the seed of Abraham, were fulfilled in the Church. Judaism was absorbed and transfigured in Christianity, in which Gentiles and Jews became one race, one nation, and one body.

should shew forth] Or, "proclaim," tell out, or abroad. The Greek word does not occur elsewhere in the N. T., but it is classical, and here singularly expressive.

the praises] Lit. "the virtues" or perfections; but the LXX., whose language is here adopted by St Peter, use the word (ἀρετάς) as equivalent to "praises" in Isai. xliii. 21, the passage here quoted, and in Isai. xlii. 12, and lxiii. 7. The praises are the recognition of the divine attributes; and the end of the election of Christians is to manifest by their lives and to celebrate by their thanksgivings the wisdom, power, mercy, and love of Him who called them, a point most distinctly brought out in the passage of Isaiah here referred to. Compare also Isai. lx. 3, where it is said of the multitude of the Gentiles who come to the glorified Jerusalem and to the *light*, and brightness of its rising, that they shall bring gold and incense, and shew forth the praises of the Lord. Here St Peter explains the spiritual meaning of that prophecy and shews its fulfilment. See however note on 2 Peter i. 3.

who hath called you out of darkness] This applies with special force to Gentile converts brought out of the total night of heathenism, and they appear to have been more immediately present to the Apostle's mind; not that reference to Jewish converts is excluded, of whom the best informed had been but partially enlightened, a veil being over their hearts, cf. 2 Cor. iii. 14, and of whom the great majority were in total darkness. It was a special promise that they should have *light* at the coming of Christ, Isai. ix. 1 f.; cf. Matt. iv. 16; thus again Isai. lx. 1, "Arise, shine, for thy *light* is come." Cf. Clem. Rom. XXXVI. 2. 30.

marvellous] As transcendent and inconceivable; the glory of Him who dwelleth in unapproached light, 1 Tim. vi. 16.

10. *Which in time past*] No passage in this Epistle indicates more distinctly the Gentile converts as specially the objects of St Peter's address. He agrees with St Paul, Rom. ix. 25, 26, who applies the passage of Hosea ii. 23—which primarily referred to Israel—specially and distinctly to Gentiles; and he adopts the same order, transposing the words of the prophet. Had St Peter directed his Epistle specially to Jewish Christians it seems impossible, or to say the least highly improbable, that he should have chosen this text, and have followed St Paul, whose Epistle was certainly present to his mind, both in the form of the quotation and in its application. Hilgenfeld observes that every unprejudiced reader must needs infer from this passage that St Peter addresses Gentile Christians; 'Einl.' p. 628.

not a people] A singularly strong expression, implying that they who in Christ are one people had no real existence as such before their conversion. Bengel, "ne populus quidem, nedum Dei populus." This is in a peculiar sense true of the heterogeneous mass of Gentiles, aliens from God and separated from each other by race, language, customs, and religion—true also of the whole body of converts, Jews and Gentiles, previously antagonistic.

which had not] The use of the Greek tenses marks, more accurately than is possible in English without a paraphrase, the distinction between their former estate, one of un-

11 Dearly beloved, I beseech *you* as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul;

12 Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles: that, [1]where-as they speak against you as evildoers, they may by *your* good works, which

[1] Or, *wherein.*

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pardoned sin, and that into which they were transferred by a single act on their conversion.

11. This verse marks the main division of the Epistle. From the beginning St Peter has been concerned mainly with the privileges, blessings and dignity of believers, and with the general fundamental principles which follow as a necessary consequence from their relation to God: he now passes on to exhortations about their relative duties to each other and to those with whom they come into contact, with special reference to the circumstances of the times, to the temptations to which they were peculiarly exposed by their previous habits, and to the effects which their example would have for good or for ill upon the heathen. The first injunctions dwell upon the purity of life, which would specially affect the reputation of Christians and their influence upon Gentiles.

11, 12. EXHORTATION TO PURITY OF LIFE.

beloved] Emphatic, a form of address used thrice by St Paul, 1 Cor. x. 14, xv. 58; 2 Cor. vii. 1; by St John, 1. iii. 2, and by St James. Here it introduces the special exhortations, most fittingly, as an assurance of good will and affection, tempering reproaches and adding force to entreaties.

I beseech you] Cf. Rom. xii. 1; Eph. iv. 1, where see note.

as strangers and pilgrims] Cf. i. 17, where the word "sojourning" represents the condition of those who are here called "strangers," but more properly "dwellers in a strange land," (*πάροικοι*). "Pilgrims" does not exactly represent the second word, which in i. 1 is rendered "strangers;" see notes there; it denotes specially persons who take up their abode for a short time, not as settlers, but as visitors in a foreign city or land. The *home*, the true country of the Christian, is heaven; wherever he may be living on earth he is equally a stranger. All his rights, privileges, and dignity are derived from his citizenship (see note on Phil. iii. 20) which is in heaven; so that the very exaltation of the believer in spiritual things separates him the more completely from earthly things; because he is a citizen of heaven, belonging to a holy nation, he is a stranger on earth; because he is consecrated he must abstain from pollutions; because he is a soldier of Christ he must war against lust. Thus Abraham "sojourned in the land of promise as in a strange country," and all the Patriarchs "confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims (sojourners) upon earth," Heb. xi. 13. The word "pilgrim" introduces a different, though in itself a true, metaphor.

from fleshly lusts] **the** fleshly lusts. Cf. Gal. v. 16 and Rom. vii. 23. The extent and limitation of this injunction are equally important; it does not, as Calvin assumes, include all natural desires, but all that in their tendency are destructive to the soul, that is, the principle of life, or rather the inner man, not as renewed by grace, but as the principle capable of union with the spirit, yet liable to assaults: by the lusts are meant, not the natural, but those inordinate, appetites which wage an incessant war against the soul, tending to reduce it to a state of slavery, and finally to destroy it everlastingly. Abstinence is the first movement in the conflict against them, equivalent to "putting away" in the first verse of this chapter. The Greek word (*σαρκικός*) rendered "fleshly" occurs frequently in St Paul's epistles, but not elsewhere in the N. T.

which war] The proper meaning of this expression is "inasmuch as," or "**such as war** against it" (*αἵτινες*, not *αἱ*). The word "war" implies active aggression, not simply a state of antagonism. Cf. Polycarp, Ep. v.

12. *conversation honest*] Conversation is used here as in ch. i. 15, 17, in its proper sense, as outward conduct, habits of life, by which the inner principle is manifested and attested. It must be "honest," lit. "beautiful," or "fair," an expression common in classical Greek, such as may attract and command admiration and esteem.

among the Gentiles] to whom you formerly belonged, or among whom you lived, partaking in their excesses.

whereas] Or, **wherein.** This expression elsewhere, Mark ii. 19, means "at what time" (A. V. *as long as*); here it has rather the definite sense, "in what," *i.e.* in the very point which now is aimed at by calumnious misrepresentations. So in Rom. ii. 1, where it is properly rendered "wherein." The point which was the object of such attacks was and is the special mode of life distinguishing Christians, as such, from men of the world, whether Jews or Gentiles.

they speak against you as evildoers] Christians were specially attacked by Gentiles, generally at the instigation of Jews, on political grounds as enemies of the state (cf. Acts xvii. 6, 7); on religious grounds as atheists, *i.e.* rejecting the objects of heathen worship; on ethical grounds as introducing unlawful customs, and, as it was believed, abominable

they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation.

13 Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme;

impurity, Acts xvi. 20, 21. These points are commonly alleged by opponents of Christianity, and are specially noticed by apologists in the first two centuries. See Athenagoras, 'Ap.' p. 6; Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' VII. p. 701, and the large collection of passages by Spencer on Origen, 'c. Celsum,' I. 1, p. 319, ed. Ben. Justin Martyr attributes these calumnies to Jewish emissaries sent about for the express purpose of defaming Christians, see 'Dial. c. Tryph.' c. XVII. Suetonius uses the Latin word *malefici*, which exactly corresponds to this, in describing Christians at the time when this Epistle was written. Hebrew and Gentile Christians were of course alike objects of such calumnies, but the latter were peculiarly hateful to the Gentiles as apostates from their own religion; and considering the character of many converts before they were rescued from the unspeakable pollution of heathenism (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 11), it is not surprising that strong prejudices were entertained, and that calumnies invented by the deadly enemies of the Cross were readily believed by the Gentiles. St Peter has each point distinctly present to his mind in this and in the following exhortations.

by your good works] The same word *good*, or *honest*, used above. A good conversation manifested in good works.

which they shall behold] The entire phrase implies that as a result of good works which Gentiles observe as spectators—the word is emphatic, implying careful inspection (Grimm, spectando observo)—they may learn to glorify God, to recognise His work with grateful admiration "in the day (rather, **a day**) of visitation." This last expression might imply either a visitation of judgment, the judgment of the last day—a meaning, however, quite unsuitable to the context, for the Gentiles would certainly not then bring to mind the good works of Christians, or their own observation of them—or as in other passages "a visitation of grace" (so Luke xix. 44; Gen. l. 24; cf. Wisd. iii. 7, 13; xviii. 19; see also Clem. Rom. '1 Cor.' L.), *i.e.* when God shall visit their souls, when like yourselves they shall return to this Shepherd and Bishop, or Visitor (ἐπίσκοπος). Then the Gentiles would acknowledge the glory of God which had previously been manifested through the works of Christians; thus Erasmus, Calovius, Calvin, Steiger, Huther. St Peter probably has in mind, certainly he recalls to our minds, Matt. v. 16, "Let your light...that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven." The omission of the article before "day" indicates the uncertainty of the time; but its probable occurrence when unexpected is a point of extreme importance, urged constantly by Christian apologists and illustrated by the influence of Christian example in early ages. Another interpretation is defensible, but less suited to the immediate context. It takes the day of visitation to be the time of persecution then impending over Christians, to which reference is made throughout this Epistle. See especially ch. iv. 16—18. It is true that conversions of Gentiles were common at such visitations, and effected by the example of Christian sufferers; but in this passage St Peter is speaking of the general life and demeanour of believers as preparing observers for their own conversion.

13—17. EXHORTATIONS TO SUBMISSION TO CIVIL AUTHORITIES, OR MORE GENERALLY TO DUE OBSERVANCE OF THE DUTIES OF CITIZENS.

From the general exhortation to good works St Peter passes on to special applications of the principle, dwelling in order upon those points which were most likely to affect Gentile observers in judging the tendency of Christian doctrine.

13. *ordinance of man*] Lit. "every human creation," here taken in the sense of institution, or as in A.V. ordinance; *i.e.* every authority constituted or appointed by man. This meaning rests on the authority of the ablest Fathers, *e.g.* Dionys. Rom. ap. Athan. 'de Syn. Nic.' p. 276; Euseb. c. Marc. ap. Socrat. 'H. E.' II. 21, and is adopted by late commentators.

for the Lord's sake] Both because "the powers that be are ordained of God," Rom. xiii. 1, to which St Peter certainly refers in the next verse; and because submission to legitimate authority is a most effectual means of removing obstacles to the advance of his kingdom; a principle powerfully urged by Justin Martyr and other early apologists.

to the king] The emperor, specially styled king by Greek writers; the one supreme authority in the lands which St Peter has in mind. The emperor at that time was Nero, not only notorious for unspeakable crimes, but the first persecutor of the Christians, the man under whom both St Peter and St Paul suffered a long-foreseen martyrdom. The precept is therefore universal, binding on the conscience of all Christians in their private capacity as subjects; the sovereign is supreme by the ordinance of man, as the personal representative of all power inherent in the state.

14 Or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well.

15 For so is the will of God, that with well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men:

16 As free, and not [1]using *your* liberty for a cloke of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.

17 [1]Honour all *men*. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king.

18 Servants, *be* subject to *your*

[1] Gr. *having.*

[1] Or, *Esteem.*

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14. *governors*] The Greek word is specially applied to provincial magistrates.

sent by him] The natural sequence refers "him" to the king, since magistrates are to be obeyed simply as his representatives and delegates. Cf. Clem. Rom. '1 Cor.' XXXVII., who apparently alludes to this passage. The reference to "the Lord" adopted by some commentators rests upon a great truth, and accords with St Paul's argument in a passage very closely corresponding with this, Rom. xiii. 1—5, but it is less obviously connected with the preceding words.

for the punishment, &c.] This passage distinctly recognises the twofold object of the magistracy—not lost sight of under heathen rulers—to check crimes by punishment and to promote good works by rewarding and protecting the agents. Whether it referred to the Divine source of all authority, or to the supreme authority in the state, this injunction is a remarkable instance of the large and liberal principles maintained by the Apostles. Late writers, *e.g.* Boissier, Renan, have shewn the substantial soundness of Roman legislation, and the actual progress of social order, even under Nero at the period now under consideration, and especially in the provinces of Asia Minor.

15. *For so is the will of God*, &c.] It is God's will that by such conduct you should silence calumniators, who in their ignorance—a guilty because wilful ignorance (ἀγνωσία, not ἄγνοια)—of the true principles of Christians, assume that they lead to evil deeds, not to good deeds; and who because of that ignorance must be regarded as foolish (a strong word used by St Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 36), senseless—a defect not merely of mind, but of heart. This applies, not to the magistrates, but to those who invent or disseminate false reports. In the Greek the definite article is here used, implying, it may be, that St Peter points to a well-known class of accusers. The word rendered "silence" is very strong, "stop their mouths as with a gag" (φιμοῦν, see 1 Cor. ix. 9; 1 Tim. v. 18; Matt. xxii. 12).

16. *As free, and...*] St Peter reminds the Christians that, although they are truly free, indeed the only truly free men—a point ever present to the minds of the Apostles—yet that freedom did not imply license to break the laws of men, being in fact another word for subjection to God. What he warns them against most specially was making that liberty a pretext for *maliciousness*, a word which designates any kind of evil (equivalent in the LXX. to רעה), most frequently malignity, malice, as in Rom. i. 29; Eph. iv. 31, and in the first verse of this chapter; here it evidently refers to the evil and refractory spirit shewn in violation of law. False teachers inculcated two main errors. Judaizers claimed exemption from human law; Gentile sophists confounded liberty with libertinism, and held that grace implied deliverance from the restraints and penalties of divine law. St Peter is careful, as throughout the Epistle, to reiterate and enforce the exhortations of St Paul, see Rom. vi. throughout; Gal. v. 13 f.; and cf. Irenæus IV. 16. 5. N.B. The word rendered "cloke," lit. "a covering," is not found elsewhere in the N.T., but it is used by Menander, who says of wealth that it is the *covering* of evil deeds.

17. *Honour all men*] An universal precept, not, as some would have it, limited to persons with whom Christians are brought into contact as citizens. It has probably a special reference to the narrow and exclusive spirit common in all ages to mere professors of religion, and inculcates reverence for man as such, bearing the impress of his divine origin. Honour must be taken in this natural sense, neither involving undue subservience nor mere regard to social and political distinctions. Few precepts have been more needed or more neglected.

Love the brotherhood] The general honour must be transformed into Christian love of those who form one brotherhood—a word peculiar to St Peter, but expressing the truth most strongly inculcated by our Lord—being regenerate and children of one Father in Christ. The precept in this connection was probably suggested by the fact that false teachers, whether Jews or Gentiles, were conspicuous for schismatical tendencies. See 1 Cor. i. 10 f. N.B. Clem. R. has this word (ἀδελφότης) '1 Cor.' II.; so too Polycarp, Hermas, Irenæus, and many later writers. St Peter seems to have first used it.

Fear God. Honour the king] The fear of God is urged not only as the beginning of wisdom, but in reference to the preceding precepts. The distinction between submission to authority and fear due only to the Giver and

masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward.

19 For this *is* thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully.

20 For what glory *is it*, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer *for it*, ye take it patiently, this *is* [1] acceptable with God.

[1] Or, *thank.*

Lord of life (cf. Matt. x. 28) was specially to be borne in mind, as exemplified by St Peter himself, Acts iv. 19, and by all Christian confessors and martyrs. The antinomian had to learn the fear of God, the zealot his duty to the king. "Honour" in the last clause is emphatic, due in the highest human sense to the head and source of all authority. The pregnant conciseness is characteristic of St Peter's style.

18—21. DUTIES OF SERVANTS; THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST.

18. *Servants*] Not, as in other passages, (Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 22) "slaves," but servants, properly domestic servants. The term (which occurs but thrice elsewhere, Luke xvi. 13; Acts x. 7; Rom. xiv. 4, where see note) is at once more general—since it includes "freedmen," who formed a large part of most Christian churches at that time, and possibly, according to Greek usage, other dependent members of a household—and more courteous; for both reasons noticeable and important in its bearings upon practical teaching. Slavery was a condition contrary to inherent human right, and as such doomed to pass away under the influence of Christianity; servitude tempered and regulated by Christian principles is inseparable from social order. St Peter's precept applies to both conditions; but at that time the temptation against which it warns was a peculiarly trying one. It was hard to reconcile temporal bondage with spiritual liberty; hardest when masters were infidels, and as such likely to treat their slaves with peculiar cruelty. The difficulty may have been enhanced in the case of Hebrew converts, by the Rabbinical maxim that "a Jew ought not to be a servant to a heathen," and on the other hand by the principle of the Essenes, that it is contrary to the law of nature to be a servant to any one. The sobriety of apostolical teaching stands out in marked contrast to that of fanatics in all times. The gradual transformation tending to the final extinction of slavery is well brought out by P. Allard, 'Les esclaves chrétiens.'

be subject] Lit. "submitting yourselves."

to the froward] Lit. the "crooked," but in the sense "perverse," which is exactly expressed by "froward," Anglo-Saxon *framveard*, aversus, perversus; here it is in antithesis to "gentle," or, as the word so rendered means, equitable and kindly. The duty is thus enforced in its fullest extent, including even "fear" in all its legitimate working: but it does not include evil compliance, such as was held by Roman legists to be a *duty* on the part of freedmen and of *necessity* on the part of slaves. Cf. Seneca 'Contr.' IV. Prol. and Boissier, 'La religion romaine,' II. p. 389, and see note on Rom. vii. 15.

19. *thankworthy*] Lit. "a grace;" which might mean it is one effect and proof of divine grace; but here more probably "acceptable to God," as in the last clause of the following verse.

conscience toward God] Lit. "conscience of God," an expression which probably means "consciousness of the presence and power of God;" cf. 1 Cor. viii. 7, where "conscience of idols" means "a conscious belief in the reality of false gods." Such consciousness in the Christian involves the recognition of all duties flowing from our relation to God. The word is peculiar to St Peter and St Paul, see Introd. to Acts, p. 342, n. 2. Our A. V. expresses the truth in its most practical bearings; cf. 1 Cor. x. 25, 27.

suffering wrongfully] This may not refer directly to the case of Christian servants persecuted for their faith; but it undoubtedly includes them, and was probably suggested in this connection by the frequency of such occurrences.

20. *For what glory is it*] "Glory" here does not mean "cause of boasting," a different word being used for that, but refers to the effect produced upon others by good conduct. They will think and say nothing of such conduct if the punishment be provoked. The word (κλέος), common in classical writers, does not occur elsewhere in the N. T.

if, when, &c.] The original brings out the antithesis more forcibly "if sinning and buffeted," "if well doing and suffering." It may seem strange that the Apostle appears to recognise no merit in patient endurance of afflictions brought on by our own faults. The truth seems to be that although this is a peculiarly difficult work, and as such characteristic of Christians, it is simply a duty; whereas when the Apostles "rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for His name," when after cruel and illegal scourging "they sang praises unto God," Acts xvi. 25, they won the crown of righteousness. In both cases the power of grace is felt, in the latter it is manifested to all observers and wins "glory." Cf. Isidor. Pel. 'Ep.' Lib. v.

21 For even hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered ‖ for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps:

‖ Some read, *for you.*

22 Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth:

23 Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but ‖ committed *himself* to him that judgeth righteously:

‖ Or, *committed* his cause.

24 Who his own self bare our sins in his own body ‖ on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should

‖ Or, *to.*

254, "suffering wrongfully wins the meed of crowns, suffering for faults is the acquittal of debts." Cf. Luke xxiii. 41.

acceptable] The same word which above, *v.* 19, is rendered "thankworthy." The meaning appears to be that such conduct implies a state of grace in reference to God; scarcely, as some hold, an act meriting thanks from God. Cf. Luke ii. 52.

21—25. The Apostle passes on from the duty to the motive. Upon the lowliest Christian he presses the highest principle; thus combining practical every-day work with the sublimest mystery of redemption.

21. *hereunto*] Not to suffering only, though the kingdom of God must be entered "through much tribulation," but to patience under suffering.

because Christ also] Even He, your Master, whom ye profess to follow: but the peculiar force of the exhortation lies in the motive of gratitude.

suffered for us] Rather, for **you**; so the oldest MSS. and early versions, both in this and in the next clause. St Peter has those whom he addresses present to his mind. He is urging upon maltreated servants the most difficult of all duties. N.B. Reiche has strong arguments in favour of adopting *us* as the true reading in this clause, and **you** in the next.

leaving us an example] Or, leaving **you**: both words, "leaving" and "example," are peculiarly emphatic. The word example means properly "a line or sketch traced by the teacher over which the scholar was to write a letter or draw a figure;" a model therefore not merely to be contemplated, but exactly copied, line for line, feature for feature. The word is peculiar to St Peter, and is characteristic of his own close minute adherence to his Master's teaching and imitation of his Master's example. It is also noticeable as being adopted by early Christian writers, especially by Clement of Rome, a younger contemporary of the Apostle, fellow-worker with him and with St Paul. See his 'first Epistle to the Corinthians,' v. 7, with Bp Lightfoot's note; xvi. 17 and xxxiii. 8. Thus also Polycarp, 'ad Phil.' viii. 2, evidently alluding to this passage, "Let us therefore imitate His patience—for He gave us this example (set us this pattern) in Himself."

follow] The Greek word so rendered occurs but thrice elsewhere (1 Tim. v. 10, 24; Mark xvi. 20). It is emphatic and implies close and diligent following.

22. *Who did no sin*] St Peter, in speaking of His Master, ever reverts to the utterances of the "Spirit of Christ," dwelling on the prophets, "which declared beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory which should follow," i. 11. Here he adopts the words of Isaiah as completely describing His acts and feelings, with special application to servants. The servant is tempted to deceit—in His lips was no guile: the servant is provoked to insolent and passionate words—when He was reviled and suffered He neither reviled nor threatened: as the Lord committed His cause to the one righteous Judge, so the servant has to look up to Him as at once his Example and his Judge. It has been justly remarked that Isaiah in that passage speaks of Him specially as the *Servant* of the Lord.

24. *Who...bare our sins*] The word rendered "bare" has a singular fulness of significance: it is a sacrificial term, constantly used in the Septuagint for offering sacrifice; here it includes two meanings, our Lord took up our sins, and in His own body which He offered on the cross He expiated them. This explanation is admitted and proved by De Wette, Huther, Grimm, and indeed all critical commentators. (Grimm 'Lex N. T.': tollere peccata in crucem, sc. ad ea patiendo, moriendoque expianda.) It must also be noted that when He took up our sins, He took them away, enabling us to be rid of them.

on the tree] The same word, rather a peculiar one, is used by St Peter in the Acts, ch. v. 30; see Introduction to Acts, note, p. 340.

that we, being dead] The word rendered "dead," and that very probably as the best equivalent, means "having ceased to exist," or to be liable to sins, our old, or besetting sins. The temptation may be terribly strong—had it not been so it would not have needed a dying Saviour, and had not that work been effectual He would not have undertaken it. To use the words of a living teacher, "A lifelong ministry of sacrifice, finished by the crucifixion, has bought for man freedom of conscience for the past, freedom of will for the future." Thomson, 'Bampton Lectures' for 1856.

live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed.

25 For ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.

CHAPTER III.

1 *He teacheth the duty of wives and husbands to each other,* 8 *exhorting all men to unity and love,* 14 *and to suffer persecution.* 19 *He declareth also the benefits of Christ toward the old world.*

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should live unto righteousness] Cf. Rom. vi. 11.

by whose stripes] Lit. *By whose* bruise, properly, by whose *wale*, specially the livid mark left by scourging, for the severity of which in our Lord's case, see note on Matt. xxvii. 26. The application to servants whose scourging, however cruel, would fall short of that inflicted before crucifixion, is natural and obvious.

25. *as sheep going astray*] Another image from Isai. liii. 6. Cf. Ps. cxix. at the end. It implies that wild and perilous courses might have been natural, as they were in fact all but universal, before converts were brought into the fold and placed under the guidance and care of the heavenly Shepherd.

but are now returned] Or, "but ye turned back," sc. at the time of your conversion; St Peter refers to an act then accomplished, of which the effects must still continue. You then left all devious and perilous courses, you are under a sure and safe guide if you follow in His steps. Christ's twofold office is here marked. He is our Shepherd because He feeds, guides and protects us; He is our Bishop because He inspects, exercises vigilant control over us and over all subordinate shepherds and bishops to whom for a season He commits the charge over Christians. It is noteworthy that St Peter neither here nor in any part of the Epistle, nor in his speeches, makes any reference to his own special position in the Church (Matt. xvi. 18, 19), or to the special office assigned to him by his Master, cf. John xxi. 17. As shepherd and bishop he has one work, to bring the people, whom he now addresses, to the One true Shepherd.

CHAP. III.

1—6. DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN WIVES.

The Apostle proceeds in his enumeration of relative duties, not from servants to masters, as might here be expected, but to wives. This is not to be accounted for by supposing that, in the district to which this Epistle was addressed, there were few free men or heads of families among the converts to Christianity. That argument would have applied equally to St Paul who, in his pastoral admonitions to communities in Asia Minor, makes special mention of masters, see Eph. vi. 9; Col. iv. 1. It seems to be a natural result from the general plan of this Epistle: here St Peter's main object is to inculcate submission, resignation, and avoidance of conduct which might exasperate or alienate persons in authority or in a position of social superiority. Certainly in that age and country, especially in Asia-Minor, no persons were in more need of advice, encouragement and exhortation than married women. The Greeks, in accordance with the views of their highest philosophers—see the references in Wetstein in loc. and Aristotle 'Pol.' I. § 2—regarded a wife as holding an intermediate position between a free person and a slave; if not as a chattel, or mere property, yet as an absolute dependent, and at best, as a trusty instrument for the management of his household; as the mother but not the educator of his children, the agent but not the partaker of his counsels. Among barbarians generally, as Aristotle l. c. points out, the wife and the slave were in the same position.

In addition to these general facts it must be observed that in the partially civilized districts in the north of Asia Minor the treatment of a wife was rough and unmanly; her whole life was embittered by the intemperance and licentiousness of her master. In northern Africa, where the general condition resembled that of Asia Minor pretty closely, and at a much later time, when Christianity had materially softened the old habits, St Augustine mentions, as a singular proof of his mother's admirable character, that her husband did not beat her. But when to all other causes of disorder there was added that of religious difference, when the husband felt that his wife scorned the observances which he usually left to her care, when the wife knew that her husband's religion was destructive of his moral character, it is evident that without the most perfect sacrifice of self, without the most prudent, as well as most virtuous conduct on her part, the disruption of family ties would have ensued upon the introduction of the truth; the name of Christ would have been blasphemed, and a fierce persistent spirit of antagonism would have been aroused which, deriving its strength from natural feelings, would have imperilled the fabric of Christianity. Hence the need of wise, precise, and earnest exhortations, such as are given most fully and forcibly in this passage.

LIKEWISE, ye wives, *be* in subjection to your own husbands; that, if any obey not the word, they also may without the word be won by the conversation of the wives;

2 While they behold your chaste conversation *coupled* with fear.

3 Whose adorning let it not be that outward *adorning* of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel;

4 But *let it be* the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, *even the ornament* of a meek

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1. *Likewise*] Emphatic, "in the same manner" as slaves are bound to submission so are wives. The Apostle uses the same word for due and orderly submission, and in the same form; lit. **being in subjection**: this denotes a voluntary act, or rather habit.

that, if any obey not the word] Or, **that even if some are disobedient to the word.** The expression implies that the Apostle expects that most husbands of believing wives would themselves be Christians, but that exceptions would be found, perhaps not uncommon. Women did, in point of fact, take the lead very frequently in conversion; and the antagonism which thus sprung up was the immediate cause of some of the earliest and fiercest persecutions. See Justin Mart. 'Apol.' II. § 2; Eus. 'H. E.' IV. 17, §§ 2—13.

the word] Equivalent to the "Gospel," see above, i. 23, note; and ii. 8.

without the word] For "without" the Greek has two expressions: one simply denotes the absence of a truth; the other, which is here used, implies its rejection. The statement therefore means not that the husbands had not heard of, but that they had rejected Christianity. The exposition that the Apostle means "without any argument," such as might be adduced by a Christian wife, is certainly incorrect, and the inference drawn from it by Renan, viz. that women ought not to discuss such questions with their unbelieving husbands, has no place here. Clement of Alexandria lays down the true principle and rule for conduct. 'Strom.' IV. p. 523 C (p. 621, ed. Pott.) "A discreet woman would desire in the first place to persuade her husband to be a partaker with her of those things which conduce to blessedness, but should this be impossible let her strive only for virtue, obeying her husband in all things, so as never to do anything without his consent, save only those things which are held rightly to appertain both to virtue and to salvation." This injunction is admirably illustrated by the passage in Justin Martyr above referred to.

may...be won] The same word used by St Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 19, 21, implies to gain as converts to Christ. *Won* expresses this, if understood in its literal and full sense.

conversation] As above, ii. 12, the whole conduct, habits and demeanour; see too i. 15.

2. *While they behold*] As above, ii. 12, the word means having observed as eye-witnesses, and having special opportunities for ascertaining—a metaphor from admission to sacred and mysterious rites.

chaste conversation] St Peter repeats the word, adding two expressions which fix attention on a special point, "chaste" implies extreme purity of heart and conduct; and fear, reverence for the rightful and inalienable authority of the husband, as defined by Clem. Alex. in the passage above quoted. The union of the two principles, equally difficult to observe in cohabitation with a heathen husband, characterizes the perfect Christian wife.

3. *Whose adorning let it not be*] Or, **whose adorning should be, not** &c. This form of expression is a common Hebraism and implies, *not* a prohibition of outward adorning, but a declaration of its worthlessness if opposed to, or separated from, inward graces.

plaiting the hair] Excessive care in wreathing the hair is constantly noted by contemporary satirists; not merely as a symptom of vanity, but as a common occasion of cruelty to slaves.

of gold] Rather, of gold ornaments, necklaces, &c., which are still in the East used to an extent beyond all proportion to a woman's means.

of apparel] Costly raiment, such as is reckoned among household riches by sacred and profane writers. All these expressions justify the inference that many Christian converts belonged to the middle or even opulent classes, as was certainly the case at a very early period.

4. *the hidden man*] This is not quite synonymous with the new or regenerate man, the soul renewed by Divine grace, but is here equivalent to the soul, the inner principle of life, as distinguished from the outward, material body. Thus Athanasius, 'De Incarn.' p. 626 B, "our inner man is the soul," and Clem. Alex. 'Pæd.' III. 1, says, "the inner man is the rational nature which rules the outer man;" a passage noteworthy as being full of reminiscences of this part of our Epistle. Here it must be observed that in the case of the women addressed by St Peter "the inner man" had been renewed in conversion, so that the injunction specially applies to Christians.

in that which is not corruptible] Lit. "in

and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price.

5 For after this manner in the old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands:

6 Even as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him lord: whose † daughters ye are, as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement.

† Gr. *children.*

7 Likewise, ye husbands, dwell with *them* according to knowledge,

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the incorruptibility;" the expression is peculiar and emphatic, contrasting the imperishable beauty of a Christian spirit with perishable ornaments, cf. i. 7.

a meek and quiet spirit] Or **the** meek and quiet spirit, viz. that spirit which in the sight of God is the true and truly precious jewel becoming and characterizing the Christian wife. The use of the article in this passage led Athanasius ('ad Serap.' 1), and probably Clem. Alex. ('Pæd.' III. c. 10, p. 291, ed. Potter) to interpret "of the gentle and quiet Spirit," as referring to the Holy Spirit; but St Peter is evidently speaking here not of the source, but of the manifestation of this characteristic grace. Both words, meek and quiet, seem to refer to the Christian Beatitudes in Matt. v.

which is in the sight of God of great price] St Peter is careful to notice that the Christian temper which wins the affection of the creature has the infinitely higher reward of God's approval.

5. *after this manner*] That is, such were the ornaments worn by matrons of old. To precept the Apostle, as usual, adds example.

who trusted in God] Rather, **who hoped in God**, whose hope was Godwards. That hope in all times enabled truly religious women to bear with humility and patience the yoke made cruel and grievous by human laws, or more especially by undisciplined and tyrannical passions. Hope is often noted as the characteristic grace of our Apostle; here we have its special bearing on resignation under a peculiarly heavy trial noted. The condition of the Christian wife has undergone a change, scarcely less complete than that of the Christian domestic, in each case from slavery, yet leaving the duty of subordination intact, and the Apostolic injunctions universally applicable.

6. *calling him lord*] A term that denotes supremacy, such as was enforced by the sentence of God; Gen. iii. 16 and xviii. 12, the passage to which St Peter evidently refers.

whose daughters ye are] Rather, "whose daughters **ye became**." This undoubtedly implies that the majority of those whom St Peter addresses were Gentile converts, not Hebrews by birth. The argument stands thus, just as you became children of Abraham, being regenerate on the condition of faith, so ye became daughters of Sarah on the condition of following her example. It must be borne in mind that St Paul (Gal. iv. 22—31) had taught converts in Asia Minor that Sarah was a type of the true Church, *which is free*. The conditions are twofold,—activity in all good work; and superiority to vague, groundless terrors.

amazement] The expression, which is somewhat peculiar, rightly understood gives the true sense of the original, which is usually translated "terror." It means properly nervous terror, such as produces or indicates bewilderment. It occurs often in the LXX., corresponding to Hebrew words signifying terror, shuddering. The fear of the Christian wife must be carefully distinguished from nervous terror, the one leads to faithful discharge of duty, the other to misapprehension of what is really her duty, or to inability to discharge it.

Duties of Husbands.

This short address to husbands seems to be introduced, as it were, parenthetically, the general purport of this part of the Epistle being the inculcation of submission upon those Christians who were in a position of dependence or subordination. It is evidently so introduced in order to guard against any abuse of the preceding advice to wives: and to enforce the truth that the relation of the husband to the wife is not merely, or even essentially, one of authority but of mutual affection to be regulated by Christian principle. Hence the Apostle does not dwell upon the obvious duties of protecting and supporting the wife, but upon those higher duties which devolve upon the husband spiritually in Christ. Compare the singularly profound and beautiful exhortations of St Paul, Eph. v. 25—33.

7. *Likewise*] *I.e.* with the same regard to Christian principle; or, as some explain the word, in the same spirit of obedience to the law of Christ. Possibly the word may simply mean, As I have exhorted wives, so now I exhort husbands.

dwell with them according to knowledge] The true construction of this clause seems to be—"Living together, according to knowledge, with the woman as the weaker vessel,"—in which statement are involved certain special principles: "according to knowledge" might be taken generally as an injunction to rational

giving honour unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life; that your prayers be not hindered.

8 Finally, *be ye* all of one mind, having compassion one of another, ‖ love as brethren, *be* pitiful, *be* courteous:

‖ Or, *loving to the brethren.*

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intercourse, but in this passage, which deals with Christians, as such, "knowledge" must be that which is a necessary result and reward of faith ("intellectus est merces fidei," Augustine), and leads to clear views of all the bearings of relative duties. It points specially to the duty of forbearance and kindliness to the wife as weaker in body, or more generally in physical and mental constitution. (The word "vessel" corresponds very nearly to the old Rabbinical word *yetser*, for which two other words *mana* מאנא, and *keli* כלי, signifying vessel, are also used.) Upon the obvious disparity of natural powers heathenism founded the law of despotic power universally claimed for the husband; while Christianity derives from it a peculiar obligation to love and cherish.

giving honour, &c.] Here too the words are properly taken in a different connection from that adopted in our A. V. **Rendering honour as due to those who are also fellow-heirs of the grace of life.** The word (*ἀπονέμοντες*) *rendering*, which does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament, and but once in the LXX., in a different sense, has a special significance. It is common in classical writers, always in reference to what is due from one to the other party: so that the rendering of *honour* is not a mere act of favour, but the recognition of a due. The principle is recognised by some Rabbinical writers, quoted by Wetstein; but in its full development is essentially Christian, founded here upon the perfect equality of coheirs of the kingdom of heaven, or, as here described, "the grace of life," the spiritual and eternal life bestowed by grace. N.B. We adopt the punctuation of most commentators, as more logical and satisfactory than that of our Version. The reading *συγκληρονόμοις*, which rests mainly on the authority of B, is accepted by Tischendorf, and Brückner. The received text is not unsatisfactory, since it implies that husbands feeling that they are fellow-heirs with their wives are bound to render them the honour due to them in that high relationship; but the other reading is more natural, and is held by Reiche to be far preferable.

that your prayers be not hindered] As they would be were the true relations disturbed by the husband's unchristian demeanour, or disregard of his wife's claim to due reverence. Two hearts at variance with each other will not offer the common incense of prayer, nor can husband or wife bring singly and separately an acceptable offering, while labouring under the sense of unrepented or unforgiven wrong. This principle then applies to all the intercourse between husband and wife; including, but not confined to, the ebullitions of unseemly passions, regarded by some ancient and modern commentators as the point chiefly intimated—thus the Scholiast, "for disturbance in a house is a hindrance to all religious works;" and Ignatius, 'ad Phil.' § 8, "where there is division and wrath God dwelleth not"—nor on the other hand specially, if at all, referring to mutual abstinence during certain periods for devotional purposes, a view commended by Œcumenius, Jerome, 'c. Jovinian.' I., and Estius, and to a certain degree countenanced by the expression, "according to knowledge," but having no real support in this or any other passage in the New Testament. The feelings of the early Fathers on this point are, perhaps, best expressed by Clem. Alex. 'Strom.' II. p. 423 C. N.B. The MSS. vary between *ἐκ-* and *ἐγκόπτεσθαι*, the latter, which is represented by our A.V., is preferred by most commentators, but Schoettgen shews that the former corresponds more closely to the Hebrew idiom.

8—11. General Exhortations.

The Apostle passes from special injunctions to the great Christian principles which underlie and regulate all relative duties.

8. *Finally*] The word is emphatic; as the final end and true object of all injunctions attend to these principles.

all of one mind, &c.] St Peter sets forth those principles in five words, which lose somewhat of their force in our rendering—the first fundamental principle is unity of thought and feeling. For this the Apostle has a word new in its application to Christians (*ἅ. λ.* in New Testament, and not found in the LXX.), but common in classical writers; here deriving its full significance from the *new mind* derived from Christ.

having compassion one of another] Rather, as expressed in a single word **sympathizing**, involving interchange of fellow-feeling whether in joy or sorrow; so St Paul, Rom. xii. 15, "Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep." The word (*συμπαθεῖς*) is peculiar to St Peter.

love as brethren] Again in one word, "brother-lovers," *i.e.* lovers of brethren, that special feeling of brotherly love which unites all children of God in Christ. This word too is used by St Peter only, condensing in one pregnant expression a whole series of Christian admonitions.

pitiful] Lit. "good-hearted," having viscera

9 Not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing: but contrariwise blessing; knowing that ye are thereunto called, that ye should inherit a blessing.

10 For [a] he that will love life, and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile:

11 Let him eschew evil, and do good; let him seek peace, and ensue it.

[a] Psal. 34. 12, &c.

or heart thoroughly right, full of mercy and love. St Paul uses this word once, Eph. iv. 32. It occurs once in Hippocrates, in the technical sense, "with strong healthy viscera." The noun from which it is derived is very common in the New Testament, and (as has been frequently noted) means not "the bowels," as our A.V. unhappily renders it, but the nobler intestines, the heart, liver, lungs, &c., the seat of strong emotions. It is also used by the Greeks, but specially as the organ of angry vehement passions, among the Hebrews of tenderness and specially of pity.

be courteous] This expresses very nearly the common reading, and yields a true and very attractive meaning, which we should gladly retain, were it not that all the best MSS. and critical editions have another word, **humble-minded**—the point which St Peter, having his Master's teaching ever in mind, is specially anxious to impress upon all Christians, here in connection with the whole tenour of the Epistle.

9. *Not rendering*, &c.] St Peter now applies the principles of Christian life to intercourse with those without; having more immediately in mind the temptations to which believers were exposed in contact with the heathen, at a time when persecution was near at hand and already making its approaches felt by evil acts and evil words.

evil for evil] Cf. Rom. xii. 17.

but contrariwise blessing] *Blessing* is here a participle; but do the very reverse, "bless them that curse you," Matt. v. 44; a word which St Peter of all the apostles was specially careful to bear in mind.

knowing that] Or (omitting the word "knowing," as not extant in any of the oldest MSS., and not required by the sense), **for ye were called unto this**, viz. to bless others in order that ye may yourselves inherit blessings; or ye were called unto this, that is, to a state of blessing in order that ye may bless others. The argument is cogent in either case; and commentators are divided as to which is preferable. In favour of the second it may be argued that it is rather in accordance with the principles of the Gospel to deduce duties from privileges, the duty of blessing others from the privilege of inheriting blessings ourselves, than to inculcate duties as the means of obtaining privileges; and this comes nearer to the argument in Eph. iv. 1 f., where we find the same kind of Christian duties based upon the calling of Christians. Still the former construction is more obvious, and in addressing persons in various stages of spiritual life, the Apostle may have dwelt upon what all would feel as a powerful inducement. This too seems more probable when we compare the exhortation and promise with Matt. v. 44, 45, which was evidently present to the mind of St Peter, and consider the close connection of this exhortation with the following passage quoted from the xxxivth Psalm.

10—12. THIS CITATION ENFORCES THE DISCHARGE OF ALL CHRISTIAN DUTIES BY REFERENCE TO THE ALL-SEEING JUDGE, and that not merely to the future judgment, but to His abiding presence and constant dealings with the evil and the good.

10. *he that will love life*] There is a singular deviation from the Septuagint (which throughout the rest of the quotation is followed closely by St Peter) in these words; and the rendering of the Apostle presents some difficulty. The LXX. have, "he that desireth life and loveth to see good days," slightly differing from the Hebrew, "and loveth days that he may see good." St Peter's rendering gives the sense "he whose will is set on loving true life and having good, *i.e.* happy and well-spent days." A slight change of order would bring this passage into exact agreement with the LXX.; but the MSS. and some of the earliest versions agree with the received text, and leave no room for doubt as to its genuineness. We have four conditions for a happy and good life; the first is that on which special stress is laid by St James, the tongue must be restrained not merely from evil-speaking, but from all deceit and falsehood. The suppression of angry feelings stands foremost both in connection with the preceding clauses, and as presenting peculiar difficulty at that time and under the circumstances of the Christian converts.

11. *Let him eschew*] Lit. "turn away from" evil; the old word eschew is singularly expressive, implying anxious shrinking, the Anglo-Saxon *sceoh*, our "shy," and the German *scheu*. Thus the Psalmist passes on from the outward expression of bad feelings to the principles regulating the Christian life, renunciation of evil, active goodness, earnestness in the maintenance of peace; in other words, repentance as the beginning, and charity, exemplified in act and feeling, as the completion of the life which has its root in faith.

seek...and ensue] Both words are emphatic;

12 For the eyes of the Lord *are* over the righteous, and his ears *are open* unto their prayers: but the face † Gr. *upon.* of the Lord *is* †against them that do evil.

13 And who *is* he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?

14 But and if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy *are ye:* and [b] be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled; [b] Isai. 8. 12, 13.

15 But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts: and *be* ready always to *give* an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope

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the last implies earnest pursuit. The English form "ensue" does not occur elsewhere in our A.V., but the original is used nine times in the Pauline Epistles in the same metaphorical sense. This accords with classical usage.

12. In connection with outward acts the Psalmist has promises of temporal blessings, but in reference to the great Christian principle of charity he appeals to the highest spiritual motive. The eyes of the Lord are fixed on the righteous—He hears their prayers.

that do evil] St Peter omits the words that follow in the Psalm, "to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth," evidently because he would fix attention exclusively upon the spiritual and eternal consequences of evil-doing.

13. *will harm you*] The word is emphatic, do you any real evil. Cf. Isai. l. 9, where, as in many other passages, the same word is used in the Septuagint. It stands in direct antithesis to "good."

that which is good] Lit. "the good," which might mean, as our translators take it, "that which is good," but more probably points to **Him who is good.** The choice depends to some extent upon the other word, rendered "be ye followers." The reading followed by our translators and found in most of the oldest MSS. means zealous in the pursuit, or zealous for, an expression equally applicable to zeal for goodness or for God; cf. Acts xxii. 3. Another reading, which has good support, sc. "imitators," would almost necessitate the rendering, "of Him who is good." Cf. Matt. v. 45, 48.

14. *But and if ye suffer*] "But" is emphatic; if however it should happen that ye should suffer, *i.e.* notwithstanding the general promise of exemption from harm, it may happen, and you must expect that it will happen, that you will be called upon to suffer. The extent to which St Peter intends this as a warning, not merely of possible, but of probable, and nearly impending sufferings, depends upon the general or special bearing of the Epistle. Taken, as seems by far the most probable view, as specially intended to prepare Christians for what the Apostle distinctly foresaw, we must understand this phrase as explained above; "but remember that, although none can really harm you, yet should you be, as you soon must be, called on to suffer," &c.

for righteousness' sake] Either for the profession of the Christian faith, or for the conduct which becomes that profession. It must be remembered that the faith and the life of Christians were equally odious to heathens. Some of the fiercest and the earliest persecutions were brought on directly by hatred of their purity of life. See Justin Martyr, 'Ap.' I.

happy are ye] That lesson St Peter had learned from his Master, Matt. v. 10, and had learned it thoroughly; see Acts v. 41. Christians too took it thoroughly to heart. 'Ep. ad Diogn.' c. 5, "Doing good they are punished as evil, being punished they rejoice as made to live;" Tertul. 'ad Scap.' 1, "magis damnati, quam absoluti gaudemus."

be not afraid of their terror] This is commonly explained as the terror which their menaces might excite; but considering the undoubted reference to Isai. viii. 12, 13, it seems probable that St Peter means such terror as dismays those who do not fear God supremely.

15. *But sanctify the Lord God*] On the oldest and best reading, the Lord **the Christ,** instead of God, see the Additional Note. Here we have to press the truth that a man who sets up God in his heart as the only true object of reverence and fear, is exempt from all other fear.

and be ready] Omit "and be," which obscures the close connection with the preceding injunction. The first effect of the abiding sense of Christ present as the object of holy fear in your heart will be a constant readiness to meet inquirers.

to give an answer] Lit. "for an apology;" a word peculiar in the New Testament to St Paul and our Apostle. See Introd. to Acts, p. 342, n. 2. It means a complete and satisfactory account, and, consequently, defence, of the principle questioned or assailed. It is the word afterwards formally adopted by those who undertook to set forth the principles of the Christian faith in answer to heathen opponents—the age immediately following the Apostolic has been designated as the Apologetic age. The modern usage unfortunately obscures the meaning of the word,

that is in you with meekness and [1]fear:

16 Having a good conscience; that, whereas they speak evil of you, as of evildoers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ.

17 For *it is* better, if the will of

[1] Or, *reverence.*

which is fairly expressed by our A.V. *to give an answer.*

to every man that asketh you a reason] The words "reason" and "answer" in our version correspond to each other more closely in the Greek. To any man who asks for an account, a rational principle, of the hope which is in you, you must be ready to give a satisfactory and rational account. To so much he is entitled for his own sake, so much you are bound to give upon demand, for the sake of the truth on which your hope is based. The answer must be ready when the question is put by an inquirer, as seems here to be specially implied. It may be doubted whether it applies to questions merely captious or put in order to elicit grounds for persecution. Such questions are commonly and best met, as they were in our Lord's case, by dignified and reverent silence. It must however be remembered that it was a charge often brought by heathens that Christians were not able to adduce any rational arguments in proof of the truth and doctrine which they professed (*μηδὲν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς λέγειν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ἀληθείας τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ.*, Theophil. Ant. 'ad Aut.' III. 4, p. 383, ed. Bened. Thus too Julian, Porphyry, and some of the earliest heretics, as Sim. M., cf. 'Recog. Clem.' 2, and the note of Lacerda on Tertullian, 'De Res. Carnis,' c. v.). This charge was sufficiently refuted by the great writers of the second and third centuries. The precept however must be cautiously applied. It goes very far, for it applies to all fair questions; it does not by any means imply that the Christian should be willing or able to deal with sophistical arguments, but it does imply that as he does not hope without a reason, that reason he must be ready to produce. It may be personal experience of the power of Christ, of the suitableness of His Gospel to man's needs and infirmities, and as a remedy for sin; but whatever reason is alleged it must be a true and sound, and so far a sufficient reason.

with meekness and fear] Here our A.V., following the received text, unfortunately omits the emphatic word **but**; of two Greek words so rendered the more forcible is found here in all the best MSS. and ancient versions. St Peter presses this condition most urgently; of all dangers that of angry, arrogant and irreverent demeanour on the part of men closely, and often captiously, questioned, is the most common and subtle. Sweetness coupled with awe, remembering whose cause is defended, will commend true reasoning, and they will be in themselves evidences calculated to impress and often to win opponents. The word "fear" may also include anxiety to avoid giving offence by inconsiderate or intemperate arguments, but it certainly does not mean fear of magistrates. The Christian is bound to submit to law, but is released from all fear of personal consequences when put on his trial. Reverence is due to all lawful authority; cf. *v.* 2.

16. *Having a good conscience*] This clause is directly connected with the preceding injunction—a good conscience is the only security for an effectual defence of the truth. The word rendered "conscience" occurs very frequently in the Pauline Epistles, once in the Acts xxiii. 1, where St Paul is speaking (see Introd. to Acts, p. 342, note 2), and uses the word precisely in the same form, a *good* conscience, and in reference to unjust accusations. This is one among many instances of exact conformity of thought, feeling, and even expression between the two Apostles.

whereas] Or **wherein**, *i.e.* in reference to the point on which you are attacked; see note on ii. 12.

they speak evil of you] Or, according to the reading generally adopted, "**may** speak against you." St Peter refers not to a certain, but a probable form of accusation. The Christian may be, as was indeed often the case, arraigned not for his faith, but for his conduct misunderstood or wilfully misrepresented. The reading however is doubtful. Tischendorf follows B, which has "ye are spoken against." It is of course possible that the common reading may be derived from the corresponding passage, ch. ii. 12.

they speak evil] Or, in one word, "calumniate," or revile. St Peter has in mind our Lord's words, Matt. v. 11.

they may be ashamed] Or, "put to shame;" convicted of falsehood.

good conversation] Note the repeated use of the words good and "conversation" in the specific sense of conduct.

in Christ] In this expression the name "Christ" is always used by the Apostles. It denotes the divine nature in which the Christian, as such, moves and lives, and has his true being.

17. *if the will of God be so*] See note on i. 6, and ii. 20. Here the phrase is somewhat different, "should the will of God so will it;" thus bringing out two points prominently; whatever may be done will be in accordance with God's will (cf. Matt. xxvi. 39, and the

God be so, that ye suffer for well doing, than for evil doing.

18 For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit:

19 By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison;

parallel passages, specially St Luke xxii. 42), and must therefore be for the good of those who suffer. For the general sentiment compare the noble words of Socrates in the 'Phædo.'

18 to end of chapter. THE PRECEDING EXHORTATIONS ARE NOW ENFORCED BY REFERENCE TO THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST.

18. *For Christ*] Here, as usual, in addressing Gentile converts, St Peter uses "Christ" as a proper name. In passages intended for Hebrews the writers of the New Testament generally use the other form, *the* Christ; *i.e.* the Messiah.

hath once suffered] Rather, **suffered once for all.** St Peter refers to the one act by which pardon for sin was procured. The points of likeness and contrast are equally striking. Christ suffered not for His sins, but for sins in general; so must the Christian suffer, not for evil-doing, but remembering that he has been saved from sins. Some MSS. here add, "for you" or "for us," either of which readings expresses an apt thought, but was probably supplied as a gloss. Again instead of "suffered" some old MSS. have "died" (ἀπέθανεν instead of ἔπαθεν), a reading which obscures the very distinct reference to the sufferings of Christ's people.

the just for the unjust] The omission of the article in Greek brings out the contrast more forcibly; but it is required by English idiom. We should observe that the Christian, like his Master, must be just, but that, unlike his Master, he suffers not for others, but to discharge his own duty. Compare St Paul's elaborate statement of this great doctrine, Rom. v. 6—8.

that he might bring us to God] St Peter then states, as usual, concisely but distinctly the great end and effect of the atoning death of Christ; it gives man access to God, *i.e.* restores him to communion with God; cf. Rom. v. 1, 2; and, still nearer in expression, Eph. ii. 18, and iii. 12. Hence follow the duty and the power of following the example of Him who procured such access. The word "bring" is not that which is used in speaking of a sacrificial offering, a thought which might naturally occur, as it did to Luther. The Christian is here regarded not as a victim, but as an offender on whose behalf the Victim has suffered, and who thereby finds the way open to his Father.

being put to death...the Spirit] The exact rendering of this very important text has given occasion to much controversy, see Additional Note. The meaning however may be regarded as fully established. We have two statements: (1) Christ underwent death in the body, lit. in flesh (not *the* flesh), *i.e.* the material and visible form which He assumed in the Incarnation; cf. Rom. i. 2, where his bodily descent from David is mentioned, and note on 1 Cor. vii. 28. (2) He was quickened in the spirit, lit. "in spirit," which certainly refers not to the power by which He was quickened, but to the higher spiritual nature which belonged to the integrity of His humanity, and which was the medium through which the lifegiving energy from God was communicated to that humanity. The best rendering would therefore seem to be, "who died in flesh and was quickened in spirit," were it not that the English idiom requires *the* before flesh.

The connection of this statement with the preceding exhortation appears to be this. Every Christian like his Master is called upon to die; his material body must undergo that process; but the spiritual principle within him, by virtue of which he is regenerate in Christ, receives a new, indestructible life at the very moment of dissolution. Our Lord's spirit, thus endued with life, at once manifested its lifegiving power; so it may be inferred, will each Christian spirit in and by its suffering win converts.

19. *By which also*] See Additional Note. The points which stand out distinctly in this difficult and much controverted text are these. 1. "By which" must be rendered **in which**, *i.e.* in which spirit, disembodied and quickened with the new undying life. 2. He went and preached; the word rendered "went" is always used in reference to a personal act, and specially in connection with preached; thus in Mark xvi. 15, *Go ye* and *preach;* both words the same as are here used. We must therefore understand St Peter to say that after death our Lord in His own human spirit went forth and preached, *i.e.* proclaimed certain tidings. 3. "To the spirits in prison," or in custody; *i.e.* to certain spirits, specified afterwards, who when He thus came and preached to them were, not in bonds or penal durance (which would be ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ) as condemned criminals, but in custody, as prisoners awaiting their doom.

The reason why St Peter specially refers to the deluge was evidently because that catastrophe was a prelude and type of the general judgment, to which the Apostle would here direct the attention of his readers.

20 Which sometime were disobedient, when once the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water.

21 The like figure whereunto *even* baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ:

22 Who is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him.

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20. *Which sometime were disobedient*] *I.e.* who at a former time had disobeyed, sc. the announcement or command then given to them.

when once] Rather (omitting "once," which represents a word not found in any good MS.), *when*, specifying the time of that disobedience.

the longsuffering of God waited] Or, **was waiting.** The word, which St Paul uses frequently, implies attentive and patient waiting, or expectation. The exact interval is further specified; it lasted while Noah was building the ark, a period of many years.

while the ark] Lit. **while an ark was being prepared.**

wherein few] This marks the extent of the old disobedience. None obeyed the call of Noah, all perished save the few, his own family, who entered the ark. They were saved by the water which destroyed the others. So that the persons to whom Christ went and preached were those who had neglected or rejected warnings in life uttered by a human prophet. They had perished in the water which bore those who entered the ark in perfect safety. Cf. Clem. Rom. '1 Cor.' VII. and IX.

21. *The like figure whereunto*] This rendering expresses the general sense, but does not accurately represent the statement in the Greek. It may be rendered "which also saves you now as baptism being antitypical." That is, "water which saved those who listened to the preaching of Noah now in baptism, which is the antitype of that water, is the means or instrument of your salvation." The same water, which drowned those who disobeyed Noah, saved those who entered into the ark; so also baptismal water, which potentially drowns and destroys the old man, or our sinful nature, saves all who are brought into, and remain in, the true ark with Christ.

N.B. The reading ὃ instead of ᾧ T. R. is unquestionably correct.

not the putting away] Rather, "not a putting away." This passage is parenthetical, inserted to guard against a possible misunderstanding, or rather, a probable misrepresentation of the nature and effect of baptism. Baptism saves us, not as an external operation, sc. the putting away uncleanness of the body; (for that though a sacramental symbol is distinguishable in idea, and separable also in fact from the spiritual efficacy of the mystery, which requires certain conditions) but as an inward process attested by the appeal which the conscience, being purified, makes to God. See Additional Note on the whole of this passage.

St Peter may of course refer, as Chrysostom (Tom. II. p. 228 C), Justin M. 'c. Tryph.' p. 114 D, and other expositors hold, to the inefficacy of the old ceremonial ablutions; but his meaning is clear when confined to Christian baptism. It is effectual spiritually; the virtus sacramenti is one thing, the res, *i.e.* the outward form, is another; both are necessary, but the one is common to all partakers of the rite; the other is confined to those who fulfil the conditions.

but the answer] Or, lit. "the question" in the sense of a prayerful questioning, a petition or supplication. The antithesis stands thus. Contrasted with "the flesh," or omitting the article, "flesh" is "conscience," the inner man contrasted with the outer man. The (ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου), the putting off all bodily defilement is the act of the outer man, the questioning in prayer is the act of the inner man. The word ἀπόθεσις is peculiar to St Peter, cf. 2 Pet. i. 14. N.B. Both σαρκὸς and συνειδήσεως are the subjective, not the objective genitive.

by the resurrection of Jesus Christ] The resurrection of Christ is thus stated to be the cause why baptism saves us. He was thereby declared to be the Son of God with power, Rom. i. 4, and as St Paul again says Rom. iv. 25, "He rose again for our justification." Thus in the first ch. St Peter has said that we are regenerated by His resurrection. Both Apostles therefore attribute our regeneration, justification and salvation in a special sense to the Resurrection. Baptism is the instrumental cause, Christ's death the meritorious cause, His Resurrection, brought to bear upon the heart by His Spirit, is the efficacious cause; of which the movement of the conscience in prayer to the Father, calling Him Abba, Father, is the attestation, as Œcumenius puts it, "the pledge, assurance, and manifestation."

22. *Who is gone into heaven*] The same word which is used above, *v.* 19, to denote a personal movement; as He went to Hades, as His Apostles went into the world, so in His human form He went up into heaven.

and is on the right hand of God] In St

Peter's discourses and in the Petrine Gospel the Ascension is presented as the culminating point, the end and completion of Christ's work. See note on Mark i. 1.

angels and authorities and powers] As He declared before His ascension, Matt. xxviii. 18, "All power is given unto Me in heaven and earth," so here all the powers of heaven are said to have been made subject unto Him; as the word (ὑποταγέντων) denotes, before His Ascension, *i.e.* at His Resurrection. It may be questioned whether in this passage reference is made to "the powers and principalities of darkness, as well as of light," but considering the near resemblance of this passage to Ephes., cf. i. 20—22; and corresponding statements in other Pauline Epistles, it seems not improbable. It is no slight consolation to know that not only all good spirits are wholly subservient to Christ, ministering therefore to those who are heirs of salvation, but that Satan and his powers are absolutely subject to Him, acting only by His permission, and even when inflicting punishment, doing it for the benefit of the church. Cf. 1 Cor. v. 5; 2 Cor. xii. 7; and 1 Tim. i. 20. See also Rev. xx. 2.

Attention should be specially given to the completeness of St Peter's Christology in this remarkable passage. See Introduction, § 5.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. III. 15, 18, 19, 21.

15. Instead of θεὸν the oldest and best MSS., ℵ, A, B, C, have Χριστόν. So too all the best ancient versions. It seems presumptuous to reject a reading so authenticated, and it may be added, so unlikely to have been introduced in what must have been regarded as a quotation. It is a text of great importance, since it leaves no doubt as to the identification of the Christ, the Son of God, with the Lord Jehovah, manifested in the Second Person in the Trinity. It has been objected that Κύριος without the article is not used of our Lord in the New Testament, an observation which, if true, would be scarcely applicable to a quotation. The LXX. however have Κύριον δὲ αὐτὸν for "Jehovah of Sabaoth," so that in any case St Peter alters their rendering, and in addressing Christians he urges the special claim which the Christ, whose name they profess, has to their devout and fear-excluding reverence. St Peter uses Χριστός twice with the article, though more commonly, as is usual in addressing Gentiles, without the article. Here it is emphatic, Κύριον, Jehovah, "the Christ." On the whole the oldest and best supported reading should certainly be retained.

18. The only various reading, τῷ πνεύματι, which is unfortunately that of the received text, followed by our A. V., has no support in the Uncial MSS. It imports an alien thought into the statement. St Peter does not say that Christ was quickened by the Spirit, which is implied in that reading, and by the capital letter in our A. V.; but that as He died in body, so He was quickened, endued with new life, in spirit, *i.e.* as explained above, in His spiritual nature, the true inner man, which after God is renewed unto true holiness. Both σαρκὶ and πνεύματι must be constructed as the *casus modalis*, indicating the mode and principle in which the several processes of life and death are accomplished. The πνεῦμα in speaking of Christ is called by St Paul πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, not τὸ π., and as here is directly connected with restoration to life after or in death. See Additional Note on Rom. i. 4.

19. Most of the questions raised by theologians and commentators are disposed of by adherence to the literal meaning of each clause, as given in the footnote. Our A. V. leaves the whole construction obscure and ambiguous; but while differing materially in the inferences drawn from the statement, commentators are now all but unanimous as to its literal import.

Ἐν ᾧ was formerly explained away, either as meaning in which, or by the agency of which Holy Spirit, taken personally according to the old reading τῷ Πνεύματι; but it certainly means "in which." "He went" undoubtedly implies a personal advent or going forth, as shewn specially by the passage above quoted from Mark xvi. 15, and by John xiv. 3. Ἐν φυλακῇ certainly means "in custody," as in Rev. xx. 7: not necessarily as a place of suffering, but as a place where, according to their several demerits, evil angels (see 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6) or sinful men are kept awaiting the final judgment.

He preached. The word is invariably used in the New Testament of a public announcement, a heraldic proclamation, so to speak, and specially of the Gospel tidings. St Peter says nothing as to the subject-matter or effects of such an announcement, but the natural inference is that it was not simply and exclusively a denunciation, for which another word, not hallowed like this by associations of merciful tidings, would probably have been employed. It should, however, be noticed that Clement of Rome, '1 Cor.' c. VII., says that Νῶε ἐκήρυξε μετάνοιαν καὶ οἱ ὑπακούσαντες ἐσώθησαν, which seems a reminiscence of this passage: see also a similar statement in c. ix. Josephus, 'Arch.' I. 4, gives the old Hebrew tradition; and it is quite possible that Clement might have had that tradition present to his mind, rather than our passage, which would have suggested other considerations. Ἀπειθήσασί ποτε, ὅτε; this distinctly marks the long past

time when the sin of disobedience had been incurred.

If in such a passage as this, where the literal statement presents a clear, though in its bearings a mysterious sense, it were necessary to go further, we should turn in the first place to the early Greek Fathers, who were most unlikely to misunderstand the words, and had ample means of knowing in what sense they were received by the hearers and followers of the Apostles. It is certain that with one consent they held that St Peter here speaks of the descent into Hades, recognised by the Apostles' Creed and universally taught by the Church. The passages bearing on this are collected by Cotelier 'Patt. Ap.' Tom. I. p. 117. As to the objects of that descent they differed widely. Clement of Alexandria, as usual, going farthest in that direction, held that this preaching extended to all the Gentiles who had lived righteously before our Lord's coming, cf. 'Strom.' II. p. 379. Most of the early Fathers considered that it was limited to those who had believed in His future advent; thus Irenæus III. 23; IV. 29, 45; V. 31; Justin M., Origen, Hippolytus, Greg. Naz.; or more strictly to the souls of the patriarchs, Tertullian 'de Anima,' p. 260 C. Some few believed that He offered salvation to all who would receive Him, an opinion stated and not altogether rejected by Augustine, who in the 164th Epistle, § 11, 12, discusses the question with great care, and as usual with great ability, and acknowledges his uncertainty as to the true meaning at the time, A.D. 415, when he wrote that Epistle. But whatever they taught or conjectured as to the persons to whom the proclamation was addressed, all agreed that it was an announcement to spirits of the departed, and moreover that it was an announcement of deliverance to the penitent. One of the strongest statements is found in Athanasius, 'c. Apollinar.' I. § 14—a passage which, although somewhat obscure, distinctly asserts our Lord's personal presence in Hades.

This interpretation was first contested by Augustine, who in the Epistle to Evodius, above quoted, gives an explanation, which was afterwards generally adopted by mediæval writers of the Western Church, sc. Bede, Thomas Aquinas, N. de Lyra, and by many divines after the Reformation, *e.g.* Beza, Scaliger, Hammond. As stated by Augustine, l. c., it stands thus. The spirits shut up in prison are the unbelievers who lived in the times of Noe, whose spirits, *i.e.* whose souls were shut up, as it were in prison, in the flesh and in the darkness of ignorance. Christ preached to them not in the flesh, for He was not yet incarnate, but in spirit, *i.e.* in His divine nature, "secundum divinitatem." This appears to have been the view taken by our English translators. It is obviously irreconcileable with the Greek. Beza's modification, "who now in prison are suffering due punishment," meets one objection only, and that but partially. As was shewn the sense thus given to the words is forced and arbitrary.

The preaching of Noah certainly cannot mean a personal act of the Spirit of Christ, even supposing that the word Spirit here refers to the Divine Word, which is, to say the least, wholly improbable. The expression *ἐν φυλακῇ* certainly does not mean "in the prison of ignorance," but a state of durance. The Greek *ἀπειθήσασι* necessarily refers to a period antecedent to the announcement, and *ἐκήρυξε* indicates a single act, not a series of admonitions.

Hence all modern commentators concur in the exposition given in the footnote; differing only in the inferences drawn from it, though not necessarily involved in it. It is clear that it tells us nothing of the effects of the announcement, and affords no ground for speculation as to the present or future condition of those who now await their judgment in the intermediate state, having rejected or not having known the Gospel of Christ. All orthodox writers agree that the text cannot apply to spirits already condemned to eternal punishment. The expression "in prison," or more exactly, in custody, does not imply or suggest a state of purgatorial torment; though that doctrine, when once introduced, first, as seems probable, by Augustine, was supported, in the absence of direct authority, by reference to passages which by reason of their incompleteness or obscurity, might be open to speculative interpretations.

It must be borne in mind that the whole passage forms part of a general statement of the result of the sufferings of Christ. He died for sins, the just for the unjust. By that death He opened access for us Christians to God; after that death in the body He preached to the captives in His spirit, and by the baptism which He instituted He assured salvation to all who should fulfil the conditions: an institution followed by His Resurrection and Ascension.

21. The rendering follows two readings found in all the best MSS., ὅ, which; referring to *ὕδωρ*, not *ᾧ*, rendered in the A. V. "whereunto;" evidently a gloss, intended to facilitate the construction, which presents some difficulty, and is scarcely capable of exact reproduction. Again, *ὑμᾶς* with ℵ, A, B, instead of *ἡμᾶς*, which has fair support. It must be observed that the word *ἀντίτυπον* is an adjective, rendered in German "gegenbildlich," which, being either adjectival or adverbial, evades the difficulty to some extent. The Vulgate is happy in its rendering, Quod et vos nunc similis formæ salvos facit baptisma.

In the questions on the Parables of Scripture attributed, but wrongly, to Athanasius, the Flood is called the first Baptism for the extirpation of sin, 'Opp.' II. p. 426; Tertullian calls

it the Baptism of the world; and Origen, 'c. Cels.' VI. 58, says "The destruction of men in the flood is the purification of the earth," and refers to an old saying of the Greeks to the same effect.

As to the rendering of the A.V., *the answer of a good conscience*, it must be remarked that ἐπερώτημα means in classical usage a question or questioning. The passages quoted from Herodotus and Thucydides are clear and decisive. The verb from which it is derived ἐπερωτάω occurs frequently in the New Testament and in the LXX., first in the sense of simply asking a question, then specially of consulting God, as in Isai. lxv. 1, quoted Rom. x. 20, and still more commonly of addressing a petition, asking in prayer, a meaning derived from the Hebrew שׁאל, to which it corresponds in many passages: see Tromm. 'Concord.' Thus too the simpler form ἐρωτάω means to pray, to seek in prayer, a sense, which, as Grimm, *s.v.* observes, is unknown to classical writers. The single passage in which the word ἐπερώτημα occurs in the Septuagint, viz. Dan. iv. 14, identifies it in meaning with שְׁאֵלְתָא, which Rödiger in Ges. 'Thes.' explains "decretum," but which our A.V., in common with most expositors, renders by the word "demand." See Kranichen *in loc.* This rendering of the word has therefore a primary claim for acceptance. The Vulgate adopts it "Conscientiæ bonæ interrogatio in Deum." Thus the Vulg. has interrogavit in Domino and in Deo repeatedly, for the Septuagint ἐπερωτάω and the Hebrew שׁאל: so that the natural rendering of the word as used by and to persons conversant with the LXX. would be "the petition, prayer, or prayerful address of a good conscience to God." Thus Bengel, 'Gn.' Salvat ergo nos *rogatio bonæ conscientiæ*. The objection (Meyer) that this is too vague is scarcely valid. The object of the prayer addressed by a conscience, pure under the influence of the Holy Spirit, the efficient cause of conversion, must needs be salvation, including its conditions and ultimate result. There may also be reference to the spiritual washing. See Ps. li. 2. Grimm, 'Lex. N. T.,' proposes another rendering, viz. the demand or entreaty for a good conscience. This is scarcely admissible.

2. The exposition of the old Scholiast in Œcumenius comes near the true meaning; ἐπερώτημα, ἀῤῥαβὼν, ἐνέχυρον, ἀπόδειξις, *i.e.* baptism is an act in which the conscience being pure pledges itself to God. It is however not easy to shew the connection of the word with the meaning thus assigned to it.

3. The meaning "stipulatio" is advocated by Bishop Bull, 'Apol. p. Harm.' p. 23, "Stipulatio idem significat quod συγκατάθεσις ap. Basil. 'De Spir. S.' c. 11. nimirum in Baptismo interrogabat Episcopus ἀποτάσσῃ τῷ Σατανᾷ; respondebat baptizandus ἀποτάσσομαι." The objection that this refers to a later form has not much weight; the form was simply the expression of an old truth: but no valid authority for this sense of ἐπερώτημα can be adduced.

4. In some inscriptions referred to the beginning of the second century a formula occurs not unfrequently, which might suggest a plausible explanation of this passage; sc. κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς σεμνοτάτης βουλῆς, "according to the decision of the Senate." This implies that after careful questioning and examination a decisive answer has been given. Thus in baptism the conscience is questioned, considers the question and deliberately pledges itself, without the admixture of impure motive, to the fulfilment of the universal conditions, repentance and faith. This process corresponds with the external act by which the man cleanses himself from outward pollution. It scarcely seems a reasonable objection that the use of the word is not demonstrable in the time of St Peter; it is a common and legitimate use at a period not far distant, and seems to express his thought not inadequately. Upon the whole, however, the explanation given above, no. 1, is decidedly to be preferred.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *He exhorteth them to cease from sin by the example of Christ, and the consideration of the general end that now approacheth:* 12 *and comforteth them against persecution.*

CHAP. IV. 1—11. St Peter resumes the argument from *v.* 18 in the preceding chapter, after the important digression which there followed the general statement. From the fact there stated and here repeated, viz. that Christ suffered in the flesh, *i.e.* in the body, he now deduces practical inferences, shewing that He suffered not only to bring us into a state of reconciliation, but also into a state of holiness. His death at once represented and effected a complete conquest over sin. He died in the flesh to save us from the penalty due to sin, and at the same time by that death He represented and potentially effected the mortification of our carnal nature. This line of argument is followed by St Paul in the Epistles to the Romans and Colossians, see following notes. Hence St Peter enforces the duty of eschewing all old heathenish habits, with special reference to the judgment which awaits the quick and the dead.

FORASMUCH then as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind: for he that hath suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin;

2 That he no longer should live the rest of *his* time in the flesh to the lusts of men, but to the will of God.

3 For the time past of *our* life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine,

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1. *for us*] These words are omitted in the oldest MSS. and versions. The statement though true, does not bear upon the immediate object of the Apostle, who is drawing out the practical and spiritual inferences from Christ's death. Observe the correspondence with the expressions used above, ch. iii. 18, and ii. 21, 24.

arm yourselves likewise with the same mind: for] Or more probably, **do you also** (emphatic) **arm yourselves with the same thought**; the word refers to the thought which was in the mind of Christ, viz. that death, met and undergone in the same spirit which actuated Him, puts an end to contact with sin, in His case with the sins of others, which were then blotted out, expiated, and done away with, but in the case of those who are baptized into His death, to contact with personal sins; here St Peter adopts the argument developed by St Paul in Rom. vi. 6, 7, which was undoubtedly present to his mind and would be remembered by his readers.

The word rendered "mind" A.V., or more properly "thought" or way of thinking, occurs but once elsewhere in the New Testament, Heb. iv. 12, where it is used in the plural. The classical usage is uncontested. The injunction reminds Christians that they have to wage battle against "fleshly lusts that war against the soul," ii. 11; they must therefore put on as the only perfect armour of defence that principle which was exemplified in the death undergone by the Saviour, and is spiritually shared by the true believer. It is, as usual with St Peter, a condensed and pregnant summary of Pauline exhortations, most fully developed in Eph. vi.

for he that, &c.] Or, "that he who hath." This is the more obvious construction, but that which is adopted by our A. V. is well supported, and is probably correct.

hath ceased from sin] Christ having suffered for sin, abolished sin, had no more to do with it in the way of atonement; the Christian must follow that example, see the following note.

2. *That he no longer*] This is closely connected in structure with the preceding clause, "hath ceased from sin," to the effect that being dead to sin the Christian must live the rest of his life in the flesh, not as heretofore following the lusts of men, but the will of God. "In the flesh" in this clause refers simply to our bodily life. The word rendered "live" has a somewhat emphatic meaning, being never used of animals; henceforth the life must be a true life, such as befits man.

3. *For the time past*] The words "of our life" and "us" after "suffice" are not found in the oldest MSS. and should be omitted. St Peter certainly does not identify himself with those who had lived in the abominations of heathendom, specially pointed at in the following words. Another reading, "you" for "us," has some support in old MSS. and versions (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 11), but is not to be adopted. St Peter leaves to his readers the application of his statement.

the will of the Gentiles] This implies that the mass of St Peter's hearers had formerly lived as Gentiles; Gentiles among Gentiles. The statement would be but partially applicable to converts from Judaism. The evil habits enumerated were prevalent among all Gentiles, and especially in the eastern provinces of the Empire, to an extent hardly to be realized by Christians, and certainly not shared by Jews.

when we walked] The pronoun "we" must be omitted; "having walked" is better; our English idiom almost requires a pronoun, but none can be used without modifying the Apostle's statement.

in lasciviousness, &c.] St Peter gives here an enumeration strikingly characteristic of his style, remarkable for fulness and condensation; see Introduction, § 5. Six forms of gross sensuality are pointed out. Of these three are personal, applying to individuals as such: each denoted by a word accurately discriminating the principle and character of the sin: first, "lasciviousness," or more exactly, lascivious actions or habits, such as fill the pages of satirists and licentious poets of that age; secondly, "lusts," the inner principles of licentiousness; thirdly, "excess of wine," a strong word, occurring here only in the New Testament, but not uncommon in classical writers, indicating crapulousness, drunkenness. Whether solitary or not these three sins are personal. The three following are social evils, (1) "revellings," a word which has the special sense of riotous processions of wild youths such as were common in all Greek cities at that time; (2) "banquetings" or "drinking bouts," often prolonged through the night, and noticed not without commendation by the most thoughtful heathen. Cf. Plato, 'Symp.' ch. XIII., XXXI. and XXXIX. Lastly

revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries:

4 Wherein they think it strange that ye run not with *them* to the same excess of riot, speaking evil of *you:*

5 Who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead.

6 For for this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judg-

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(3), abominable idolatries, lit. illicit idolatries, not as contrary to human law, but to the eternal principle of right (ἀθέμιτος). After the persecution of Nero Christianity itself was an *illicita religio.* Here it is evident that St Peter specially refers to the general, all but universal connection of the grossest sensuality with idolatrous practices, such as all his Gentile readers must have shared, but from which the Jew recoiled. This passage, among many others, is decisive as to the nationality of his readers.

4. *Wherein*] This refers to the former course of life now abandoned by Christian converts.

they think it strange] The Gentiles, not regarding any or all the sins so abjured as unnatural, or harmful, felt and expressed the utmost surprise at the abstention of Christians, and looked upon them as morose, superstitious bigots, misanthropists, equally opposed to the enjoyments of man and to the worship of their own Gods. This feature is constantly alluded to by Christian apologists.

that ye run not with them] implies more than mere compliance, an eager pursuit of the same object.

excess of riot] Both words are emphatic; the former used here only means an overflowing, a surging up, or outburst; the second, common in classical writers, expresses utter dissoluteness, ruinous profligacy. It occurs in Eph. v. 18, where see note.

speaking evil of you] Lit. **blaspheming**; a word which ought to be kept, omitting the words "of you," as including evil-speaking not only against the persons, but the religion of Christians.

6. The interpretation of this verse depends upon that of the passage, *vv.* 19, 20, in the preceding chapter, with which it corresponds substantially. According to the most ancient, and now most generally received, view of that passage, the sense of this verse must be that the Gospel, *i.e.* the glad tidings of the triumph over death by our Lord's death and resurrection, was preached to the dead—a term which certainly extends further than to those who perished in the Deluge, and possibly to all past generations—with the intent and object of teaching them that although they should have been judged according to the law of nature and of God to suffer death in the body, they might be quickened, according to a special putting forth of Divine grace, in the spirit, and stand with spiritualized bodies before the judgment-seat of Christ. Cf. Rom. viii. 10. If this interpretation is correct it is evident that we must take the verse in connection with the first verse of the chapter; it shews that the law there laid down is universal; no one can be admitted into the kingdom who has not suffered in the flesh, undergoing the penalty for sin, and who has not also been spiritually quickened. This view does not imply that those to whom the announcement was made were transferred into a different state from that in which they had died, but that the meaning and effect of their punishment was made known to them, and the access to God, which Christ's death opened to all, was offered to them. This is connected also with the preceding verse as shewing the universality of the Final Judgment.

Points of exceeding importance are thus drawn out: 1, The death of Christ affects all, not excluding those who died before His coming; 2, All must share His death in order to be made partakers of His life.

was the gospel preached] This necessarily refers to a definite and past act, not to a continued preaching. It corresponds to the word "preached" in ch. iii. 19, but differs from it; that word meant simply "He proclaimed;" this explains the nature and bearing of the proclamation; it was evangelical, a message of glad tidings. For the statement see Justin M. 'Dial.' LXXII. and Otto's note; Irenæus, IV. 33, and V. 31.

them that are dead] This does not give the exact sense of the Greek, which rather implies "to them that **were** dead when the Gospel reached them." We may assume as certain that the word refers to physical, not, as some have held, to spiritual death. The announcement was made not to the quick but to the dead; those dwellers in Hades who, whether as "prisoners of hope," or, so to speak, prisoners of fear, awaited the coming of Christ.

that they might be judged] The construction presents some difficulty, increased in our version by the omission of the word **indeed**. The Greek makes a distinction between the two propositions; the former does not apply to the effect of the tidings, but to the condition of those who were addressed; they were to learn that they had, as a natural law, to undergo death, the wages of their sin; the next proposition, *but live*, tells us what was the ultimate and perfect effect upon those

ed according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.

7 But the end of all things is at hand: be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer.

8 And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves: for charity [1] shall cover the multitude of sins.

9 Use hospitality one to another without grudging.

[1] Or, *will.*

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who were prepared to receive it. *According to God*, as above explained, according to the divine law of grace and life. The literal rendering is *that they may be* judged: but the term is evidently used with reference to their previous state, not to the time of the announcement.

It must be borne in mind that St Peter's great object is to shew the universality and absolute character of the principles with which he is here specially concerned. It might have been objected that physical death and the option of spiritual life could scarcely be universal, if all past generations were exempted from the law. That objection he meets, not to lead us into speculative inquiry, but to vindicate the righteousness of God and take away every pretext for misrepresentation.

7—11. PRACTICAL EXHORTATIONS CONNECTED WITH IMPENDING JUDGMENT.

7. *But the end of all things*] The order of the Greek words is emphatic, *Of all however the end is near; all* might apply both to men and things, here probably to both, for our "own end" is the main point in warning. The words stand out in striking contrast to the preceding verse; we are not to be drawn aside from contemplating our own responsibility by speculating about the lot of others; we and they have the ultimate and complete judgment to look for, and that without delay.

at hand] Lit. **has drawn near.** It is the word constantly used in reference to the coming of Christ and His kingdom. We have to understand it either as referring to the very brief period which must intervene before we are called individually to give account for the things done in the body—a view which however is rather an application than a proper explanation,—or to the great judgment certainly then impending over the Hebrew and Gentile world, to which expressions resembling this very closely must be referred; or literally and properly to the day which will usher in eternity. To this last the only possible objection is that the Apostle's statements are held to be incompatible with the vast interval which has already elapsed. But the last day is spoken of as near, not with reference to our chronology, but to the development of God's purposes in His various dispensations. We live in the last times, under a dispensation which is final in the history of humanity, and will have its termination at the coming of Christ. That termination has drawn near (ἤγγικε), so near that there is absolutely nothing between it and us.

be ye therefore sober] Rather, "be ye therefore **sober-minded**;" referring to a general state of wise and sober mind. The Greek (σωφρονεῖν) is explicitly opposed to all ill-regulated and unwise thoughts and feelings.

and watch unto prayer] The word rendered watch (νήψατε) implies sober, thoughtful, abstinence, giving the mind in a calm composed state to the great duty of prayer. A different word is used in the exhortation which naturally presents itself to our minds; see Mark xiii. 37. St Peter had in mind the special temptations of a people and time addicted to excess in habits and emotions.

8. *above all*] Lit. **before all things.** Omit the conjunction "and," which rather obscures the earnestness of St Peter's style. Charity must not only be supreme, but it must precede all acts which manifest the Christian life. It is scarcely needful to point out that "charity" is the Christian grace of love, and that the word was adopted here and elsewhere in our A. V., partly because it is a new and exclusively Christian name for a Christian grace, corresponding closely to the Greek, partly because it was familiar to the Christian mind as the equivalent and representative of the Vulgate "caritas."

have fervent charity] The Greek is even stronger, "having or keeping your charity intense;" the charity they must needs have as Christians; they are bound to keep it in a state of energy or intensity.

shall cover] Or, **covers.** This reading has far better support than *shall cover;* and is important as meaning that earnest charity casts a cloke over many offences, refuses to see or to expose them. The future tense might rather imply that it will be a protection or defence in the day of judgment, a thought alien to the Apostle's mind. In the original passage, Prov. x. 12, the former is the undoubted meaning. Here the injunction and the motive have a special significance; the preservation of peace being the best and indeed the only effectual preparation for impending trials and the final judgment. See note on James v. 20.

9. *hospitality*] The word must be taken in its proper sense, not directly referring to friendly intercourse among equals—a social

10 As every man hath received the gift, *even so* minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God.

11 If any man speak, *let him speak* as the oracles of God; if any man minister, *let him do it* as of the ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

12 Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to

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and temporal duty having its own immediate and temporal reward—but specially to the kindly reception of strangers (cf. Matt. xxv. 35) and of all who need comfort and help. Such hospitality involved considerable expense in an age when no regular provision was made for the destitute, great and sudden vicissitudes from opulence to poverty were common, and wayfarers bearing commendatory letters from Christian pastors frequently presented themselves at the houses of the rich. Hence the repeated exhortations of St Paul and our Apostle.

grudging] Or "murmuring," impatient outbursts. The word indicates the commonness of the temptation and the necessity of a special caution. Cf. 2 Cor. ix. 7.

10. *the gift*] Or, **a gift.** From temporal the Apostle now passes to spiritual duties; the word rendered "gift" means specially a spiritual endowment, whether miraculous or ordinary, whether personal or ministerial. This exactly corresponds to St Paul's exhortations, 1 Cor. xii. 7; see also xiv. 12. Compare Clem. Rom. '1 Cor.' XXXVIII.

as good stewards] The proper office of the steward, as understood by the readers of St Peter, was rightly to administer and dispense his master's goods, providing for the due maintenance of all the household. The word "manifold" in Greek specially refers to the great variety of gifts and graces of which each Christian recipient is bound to be a liberal dispenser.

11. *If any man speak*] Or, "If any man **speaks**;" *i.e.* When any one speaks. It is not implied that some may not have to speak. Here St Peter refers to two kinds only of the manifold gifts, but they include all that is needed for the edification and organization of the Church. Speaking includes all kinds of instruction given by Christians to each other, whether ordinary, extraordinary, or official. A man who speaks thus must speak not as using his own natural uninspired utterances, but as being a bearer of divine utterances.

the oracles] Not "*the* oracles," an expression which would imply in conformity with the Scriptures, but **as oracles**, being themselves entrusted with such utterances. The exhortation is singularly impressive, implying a complete surrender of the speaker's self to the movements of the Holy Spirit, as in our Lord's exhortation, Mark xiii. 11. The ministering officers of the Church are to depend entirely on the strength given them by God. Thus all the glory of the success of exhortations or of ministrations will be referred to God through Jesus Christ, by whose effectual working the speaker and minister are enabled to do their duty.

minister] This does not refer to ministrations in the Church, but to the distribution of gifts spoken of in the preceding verse.

to whom] The question, whether this refers to God the Father or to the Lord Jesus Christ, is differently answered by commentators. On the one hand, it is said truly that all glory is ascribed to the Father as the primal source of grace, and in this passage the great subject of the sentence; on the other, it may be pointed out that the most natural construction connects the words with those immediately preceding it, and that the ascription of glory and power to the Son is thoroughly in accordance with the principles and the style both of St Peter and St Paul. Clem. Rom. § XX. applies the ascription indiscriminately to the Father and, as here, to the Son. See the note of Lipsius on that passage in the edition of Gebhardt and Harnack. That doxology refers specially to the grace and goodness of God manifested through Christ to the Church.

12—19. St Peter now recurs to the train of thought which marks the beginning of his Epistle, i. 3—9; and points to the certain hope of glory which awaits those who are partakers of Christ's sufferings. The expressions employed throughout imply that severe persecution is imminent, to be looked for as immediately to come, if not already begun.

12. *think it not strange*] The word, as here used, is peculiar to St Peter, who uses it twice, here and above, *v.* 4. The feeling deprecated is that of strangeness, as though suffering was not the home-portion, so to speak, of a Christian. Gentiles felt unable to understand the feelings of Christians, and were therefore estranged from them, Christians must not feel themselves unable to realize their position as sufferers. They are to be at home in suffering.

concerning...to try you] This may be more exactly rendered, "at **the fiery affliction which is taking place among you for a trial.**" The word (πύρωσις) is emphatic; it is used in the LXX. as equivalent to "fur-

try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you:

13 But rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that, when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy.

14 If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy *are ye;* for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you: on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified.

15 But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or *as* a thief, or *as* an evildoer, or as a busybody in other men's matters.

16 Yet if *any man suffer* as a

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nace;" and certainly refers to ch. i. 7. The A. V. is ambiguous and may be understood to speak of a future trial; the Greek decisively shews that it is already going on among Christians.

some strange thing] This refers to the verb, rendered "think it not strange." The following verse shews that such sufferings cannot be strange to Christ's followers.

13. *But rejoice, inasmuch*] The word "inasmuch" must be understood in its full and proper sense, "to the extent in which." So far as the Christian's sufferings are of the same kind, proceeding from the same causes, as those undergone by his Master, he is called upon to rejoice, for that present participation in suffering secures future participation in His glory. See again ch. i. 7.

that] This refers to the rejoicing in suffering which is a pledge of future rejoicing in glory.

14. *If ye be reproached*] Rather, **If** (or "when") **ye are reviled.** The Greek does not imply a contingency, but asserts a fact.

for the name of Christ] Lit. "in Christ's name," *i.e.* simply because you confess Christ as your Lord. Thus in the Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, "they were imprisoned as Christians, no other charge whatever being brought against them."

for the spirit] Hence the blessedness of the Christian who when suffering has a special sense of the abiding presence of the Spirit of God, bringing with It the assurance of future glory, and of actual favour with God. The word rendered "resteth" has a special significance, being used in the LXX. of the abiding presence of the Spirit of the Lord, Isai. xi. 2.

on their part...glorified] This clause is omitted in all the best MSS. and ancient versions. It was probably a gloss, a very correct one, in the margin of an early MS., and taken into the text by a transcriber. The oldest MS. which has it is of the ninth century, but it is found in some very old versions, the Sahidic and Italic. It contrasts the blasphemies (for *evil spoken of* should be rendered **blasphemed**) with the glory attributed and proved by its effects on suffering Christians.

15. *But*] Read "for." St Peter touches evidently upon charges often brought falsely and maliciously by persecutors.

a murderer] This probably stands first, not as a charge likely to be made, but as standing first in the decalogue, in dealing with duty to man. Possibly the heathens might found such a charge upon the reception of criminals into the Church upon their repentance.

or as a thief] A special sin of slaves, against which we find unusually explicit warning in Eph. iv. 28, where see note.

an evildoer] A legal term, equivalent to "malefactor" or criminal; a word summing up all offences against the law. It is a word common in classical writers, but in the New Testament used only by St Peter, ii. 12, 14, iii. 16, and St John xviii. 30.

a busybody in other men's matters] This expresses a single word in the Greek, one which does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament, and twice only in later Christian writers. The exact meaning is "one who usurps authority in matters not within his province." St Peter gives a special point to this injunction; it stands apart, as differing in kind from other offences. The question is whether he alludes to the propensity to interfere with other persons, specially with heathens, in religious matters, as a warning against indiscreet zeal on the part of Christians, a view taken by Renan, 'Antech.' p. 42; or whether, as the form of the Greek word certainly implies, his object is to warn Christians against assuming authority in purely secular matters alien to their calling. Ps. Dionys. Areop. uses it in the sense of one who intrudes upon an alien office. The word of which it is compounded "episcopos" with its derivatives in the LXX. always refers to official duties or works, specially to the work of inspection. It certainly does not bear upon missionary undertakings. But were Christians likely to incur the charge of taking undue part in secular matters with which they were not personally concerned? The answer must be, Very probably they were. We read of an application to our Lord Himself to take upon Him the office of a secular Judge, and His indignant refusal, Luke xii. 13, 14. In fact we have instances of Christians having a widespread reputation for equity and discernment

Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf.

17 For the time *is come* that judgment must begin at the house of God: and if *it* first *begin* at us, what shall the end *be* of them that obey not the gospel of God?

18 And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?

19 Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God commit the keeping of their souls *to him* in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator.

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among their unbelieving neighbours, and on that account being appealed to to settle difficult cases, *i.e.* to act as overseers or arbitrators in external matters. Thus in a Talmudic notice of the second Gamaliel we read that he with his sister applied to a Christian for a decision in a question of contested rights of property. (See 'Tract. Shabbath,' f. 116, quoted in the 'Expositor,' April, 1879, and by Hilgenfeld on the 'Evang. Heb.' p. 21, 22.) Such a position, whether rightly or wrongly used, would expose Christians to misrepresentation, and be a pretext for persecution. This seems to be the true meaning of the warning. It agrees with, but is more precise than the explanation of Œcumenius, or of Cyprian, who renders it "alienas curas gerens," 'Ep.' IV. 6. Plato has a corresponding word, ἀλλοτριοπραγμοσύνη, 'Rep.' IV. Hilgenfeld takes the word to mean *delator*, an interpretation certainly incorrect, and evidently adopted in order to support his view as to the late date of the Epistle; see his 'Einl.' p. 652.

16. *on this behalf*] This rendering follows the old and common reading; but the best MSS. have **in this name**, which may be explained as an idiom not differing in meaning from the one adopted in our A. V.; but which more probably has a distinct and definite bearing upon the charge brought, as the real substantial charge against Christians, that of professing the Name of Christ. It need not be inferred that St Peter alludes to the name "Christian," but since it was first given at Antioch, long before this Epistle was written, and must have been well known to the Apostle, the reference is, to say the least, highly probable. Thus Clem. Alex. 'Quis D. S.' ch. 36, "worthy of the name which they wear as a kingly diadem."

17. *For the time is come*] Lit. **For it is a season**; the critical time is now come when the judgment, which impends on all, must have a beginning, and that beginning must take place in God's house. The cleansing of the sanctuary, *i.e.* the Church of Christ, must be the very first act in the process of judgment. All its severe trials therefore are to be regarded as intimations and preludes to the general judgment. The sifting involves a separation of the sound from the unsound, which must needs bring suffering to all, and ruin to those who do not endure to the end.

that obey not the gospel of God] Cf. Rom. i. 5.

18. *the righteous*] This word is rarely applied to Christians, but St Peter is quoting from the Septuagint version of Prov. xi. 31, and retains the word as specially applicable to the occasion. The Christian, as such, is clear from the guilt which incurs condemnation; but if he being righteous is saved only on the condition of passing through affliction so terrible, affecting life, property, character, what must be the position of a wilful offender against God and His law?

the ungodly] Or, **impious**, a term specially applying to false worship rather than to denial of God.

sinner] in the special sense of transgressor, for "sin is the transgression of the law." Rabbinical writers quoted by Wetstein observe as a general law of divine chastisements that "they do not come upon the world unless there be impious persons in it, yet that they always begin with the righteous—when power is given to the destroyer he makes no distinction between the righteous and the wicked, and not that only, but he begins with the righteous."

N.B. The LXX. render the Hebrew of Proverbs inaccurately; our version gives the true meaning. It is evident that St Peter addresses persons who were not acquainted with the Hebrew. He would regard the truth of his statement rather than its verbal agreement with a passage which he adduces without indicating its source.

19. *Wherefore*] Lit. "So let them also who suffer," &c. St Peter sums up the argument with singular power. What the Christian has to remember throughout is that he suffers according to God's will, and therefore necessarily for a wise and loving purpose. What he has to do is simply to commit his soul to his Creator, trusting not only in His power, but in His faithfulness. The word "as" before "unto a faithful Creator," must be omitted, being found only in later MSS. St Peter certainly refers to our Lord's own words, Luke xxiii. 46 (where all the best MSS. have παρατίθεμαι). He is careful to add "in well doing;" in order to have and to justify that absolute reliance on God's faithfulness, Christians must have good and holy works to offer as proofs of their faith. "Their

CHAPTER V.

1 *He exhorteth the elders to feed their flocks,* 5 *the younger to obey,* 8 *and all to be sober, watchful, and constant in the faith:* 9 *to resist the cruel adversary the devil.*

THE elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed:

2 Feed the flock of God [1] which is among you, taking the oversight *thereof*, not by constraint, but will-

[1] Or, *as much as in you is.*

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works do follow them," Rev. xiv. 13. The good works are not the effectual or meritorious cause of acceptance, but they afford the only assurance that believers are accepted. The word, as it stands in this passage, is peculiar to St Peter; it accords with his style to condense a whole series of injunctions into a single pregnant word; see note on ch. iii. 8.

CHAP. V. 1—4. EXHORTATIONS TO THE OFFICIAL HEADS AND LEADERS OF THE CHURCH. These exhortations are strictly confined to the discharge of their special duties.

1. *The elders*] The word *therefore* is introduced here on good MSS. authority; but it seems unnecessary and scarcely in accordance with the course of St Peter's argument, unless it be understood as a special application of the word which in the Greek immediately precedes it, viz. "in doing good works." The elders here addressed unquestionably represent the highest authorities in the Churches. The term includes those who afterwards, within a few years, were formally designated as Bishops. They exercise all the functions of that office, which are included in the word inadequately rendered by "feed" in the next verse, where see note. On the New Testament usage see notes on Acts and Philippians. The use of the word in this place is one among many conclusive proofs of the early date of the Epistle, which must have been written before the organization of the Churches in Asia Minor was substantially completed under the government of St John.

I exhort] This text has been misused as a proof of St Peter's supremacy, but it is commonly used not only by Apostles (as by St Paul most frequently), but by all Christians exhorting their fellows in the faith. In fact the word though often used for admonition and even command never loses its primary and most common sense, that of persuasion. St Peter gives three reasons to enforce, we might almost say to excuse, the earnestness of the exhortation; (1) community of office, (2) the fact that he was a witness of the sufferings of Christ, (3) that he shared with them the hope of glory. The first and third reasons are studiously put forward so as, it might seem, to avoid the appearance of such claims as were afterwards advanced in his name; the second gives a peculiar pathos to his exhortation to tend the flock of God "which He bought with His own blood," Acts xx. 28.

There is, as might be expected, a striking resemblance between his arguments and those used by St Paul in the great discourse recorded in Acts xx. 18—35.

a witness] In the special sense of one called to bear witness of what he had seen.

a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed] This refers to ch. i. 7. The word rendered "shall be" implies certainty, but not an immediate manifestation.

2. *Feed the flock*] The word rendered "feed," rather **tend**, includes all the duties of a shepherd, specially those of tending, guiding, and bringing to good pastures. It was a word deeply impressed upon St Peter's consciousness, being the special duty imposed upon him as a proof of love, John xxi. 16, where the A.V. improperly, as here, renders the word (ποίμαινε) "feed," for which a totally different word (βόσκε) is twice used in the 15th and 17th verses. It is important to observe that neither here nor elsewhere in this Epistle, or in the speeches of the Acts, does St Peter allude to that or to the still higher distinction conferred upon him by our Lord. Cf. Matt. xvi. 17—19.

the flock of God] Thus all the best MSS. A various reading "of Christ" or of "the Lord" is scarcely deserving of notice, except as bearing upon the similar passage in Acts xx. 28. The Church is the flock of God the Father as the maker and possessor; of God the Son as the purchaser and restorer; of God the Holy Ghost as the feeder and guide.

which is among you] Equivalent to "under your care," or in your province. The expression is somewhat peculiar, and certainly represents a close inward union.

taking the oversight thereof] The word (ἐπισκοποῦντες) thus paraphrased is omitted by the two oldest MSS., but it is found in the great majority of MSS., and in all the oldest versions. There is no sufficient reason for following those two MSS., ℵ, B, which are conspicuous for such omissions. The word is important, for it means "acting as overseers or Bishops," an expression which at a very early period was appropriated to the actual governors of the Church, and which soon became their formal official designation.

not by constraint] Not only or chiefly because it is a bounden duty, involving a heavy

ingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind;

3 Neither as [1]being lords over *God's* heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.

4 And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.

5 Likewise, ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder. Yea, all

[1] Or, *over-ruling.*

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penalty if neglected, but with a willing spirit, moved not by fear but love. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 16, 17. The word here used in the Greek does not occur elsewhere.

not for filthy lucre] Not with a disgraceful view to profit. There seems evidently a reference to St Paul's words in the verse immediately following those referred to in the preceding note, *What is my reward then?* the answer being that the only reward for which he cared is to preach the Gospel without charge. It must be observed that the warning implies a right to maintenance which might be abused. At a very early age, and indeed throughout the history of the Church, neglect of this warning led to the worst schisms and usurpations.

of a ready mind] The word is emphatic, implying not merely willingness, but earnest desire.

3. *Neither as being lords*] Rather, "acting as lords," **lording it over**. The word implies that the Presbyter-bishops had real authority, but warns them against an arrogant domineering spirit in its exercise. It is obvious that abuses in this direction would arise at a very early period; see a singularly strong instance in the third Epistle of St John, *v.* 9. The very existence of a governing power has been denied by writers resting on the misapplication of this text, an opinion which might seem to be countenanced even by St Bernard, "Planum est, Apostolis interdicitur dominium," 'De Consideratione,' II. 6: but dominium implies more than constitutional authority. Compare Clem. R. '1 Cor.' XVI.

God's heritage] Lit. "heritages," an expression which occurs only in this passage, and presents some difficulty. Some understand it as referring to the clergy, an early usage of the word, but not resting on scriptural authority. The more probable and generally accepted meaning is that the several churches under the charge of the presbyters addressed by St Paul are spoken of. Thus Grimm 'Lex. N. T.' s. v. κλῆρος, and Hilgenfeld. Thus too Bengel and Estius. Cyprian's view agrees with this, "The Church of God is one, the separate portions of which are governed each by its own Bishop as a common inheritance." Ritschl, 'Die Enst. d. A. K. Kirche,' p. 192, holds the word to mean the orders of which the flock consists. The word *God's* ought not to have been inserted in our A. V.

ensamples] Lit. *types* in the special sense of examples, for which St Peter uses two words, one taken from the art of painting (ὑπογραμμός, see above, ii. 21), the other from the sister art of sculpture. Each head of the flock must stand out as a distinct representative of the unseen Master to whom he and his people must be conformed. Thus Greg. Naz. says of his own father, "He humanized the manners of his wild people, both by words of pastoral wisdom, and by setting forth himself an example, so to speak a spiritual image, exquisitely finished so as to exemplify the beauty of every good work," 'Or.' XVIII. c. 16, p. 341 A. Tom. I. ed. Ben.

4. *the chief Shepherd*] St Peter thus points out the true and only origin of all authority in the Church. Presbyters or Bishops are true shepherds, but only as delegates of our chief Shepherd, cf. ii. 25. This great word is used by St Peter only; the last thing he could have dreamed of as possible would be its misapplication to himself or his so-called successors. It is here to be observed that the words "shepherd" and "tend" are peculiar to St Peter and to St John, who stand in a peculiarly near relation to each other and to the Church.

a crown of glory that fadeth not away] Lit. "the unfading crown of the glory." A similar but not exactly the same word is used above, i. 4. It means *not liable to wither*, a metaphor suggested by the wreaths of flowers in common use, and specially awarded as crowns to victors in public games. Cf. James i. 12; 1 Cor. ix. 25; Wisd. v. 16. In 2 Tim. iv. 8 we are told that the crown of righteousness will be given not only to Apostles, but to all who love His appearing.

5. Exhortation to younger ministers.

5. *Likewise, ye younger*] The *younger* thus spoken of would seem to be the subordinate ministers of the Church; for the word "likewise" implies a certain analogy or correspondence, so that as the elders were certainly officials, the younger were in all probability their subordinates. Whether the term includes "deacons" may be questioned, but it seems improbable that the Apostle should omit all notice of an order, first established under the authority of the Twelve, see Acts vi. 2—6; and this was the natural place for addressing them. It is certain however that at a very early time and in those districts subordinate offices were called into existence, and Polycarp 'Ep.

of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility: for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.

6 Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time:

7 Casting all your care upon him; for he careth for you.

8 Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring

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Ephes.' c. VIII. specially distinguishes "the younger" from the deacons, to whom as well as to the elder he exhorts them to be obedient. We may understand by the term all subordinate ministers of the Church, as distinguished from the members who are generally addressed in the next clause. The due relation between the young, and the elders, is often dwelt upon by Clem. R. in language which seems adopted from St Peter.

Yea, all of you be subject] The last word rendered "be subject" is omitted in the oldest MSS., and seems to be transferred from ch. ii. 18. If it be a gloss it is a very good one, and should not hastily be dismissed, especially as it is almost necessary for the grammatical construction with the following words "one to another," which are retained in all MSS.

be clothed] The expression in the Greek, which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, has a singular force. It means to be clothed as with a white scarf worn by slaves, and in a manner which intimates promptitude in the discharge of menial duties. The word is admirably illustrated by Fritzsche, see Grimm, 'Lex. N. T.' (s.v. ἐγκομβόομαι). So that the words may be paraphrased, Put on humility as a garb of slaves indicating the mutual subjection of all true Christians. Nothing is more remarkable in the accounts of early Christians than their willingness to adopt the once odious name and acts of slaves. See especially P. Allard, 'Les esclaves chrétiens,' p. 239 f.

for God resisteth] This passage, quoted also by St James, iv. 6, is taken from the Septuagint version of Prov. iii. 34. The Hebrew has in the first clause, "surely he scorneth the scorners." The subject 'God' in our Epistle, and 'Lord' in the LXX., is supplied in the translation.

6—9. Final exhortation to humility, patience and watchfulness.

6. *Humble yourselves...under the mighty hand*] The words "mighty hand" refer specially to a putting forth of power in the form of chastisement. The Christian yields humbly and submissively, with a certainty that every visitation is intended for his good, and must therefore be followed by a great deliverance and exaltation. St Peter doubtless refers to our Lord's saying, "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted," (cf. also Matt. xviii. 4,) but he has in mind specially such submission as was shewn by our Lord in Gethsemane.

in due time] This follows the version of Erasmus, and accords with classical usage; but here the word evidently refers to the time when our Lord at His second coming will give a crown of glory to the humble.

7. *Casting all your care...he careth*] Two very different words are used here in reference to man's *care*—which involves anxiety, and is to be suppressed or thrown off—and God's *care* which is loving and providential. The expression rendered, casting all your care, should therefore be understood, "casting all your anxiety upon him," though the rendering of the A.V. may be preserved. St Peter refers to Ps. lv. 22, but he does not quote exactly either the Hebrew (which has a peculiar and difficult word for "care," see note *in loc.*), or the LXX., which in the second clause follows the Hebrew, whereas our Apostle introduces a new and very affecting thought, indicating the fulness of Divine sympathy. Such references are not to be regarded either as direct quotations, or as imperfect reminiscences, but as expressions of thought worked out in Christian consciousness.

for] Omit this word, which is not found in the oldest MSS.

8. *Be sober, be vigilant*] The sobriety of mind and spirit is here indicated, without which watchfulness would degenerate into anxiety. "Watch" is the last word in the last general exhortation of our Lord before His Passion, Mark xiii. 37.

your adversary the devil] The two words point to the special forms in which the Christian must look for trial. 'The adversary' is the maintainer of the opposite side in a trial for life or death; 'the devil,' taken in its proper sense, means calumniator, one who knowingly advances false charges; the most formidable designation of Satan, exactly expressing the Hebrew name.

The expression, "goeth about," is peculiarly graphic, describing the evil one as "prowling about, not daring to enter the fold, but ready to seize any wanderer and to devour him." The craft as well as the ferocity of Satan is distinctly set before us. The word rendered "roaring" is specially used to indicate the howl of the lion or wolf in fierce hunger (cf. Hesychius, κυρίως ἐπὶ λιμῷ ἢ λύκων ἢ λεόν-

lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour:

9 Whom resist stedfast in the faith, knowing that the same afflictions are accomplished in your brethren that are in the world.

10 But the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered a while, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle *you*.

11 To him *be* glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

12 By Silvanus, a faithful brother

τῶν), and it has the effect of utterly prostrating the animal energies of those whom it does not rouse to exertion. Under this most striking image the Apostle describes the temptations which ever beset the Christian, and most specially in times of persecution. The roaring of the lion finds its counterpart in the menaces and writings of fanatic Jews and heathens, and Wetstein, who quotes a passage from the Talmud, 'Aboth' 36, to the effect that evil angels run to and fro from one end of the world to the other, takes it here as referring specially to calumnious accusations before heathen magistrates. This however but partially represents the meaning. The exhortation applies to all times and all classes of Christians.

9. *Whom resist stedfast in the faith*] Without dwelling upon the metaphor, so completely wrought out by St Paul, Eph. vi. 13 f., our Apostle evidently has it present to his mind. The one great point however, on which the "rock-man" Peter concentrates attention, is the firmness, solid, rock-like stedfastness, which has its root and sustenance in faith. He well knew the effects of the presence and of the loss or failure of that central principle.

knowing] This implies that persecutions were already breaking out in all parts of the Roman empire; but the word, "are accomplished," requires attention. It means not that the afflictions have been accomplished, or more properly "fulfilled," but that they were, at the time when St Peter wrote, in process of fulfilment. The word fulfilment refers especially to the sufferings as in accordance with the Divine purpose, a thought of which an echo is heard in the beginning of the 'Iliad.'

your brethren that are in the world] Lit. "your **brotherhood** (a word used in the New Testament only by St Peter, cf. ch. ii. 17), in the world," *i.e.* in different parts of the world, whether extending beyond the Roman empire is uncertain: but there are no records of persecutions at that time save within the dominions of Nero.

10, 11. END OF THE EPISTLE; summing up its whole purport in a prayer singular for its completeness, and followed by an ascription of glory due to God.

10. *But the God...called us*] Or, according to all the best MSS., "who **called** (om. hath) **you**." *The God of all grace*, to Him the origin and perpetual source of all grace, the calling of Christians is invariably attributed in the New Testament.

by Christ Jesus] More literally, **in Christ** (the two oldest MSS. omit "Jesus," which however stands on good authority, and would hardly have been left out by our Apostle in this great prayer). The word *in* includes, but extends farther than *by*. Christ is the life, head, and very principle of all existence to the Christian.

after that ye have suffered a while] This rendering obscures the reference to the beginning of the Epistle, i. 6, in which the shortness and comparative lightness of the sufferings of Christians are spoken of. The word rendered "a while," lit. "**a little**," includes both the brevity of the time and the comparative lightness of the sufferings.

make you perfect...settle you] Or, "will make you," &c. The MSS. vary between the future and the optative. Good reason may be alleged for either, the former expresses a certain conviction, the latter a strong desire and trust. The former however seems preferable; cf. 2 Cor. ix. 10; Phil. iv. 19, where the future is used, though some MSS. have the same variant as here.

Here we have another instance of St Peter's habit of condensing a whole series of lofty thoughts in a few pregnant words. Each of the four words which he uses has a distinct sense; the first rendered *make you perfect* is properly applied to a thorough process of amendment, bringing for instance a damaged net into perfect order, the occupation of the fishermen when our Lord called them, Matt. iv. 21; Mark i. 19. *Stablish*, elsewhere rendered confirm, is the second step in the process of conversion, used to denote the object of Apostles in a second missionary journey; *strengthen* (the Greek word is used only by St Peter) refers to the imparting of spiritual strength, cf. Eph. iii. 16; *settle* (cf. Ephes. iii. 17, where it is rendered "grounded") is an emphatic word: looking upon the Christian as corrected, confirmed, strengthened, St Peter sums up all in the one great thought that he must be "founded on the rock," Matt. vii. 25, where the same word is used. N.B. Here the word is omitted in two old MSS., but is to be retained as in accordance with St Peter's style and with the context.

11. *be glory and dominion*] This ascription

unto you, as I suppose, I have written briefly, exhorting, and testifying that this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand.

13 The *church that is* at Babylon, elected together with *you*, saluteth you; and *so doth* Marcus my son.

seems to have undergone a slight interpolation, not unnatural, as common in other passages, but here somewhat obscuring the connection of thought. Read **to Him be the might.** The prominent feeling in St Peter's mind is that all the power and might, in virtue of which the Christian can alone maintain his integrity, belongs to God, and is derived from Him only.

12—14. SALUTATIONS, as usual, after the proper close of the Epistle, follow and complete St Peter's object.

12. *By Silvanus, a faithful brother unto you, as I suppose, I have written*] For the correct rendering see the following note. This notice is of extreme importance, but two points require attention in considering the precise meaning of the words.

as I suppose] scarcely represents the mind of St Peter; his word (λογίζομαι) implies no mere conjecture, or opinion, but an estimate resting on rational and sure grounds. Cf. Rom. viii. 18. He gives this expression of well-grounded confidence in order to satisfy all his readers that the Silvanus whom they knew well as the companion of St Paul, was equally esteemed and trusted by himself; a point never lost sight of in this Epistle is the existence of perfect harmony of principle and feeling between himself and St Paul. The words *unto you* are referred in our version to the opinion or feelings of the Churches to whom Silvanus bore the Epistle; but it is far more reasonable to connect it with the verb *I have written;* St Peter was not concerned to tell his readers that Silvanus was well known and trusted by them; he *was* concerned to tell them that in his deliberate opinion Silvanus was a true, faithful brother in Christ. This connection comes out distinctly if we adopt the rendering, **By Silvanus, the** (not *a* as in A.V.) **faithful brother, as I judge, I write unto you in few words.** 'I write,' not 'I have written,' lit. *I wrote;* in accordance with Greek usage St Peter uses what is called the epistolary aorist, lit. I wrote, *i.e.* when I penned the Epistle. He is careful to call attention to three points; that he writes using Silvanus as his messenger, that Silvanus is well known to his readers, and enjoys his perfect confidence; and that his Epistle, compared probably with the great doctrinal Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, is studiously short, not so much expounding or discussing, as stating concisely the fundamental principles of all Christian teaching—hence the special force of the next clause.

exhorting, and testifying, &c.] Both words have special force, the first implies an earnest and persuasive form of address, see note above on *v.* 1; the next a strong attestation. St Peter has in mind the necessity above all things of attesting the completeness and soundness of the faith as already received by them. This is the true grace of God—that is the grace which they had been taught by St Paul. It is as forcible and convincing as St Paul's own emphatic declaration in Gal. i. 11, 12; and coming from St Peter it carries with it the whole weight of Apostolic authority.

wherein ye stand] The oldest MSS. here have **in which stand.** St Peter changes his tone, as it were involuntarily and unconsciously passing from attestation to a vigorous admonition. This is the true grace of God, see to it that ye do not fall from it. The common reading yields a sound and true sense, the grace in which ye now stand is the true grace; but the transition is singularly effective. It is probable that St Peter refers to St Paul's own words, 1 Cor. xv. 1; enforcing his statement by the change from the indicative to the imperative mood.

13. *The church that is at Babylon*] Lit. "the co-elect in Babylon." These few words present considerable difficulties. The word "church" is not in the Greek, but is accepted by nearly all commentators ancient and modern as the true meaning.—The church in Babylon elect together with the churches to which the Epistle is addressed. But for the consent of old and modern interpreters the word *lady* or *woman* would naturally be supplied; and *the elect lady* of 2 John 1 comes nearest to the expression. There however *the lady* probably means the Church addressed by St John. In either case therefore the sense would remain substantially the same, but it must be noticed as a mystical or symbolical expression, and as such bearing upon the interpretation of the next word.

at Babylon] See Introduction, § 4. We have here to remark (1) that the city of Babylon at that time was *certainly* not the seat of a Christian community; (2) that no ancient record has the slightest trace of St Peter's presence or work in Chaldæa; (3) that all ancient authorities are unanimous in the assertion that the later year or years of his life were passed in the west of the Roman empire. On the other hand, Babylon was well known in Asia Minor during the lifetime of St John as the sym-

14 Greet ye one another with a kiss of charity. Peace *be* with you all that are in Christ Jesus. Amen.

bolical designation of Rome, and, as was before pointed out, the whole phrase has a symbolical form or tone. Accordingly we find an absolute consensus of ancient interpreters that here Babylon must be understood as equivalent to Rome. There was good reason why such a name should be here given to it. All the persecutions then impending, in fact already in progress, came from the city, which succeeded Babylon as the type and centre of antichristian forces. The Church elect together with other Churches suggested the remarkable contrast; from that little community, faithful and loved by all, came the salutation of peace in antithesis to the howlings of persecution. We adopt without the least misgiving this explanation of the word as alone according with the mind of the Apostle, and with the testimony of the early Church. So also Thiersch, Ewald, and Hilgenfeld very positively, 'Einl.' p. 683.

Marcus my son] It is generally, all but universally, admitted that 'John whose surname was Mark' is here meant. He was probably converted by St Peter, who was on terms of affectionate and close intercourse with Mary his mother; and at the latter time of the Apostle's life he was employed by him as his amanuensis, so the oldest tradition asserts. This mention adds somewhat to the form of the preceding arguments, which identify Babylon with Rome, there being ample proof that St Mark wrote his Gospel in that city. The salutation would have a special interest considering the early relations between Mark and the Churches of the East. For instances of the very common idiom 'son'=pupil or disciple, see Potter on Clem. Alex. 'Str.' I. p. 317.

14. *with a kiss of charity*] Cf. Rom. xvi. 16, and notice the connection between this and the reiterated exhortations to brotherly love.

Peace...Christ Jesus] Or, **Peace to you all who are in Christ.** The name Jesus stands on fair authority, but is omitted in the oldest MSS. *Who are in Christ* does not imply a suggestion that some only of those whom St Peter addresses are true Christians, a thought which, however true, was not probably in the mind of the Apostle, who embraced all in loving trust, and prayed for the peace of all who bore the name of Christ and had been baptized into Him.

II. PETER.

INTRODUCTION.

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IN dealing with this Epistle it will be most convenient to notice (1) The external evidence which relates to it; (2) The internal marks of its genuineness and authenticity.

The former of these enquiries will be very brief, for though included among the Canonical Books of the New Testament at the Council of Laodicea[1], the second Epistle ascribed to St Peter was not generally accepted in the early Church as a part of Canonical Scripture, neither are allusions to it nor quotations from it of frequent occurrence in the early Christian writings. Eusebius probably represents the sense of a large part of the Christian Church of his time, when at the beginning of the fourth century he writes[2], "One Epistle of Peter called his first is generally accepted, and this the presbyters of old have quoted in their writings as undoubtedly genuine; but that which is circulated as his second we have received to be not canonical; nevertheless as it appeared useful to many it has been diligently studied along with the other Scriptures." And later on[3], when he divides the books of Scripture into three classes, those undoubtedly accepted; those not canonical, but disputed; and those that are spurious; he places the Second Epistle of St Peter among the disputed books.

For though the Epistle undoubtedly was in circulation long before the time of Eusebius it was not widely known, as far as we can find, nor much quoted. The earliest coincidence with its language is found in the first Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, a work written about the close of the first century. In chapter xxiii. of that Epistle we read, "We have heard these things even in the days of our fathers, and behold we have grown old and none of these things has happened unto us." The same statement is quoted also in the second Epistle of Clement, written perhaps in the middle of the second century[1], but with some modifications. There we find "We have heard all these things even in the days of our fathers, but though we have expected day by day, we have seen none of them[2]." These words are very like 2 Pet. iii. 4; and when we see how the two passages vary in expression we can understand how a writer giving, as was the custom with the early Christian Fathers, the substance rather than the precise language of the older Epistle might bring St Peter's words into the forms in which they here appear, yet we cannot be certain that the quotation is made from our

[1] A. D. 366. Canon LIX.

[2] 'H. E.' III. 3. It is worth while to quote the Greek of the latter part of the sentence *οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν· ἔμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν.*

[3] 'H. E.' III. 25.

[1] See Westcott, 'On the Canon,' p. 161 (3rd edit.).

[2] '2 Clem. ad Cor.' cap. XI.

Epistle[1]. Of like uncertainty is the language of Polycarp[2], where he says, "neither I nor any other like me can follow *the wisdom* of the blessed and glorious Paul," words which may be an echo of 2 Pet. iii. 15, but about which it is impossible to speak surely. So too with the words[3] of Melito, bishop of Sardis (A.D. 170): "There was once a flood and chosen men were destroyed by a mighty north wind.....so also it will be at the last time: there shall be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up together with its mountains and men shall be burnt up together with their idols.....and the sea together with its isles shall be burnt; and the just shall be delivered from the fury like their fellows in the ark from the waters of the deluge." This passage may have been suggested by the language of 2 Pet. iii. 5—7, but it is not possible to affirm that it was so.

Next in order of time comes Theophilus, bishop of Antioch (A.D. 168—180), who writes[4] thus: "The ordinance of God is this, His word, shining like a lamp in a house which encloses it, illumines the whole world under heaven." Here we have a comparison which St Peter employs (2 Pet. i. 19), but the language of the Apostle in that passage is so striking and unique that it is hard to believe Theophilus is drawing from him, with so little imitation of his precise words, a simile that he might have found in many places besides. There is however another sentence in the same treatise[5] which has the look of a paraphrase of 2 Pet. i. 20, 21: "Men of God moved by the Holy Ghost, and becoming prophets inspired and made wise by God Himself, became taught of God;" and the occurrence of this passage, in which the original words[6] bespeak, more than the English can be made to do, an acquaintance with St Peter's Epistles, gives us fair ground for believing that Theophilus was acquainted with this second Epistle.

When however we come to Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 165—220), we seem to gain some sure evidence of the existence of our Epistle. It is true that in the extant works of that Father we have no reference to it, but Eusebius has preserved for us[1] a notice of his labours which seems conclusive for his knowledge of the Second Epistle of St Peter. The words are "In his Outlines, to speak briefly, Clement has given concise explanations of all the Canonical Scriptures, not omitting the disputed books (*ἀντιλεγομένας*), I mean the Epistle of Jude and the remaining Catholic Epistles, also the Epistle of Barnabas and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter." Now as Eusebius elsewhere (III. 25) gives us a list of these disputed books, using the same word to designate them, and includes among them the Second Epistle of St Peter, there can be little doubt that he intended it to be included here under the phrase "the remaining Catholic Epistles." We seem therefore to be safe in concluding that our Epistle was known to, and had a short exposition written on it by, the Bishop of Alexandria.

In the writings of Hippolytus, bishop of Portus (A.D. 220), we find allusions to the Second Epistle of St Peter. Thus[2]: "these fathers (the prophets) were furnished with the Spirit and largely honoured by the Word Himself.....and when moved by Him they announced what God willed. For they spake not of their own power (let me not lead you wrong), neither did they declare what pleased themselves, but first of all they were rightly gifted with wisdom by the Word, and then were duly instructed about the future by visions. So when convinced they spake those things which God had revealed to them alone." These words may almost certainly be taken as an expansion of 2 Pet. i. 21.

Further in a letter[3] of Firmilian, bp.

[1] The two passages are interesting in connection with St Peter's second Epistle for another reason. In the latter, the quotation is prefaced by *λέγει γὰρ καὶ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος*... (cf. 2 Pet. i. 19), while in the first Epistle it is termed *ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη ὅπου λέγει*...

[2] 'Ep. ad Phil.' III. Polycarp was martyred A.D. 156. See Introd. to 1st Peter § 6 and notes.

[3] Cureton, 'Spicilegium Syriacum,' p. 48.

[4] 'Ad Autolycum,' II. 13, p. 92 (ed. Colon).

[5] 'Ad Autolycum,' II. 9, p. 87.

[6] 'The *πνευματοφόροι πνεύματος ἁγίου* of Theophilus seems to be drawn from the *ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι* of the Epistle, while the expression *οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι* is not unlike the Apostle's phrase, at least according to some MSS.

[1] 'H. E.' VI. 14.

[2] 'De Antichristo,' 2.

[3] The letter is preserved with those of Cyprian, Ep. 75, Oxf. edit.

of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, we have an undoubted reference to 2 Peter. The writer is speaking of Stephen, bishop of Rome, and says that in breaking the peace of the Church he is "defaming Peter and Paul, the blessed Apostles, as if the very men delivered this rule, who in their Epistles execrated heretics and warned us to avoid them." There is no sentence in St Peter's first Epistle to which these words would apply, they must therefore be referred to the exhortations against false teachers, of which the second Epistle is full.

It is also clear that Origen, who died A.D. 253, knew of both St Peter's Epistles, for we have first his statement preserved for us by Eusebius[1]: "Peter, on whom Christ's Church is built, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, has left one Epistle generally accepted. Grant also a second, for it is a matter of question." And in the Latin version (which alone is preserved to us) of a Homily on Joshua[2], he says "Peter moreover sounds loudly on the twofold trumpet of his Epistles." And in another Homily[3] he is represented, by his translator, as writing "Peter says, Ye have been made partakers of the Divine nature." Beyond this amount of recognition we have no external evidence concerning the second Epistle before its acceptance into the Canon at the Council of Laodicea. For the supposed allusions in Justin Martyr[4], Athenagoras[5], and Methodius[6], bishop of Tyre, are not certainly to be cited as drawn from this Epistle, nor can hardly be called citations in any proper sense.

Yet even this small amount of evidence testifies to a wide circulation of the Epistle. In the far separated districts of Alexandria, Palestine, Cappadocia, Proconsular Asia, Italy and Carthage, were Christians into whose hands the Epistle had come, and they shew by their allusions that they supposed those for whom they were writing to be able to appreciate citations drawn from it and therefore to have seen and read it. We shall not then be wrong in assuming that much more evidence than we now possess was laid before the Fathers at Laodicea when they admitted this second Epistle into the Canon in spite of the doubts which in certain quarters had been cast upon it; and its acceptance, after having been classed among the disputed books so distinctly, is the best possible assurance that there was satisfactory proof then existing that the Epistle was what it professes to be.

In the absence of any more external evidence we must turn to the Epistle itself, and see what testimony can be deduced from its own language. And we may with advantage take the points to be considered in the following order:

(1) The author's statements concerning himself, and the manner in which these are made.

(2) The persons for whom the Epistle professes to be written.

(3) The sentiments contained in it compared with those of the First Epistle of St Peter.

(4) The style and language of this Epistle as compared with

(*a*) St Peter's first Epistle.

(*b*) The language ascribed to St Peter in the Acts of the Apostles.

(*c*) Such traces of St Peter's language and manner as can be gathered from the Gospels.

(5) A comparison of the language with the New Testament diction generally.

(6) Other internal evidence of genuineness and authenticity.

(1) The author of our Epistle calls himself Symeon [Simon] Peter and claims to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ (i. 1, iii. 2). He further states that he has already written an Epistle to those whom he is now addressing (iii. 1). He speaks as an old man, whose death is near at hand (i. 14), and claims on this ground the right of calling to the remembrance of those to whom he writes the solemn lessons which they had learnt both from the Old Testament prophecies, and from those who had spoken to them in the name of Jesus Christ (iii. 2). The whole of the Epistle,

[1] 'H.E.' VI. 25.
[2] 'Hom. IV. in Josh.'
[3] 'Hom. IV. in Levit.'
[4] 'Dialogue with Trypho,' c. 89.
[5] 'Legatio pro Christianis,' p. 9.
[6] 'Apud Epiph. Hær.' LXIV. 31.

in its illustrations and quotations bears evidence that the writer was a Jew. But the most solemn portion of the letter is that wherein he asserts that he was one of those who had been present at the Transfiguration. For the naturalness of the manner in which he introduces this personal notice, and the tokens of truthfulness which the statement contains, see the notes on i. 14—19. It is difficult to believe that any one could have made the declarations which there appear, in an Epistle specially directed against false teachers, if he were merely writing in an assumed character, and using a name of repute to gain currency for a letter which under his own name might have been less acceptable.

When such are the claims of the writer, made in such solemn manner, we cannot reject what he says without comparing the Epistle with everything else which may bear upon it, and enquiring whether the character of the writing will allow us to receive it for what it claims to be. And especially should we compare it in every particular with the first Epistle, which is on all hands accepted as a veritable letter of St Peter.

(2) If St Peter wrote this second letter, it is addressed to the same persons to whom he sent the first. Now this Epistle is written to Christians of whom a large portion had been converted from Judaism[1] but who appear to be living amid non-Jewish populations (ii. 18). That they had many of them been Jews either by birth or as proselytes and were known to be familiar with the writings of the Old Testament is clear from the use which the writer makes of the Scriptures of the older Covenant to illustrate and enforce all that he has to say. Even allusions to Jewish tradition (ii. 4) are presumed to be quite understood by these converts, and they have access to the same prophecies as the Apostle himself, and have been taught by them, and also to value them most highly. But they were also acquainted with St Paul's Epistles (iii. 15), and to some of those here addressed that Apostle had written. They knew too that St Paul's Epistles were numerous. The affectionate terms in which the writer speaks to them, calling them brethren (i. 10), employing language which betrays marked personal interest (i. 12, 13), and repeatedly using the epithet "beloved" (iii. 1, 8, 14, 17), bespeak great affection on the part of the author; while some of his words (i. 18) can hardly mean anything but that he himself had preached and laboured among those to whom he now sends his second letter of exhortation in his old age. Throughout the whole Epistle he appears to be well acquainted with their spiritual condition (i. 1—4, 12, iii. 14, 17) and knows that they are still stedfast in the faith, and writes only to remind them that danger is near, and to bid them be watchful against it.

As far as all this is concerned the recipients of the second Epistle may very well have been the same persons as those to whom the first was sent. For among these latter were also many Jews dispersed in the lands of the Gentiles (παρεπίδημοι διασπορᾶς, 1 Pet. i. 1) in the districts of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Proconsular Asia and Bithynia[1]. They also can be appealed to by the writings of the prophets (1 Pet. i. 10), and the Apostle can illustrate his teaching to them from the Old Testament Scriptures (i. 16, ii. 6, 10, iii. 6, 20) with full assurance that he will be understood, and he writes to them as to men who had received traditions from which they needed to be redeemed (i. 18), while the minute exhortations given throughout the whole letter not only to the Christian congregations in general, but to citizens on their duty as such (ii. 13—17), to servants (ii. 18), to wives (iii. 1—8), to husbands (iii. 7), to elders (v. 1—4), to

[1] On this point see Introduction to 1 Peter § 3. There can be no doubt that the Second Epistle was equally general with the First, and though we may suppose St Peter by birth more attached to the Jews, there can be no question that our Epistle is intended for both Jews and Gentiles. There was no faction among those to whom it was addressed.

[1] On this point see Canon Cook's instructive notes on 1 Pet. i. 1. I should agree with all that is there advanced to shew that there was no opposition between the two Apostles, or among the converts to whom they wrote, for both had alike written to these Christian congregations; but the addition of the names of districts in the opening verse of the first Epistle makes it appear to me more probable that a literal rather than a figurative sense should be given there to the word διασπορά.

the young (v. 5), betray an intimate personal acquaintance with the condition of those to whom the Epistle is sent, which without any express statement would leave the impression that St Peter had visited and preached among those for whom he is so minutely anxious. And he addresses them in the like affectionate tone, used in the second Epistle (ii. 11, iv. 12), while we may be sure that those who received a letter by the hands of Silvanus, and were greeted by Mark, could not fail to be acquainted with what St Paul had both written and taught. Judging therefore from the contents of the Epistles there is no reason why the latter should not have been sent to the same people as the former.

(3) And while from internal evidence we may allow both the Epistles to have been directed to the same readers, we can see also from their contents that they breathe the same spirit, and convey the same teaching. The writer of both expected that the end of the world was near. Cf. 1 Pet. i. 5, of the "salvation ready to be revealed in the last time," and 1 Pet. iv. 7, "The end of all things is at hand," with 2 Pet. iii. 3, 10, "There shall come in the last days scoffers," and the times of the scoffers were close at hand; and "the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night." In both Epistles the writer teaches that prophecy does not bear with it its own interpretation (cf. 1 Pet. i. 10, 11 and 2 Pet. i. 20). Both alike dwell on the small number who were saved at the Flood (1 Pet. iii. 20 and 2 Pet. ii. 5, iii. 6); both have the same sentiments on the nature and right use of Christian liberty (1 Pet. ii. 16; 2 Pet. ii. 19) and dwell with equal emphasis on the value of prophecy (1 Pet. i. 10—12; 2 Pet. i. 19, iii. 2). Both alike attribute ἀρετή to God (1 Pet. ii. 9; 2 Pet. i. 3), and herein employ the word as it is nowhere else used in the New Testament. Hence we gather some additional indications that the Epistle may be accepted for what it claims to be, the work of him who wrote the first Epistle.

(4 *a*) But it is when we compare the actual words of both Epistles minutely that the evidence that they were both from the same hand becomes strongest. They are both alike full of graphic expressions, words which call up a picture to the mind as we read them. Thus in 1 Peter we have παρακύψας (i. 12), "to stoop down that a good view of anything may be obtained;" ἀναζωσάμενοι (i. 13), of the "girding up" the loins of the mind; φιμοῦν (ii. 15), properly "to muzzle," of putting men to silence; ἐπικάλυμμα (ii. 16), for "a veil," not a material one, but of maliciousness; σκολιός (ii. 18), "crooked, twisted," used of the froward in temper; κολαφίζόμενοι (ii. 20), "slapped with the hand," of men buffeted for faults; ὁπλίσασθε (iv. 1), "put on armour," though it is used of mental resolution; ἐγκομβώσασθε (v. 5), a word which indicates the putting on of a tight robe well rolled up, such as a slave would wear for hard work, is used to indicate the way in which humility is to be the everyday wear of the true Christian; while ὠρυόμενος (v. 8) is a most picturesque word to express the fierce howling of a hungry lion to which Satan's conduct is compared.

The same picturesqueness of diction is equally abundant in the second Epistle. Thus (2 Pet. i. 9) μυωπάζων, "one who cannot see afar off," is literally "one who has his eyes tight closed, either from intention or weakness of sight;" σκήνωμα (i. 13, 14), of the body, as the tabernacle of the soul; φωσφόρος (i. 19), the light-bringer, for "the day-star;" πλαστός (ii. 3), that can be moulded or bent in any way, plastic, of "feigned" words; νυστάζειν (ii. 3), "to slumber," literally "to nod in sleep;" τεφρώσας (ii. 6), "turning into ashes;" βασανίζειν (ii. 8), "to vex," literally "to put to torture;" ῥοιζηδόν (iii. 10), "with a great noise," but the word implies the hurtling of weapons or the plash of many waters; στρεβλοῦν (iii. 16), "to wrest," really "to put on the rack."

Again, if we compare the two Epistles in the matter of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα and rare words we shall find a like correspondence in their diction. The list in the first Epistle comprises ἀνάχυσις (iv. 4), ἀναγεννάω (i. 3), ἀμαράντινος (v. 4), ἀμάραντος (i. 4), ἀνεκλάλητος (i. 8), πατροπαράδοτος (i. 18), ἐκτενής (iv. 8), ἀρτιγέννητος (ii. 2), ἄδολος (ii. 2), ἱεράτευμα (ii. 5, 9), ὑπολιμπάνω (ii. 21), ὑπογραμμός (ii. 21), μώλωψ (ii. 24), ἐποπτεύω (ii. 12, iii. 2), ἐμπλοκή (iii. 3), ἔνδυσις (iii. 3), οἰνοφλυγία (iv. 3), ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος (iv. 15), ἀρχιποίμην (v. 4), συνεκλεκτός (v. 13). Now many of these words are specimens of that strong

figurative diction which is not unfrequently found among unlearned but still vigorous and thoughtful men. Had it been an imitator who had set about writing the second Epistle we may be confident that a close study of the language of the first would have made him aware of this characteristic of St Peter's diction, and we should have been sure to find some of the unusual words of the first letter reproduced in the second. A writer who meant to pass his work off as St Peter's composition must have set such a stamp upon his writing. But the actual case is not of that nature. The second Epistle abounds like the first with unusual or unique words, but there are none among them which connect it with the previous letter. The peculiarity of style is as prominent as ever, but it is developed in entirely new materials. The unique words of the second Epistle are mainly these: ἰσότιμος (i. 1), μυωπάζω (i. 9), ἐπόπτης (i. 16), αὐχμηρός (i. 19), διαυγάζω (i. 19), φωσφόρος (i. 19), ἐπίλυσις (i. 20), ταχινός (i. 14, ii. 1), ταρταρόω (ii. 4), πλαστός (ii. 3), ἔκπαλαι (ii. 3, iii. 5), σειρά (ii. 4), βλέμμα (ii. 8), μῶμος (ii. 13), ἐντρυφάω (ii. 13), ἀκατάπαυστος (ii. 14), παραφρονία (ii. 16), ἐξέραμα (ii. 22), κύλισμα (ii. 22), ῥοιζηδόν (iii. 10), καυσόω (iii. 10, 12), δυσνόητος (iii. 16), ἀστήρικτος (ii. 14, iii. 16), στηριγμός (iii. 17).

It will be seen that many of these words are of the same character in every respect as those used in the first Epistle, words which would be employed by a writer who had a very graphic manner of expression, and gave word-pictures in all that he said or wrote, but they are not those which an imitator of the first Epistle would have chosen that he might impress the reader with the notion that the author of one letter was the author of the other.

(4 *b*) If we turn now to the language which is ascribed to St Peter in the Acts of the Apostles, we shall find that there are many indications that the speaker was the same person, to judge from his words, as the writer of the Second Epistle. In 2 Pet. i. 1 we have λαγχάνειν used of those "who have *obtained* the like faith." The word is found in the same sense Acts i. 17, where Peter speaks of Judas having "*obtained* part of this ministry." But in this sense the word is found nowhere else in the New Testament. So εὐσέβεια, *holiness* (A.V. godliness), is used 2 Pet. i. 7 of a potentiality in exercise, which will make its possessor fruitful in good works, just as St Peter says (Acts iii. 12), "Why look ye on us as though by our own power or *holiness* we had made this man to walk." In like manner the use of ἄνομος (unlawful) concerning things and not persons is confined to St Peter in the Acts and to the writer of this Epistle (cp. 2 Pet. ii. 8 with Acts ii. 23). Everywhere else in the New Testament the word is used of persons. In 2 Pet. ii. 9 we have εὐσεβής of *godly* persons. In the Acts (x. 2, 7), in a description which can hardly have come in the first instance from any other than St Peter, we find the same word employed twice over in describing Cornelius. The word occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, for in Acts xxii. 12 the best MSS. and editions read εὐλαβής. Of the same kind is the writer's use (2 Pet. ii. 16, 18) of φθέγγομαι, a very unusual verb for *to speak*. It is found (Acts iv. 18) in the report of the injunction given to St Peter and his companions "not *to speak* nor teach in the name of Jesus," but nowhere else, and this report was most likely to be gathered first of all from the spokesman of the Apostles. So ἡμέρα κυρίου, *the day* of the Lord, is found only in Acts ii. 20 and 2 Pet. iii. 10, and once in St Paul's Epistles (1 Thess. v. 2), but the whole passage in St Peter's second Epistle should be read along with the quotation in the Acts, and the thoughts will be seen to run in one and the same channel. A further and most remarkable instance of the use of the same words is found in Acts i. 18 compared with 2 Pet. ii. 13, 15. In the first passage St Peter is speaking of Judas buying a piece of ground with the *wages of iniquity* (μισθὸς τῆς ἀδικίας), and in the Epistle the same expression is used of Balaam and of the sinners whom the writer compares with him: while the words are to be found nowhere else. These instances do not exhaust the points of similarity in diction, for λαλεῖν (Acts iii. 21 compared with 2 Pet. i. 21) is used in both books in the same way for God's message spoken to man, and ἐπάγειν of 2 Pet. ii. 5 is like the use of the word in Acts v. 28. So too κολάζεσθαι

of Acts iv. 21, compared with the use of the same verb 2 Pet. ii. 9, and in no other passages. All these examples in the Acts occur either in St Peter's own speeches, or in narratives in which he appears as principal actor, and of which he must have been the first relater, and when brought together and compared with our Epistle they furnish a large amount of evidence such as could hardly be derived from any writings except those drawn from the same source.

(4 *c*) If we turn now to the Gospels we find some indications of a like nature. Tradition describes St Mark as the ἑρμηνευτής of St Peter. If this be true, we should expect in the second Gospel to find points of language which resemble our Epistle. Of such we have the verb δωρέομαι used Mark xv. 45 and nowhere else in the New Testament, except 2 Pet. i. 3. So too βασανίζω in the same figurative sense in 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8, and Mark vi. 48. In the same way both these writers employ τρέμειν, a word uncommon in the New Testament (cf. Mark v. 33 with 2 Pet. ii. 10). Again, nowhere else is the word (λαῖλαψ) tempest used. Storms and tempests are often enough spoken of in the Gospels, but only in Mark iv. 37 and 2 Pet. ii. 17 does this word appear.

There are also several instances of close resemblance between the other Gospels and this Epistle. Thus the swine and dogs are spoken of together (ii. 22) exactly in the same way as in Matt. vii. 6. The day of the Lord is compared to a thief in the night (iii. 10) as in Matt. xxiv. 43. The way in which St Peter alludes to the Flood and to Sodom and Gomorrah recalls the mention of them by Christ (Matt. xxiv. 37; Luke xvii. 26—30), while in the κολαζομένους of 2 Pet. ii. 9 we have the echo of the κόλασις in Matt. xxv. 46; and the same may be said of 2 Pet. ii. 20, "the latter end (τὰ ἔσχατα) has become worse than the beginning (τῶν πρώτων)," which is drawn from our Lord's words, Matt. xii. 45. But perhaps the most striking passage of this kind in the whole Epistle is the allusion (i. 17, 18) to the narratives of the Transfiguration. Closely joined with these verses we have two words in the Apostle's letter which revive the story of that great manifestation of Christ's glory. In *v.* 13 we read "as long as I am in this *tabernacle*." Now it was St Peter who at the Transfiguration had said, "Let us make three *tabernacles*." Then in *v.* 15, alluding to his own death, he writes, "after my departure" (ἔξοδον), and at the Transfiguration Moses and Elias talked with Jesus of his "decease" (also ἔξοδον), which he should accomplish at Jerusalem. The two words seem to have revived the memory of the past, and immediately the writer passes to the mention of the vision of Christ's glory in the Holy Mount. Such a train of thought is natural in St Peter, but would be marvellous in any other than one who had been a witness of the Transfiguration.

(5) In comparing the Second Epistle of St Peter with the other New Testament writings, the most important to be noticed are the Epistles of St Paul. We maintain that our Epistle is directed to congregations of Jews and Gentiles, among whom the latter had first ministered, but among whom St Peter also had laboured. Of course the employment of the same words and phrases in their letters is not conclusive in respect of their joint interest in the persons addressed, but it is of great importance as evidence that St Peter's Epistle is not a composition of late date and of the second century. At that time the circumstances of the Christian Churches had entirely changed, errors which in St Paul's day were only just raising their heads had then grown into magnitude, and topics of discussion had become prominent of which the Apostolic age knew little or nothing. If St Peter's Epistle therefore deals with the same subjects and in exactly the same spirit as those of his fellow Apostle, it is only just to suppose that the letter which has come down to us was written under the same circumstances and at the same time as St Paul's. Now St Peter (2 Pet. i. 2) speaks of "ever growing knowledge" (ἐπίγνωσις) exactly as St Paul does in Rom. i. 28, iii. 20, and in many other places which have been alluded to in the notes. In a like tone does he deal (i. 16) with the "fables" (μῦθοι) of which St Paul speaks 1 Tim. i. 4 and iv. 7. The same covetousness (πλεονεξία) characterizes the false teachers in the experience of one Apostle and of the other.

(cf. 2 Pet. ii. 3 with 1 Tim. vi. 5; Titus i. 11): they make the same large promises of liberty to those whom they desire to mislead (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 19 with 1 Cor. x. 29 and Gal. v. 13). The long-suffering of God and the end for which it was displayed St Peter (iii. 15) speaks of in words which seem to be derived from Rom. ii. 4, and with them also may be compared Rom. ix. 22. The "false brethren unawares brought in who came in privily to spy out our liberty" (Gal. ii. 4) have their counterpart in those who "privily bring in heresies of destruction" (2 Pet. ii. 1), and indeed the whole position assumed by St Peter in reference to heretical teaching is very exactly that which is set before us in St Paul's Epistles. The errors are of the same kind, their development is in the same stage, the artifices of their propounders are alike, and the whole pictures have so much in common that it seems unreasonable to place them at different periods of the Church's history. Those who have studied the fertile growth of various phases of false teaching in the Ecclesiastical history of the second century, will find it difficult to believe that by a writer of that period, in a letter devoted in the main to a warning against errors of doctrine, so little should have been said of other forms of false teaching which then existed, and no hint given of any thing more than the earliest stages of Gnostic errors in teaching and in practice.

It is worth while also to notice that the seducing teachers have no name in St Peter's Epistle, whereas the same persons in the Revelation (ii. 14, 15) are called Nicolaitanes. The offenders there, as here, are those that hold the doctrine or follow the errors of Balaam the son of Beor, but by the date of the Revelation they had further gained a more definite appellation. "Thou also, as well as Israel of old," it is said to the Church of Pergamos, "hast such teachers that hold the doctrines of the Nicolaitanes." Now whatever date is assigned to the Revelation, it was written long before the time at which those who dispute the authenticity of 2 Peter would fix its production. Yet it is strange that the definite title of these teachers does not appear in it, but only their description in connexion with the name of the false prophet in whose steps they were treading. For this reason among others we should place 2 Peter before the Apocalypse, and as the date of the Apocalypse is most likely before A. D. 70, this suits well with the genuineness and authenticity of the second Epistle of St Peter.

(6) But beside these points of resemblance in the language of the second Epistle both to the other writings of the New Testament, and to the acknowledged words of St Peter, there is a feature of likeness between the first and second Epistles which deserves to be specially noted, and which contributes much to the evidence that they are both by the same hand. The mind of the writer in both letters continually becomes retrospective, and his recollections fashion the language which he uses. In the first Epistle we have this characteristic exemplified in several instances. In chap. v. 5 he writes, "be clothed with humility." But no mere translation can give the force of the verb there used. It signifies "to wrap tight round you a kind of overdress which servants used when engaged in rough or dirty labour." Now in the use of this word the writer seems to be carried back in mind to that occasion (John xiii. 4) when Jesus "laid aside his garments and took a towel and girded himself" and washed his disciples' feet. The words of the Apostle are in an exhortation which begins "All of you be subject one to another," and his thoughts appear to revert to the way in which Christ had taught the same lesson, and he frames his language by a single word to point back to that scene, "Wrap your humility tight about you, as a robe for work and wear," and so follow the example of Jesus when he washed the feet of his disciples.

Exactly in the same way does he seem to look back to words of Jesus (Luke xii. 35), "Let your loins be girded and your lamps burning," when he says (i. 13), "Gird up the loins of your mind." So too when he gives his exhortation to the elders (v. 2), "Feed the flock of God which is among you," he is mindful of that interview of his with Christ which is related John xxi. 15, 16, where a like charge was given to himself, and he fulfils

to the best of his power the command (Luke xxii. 32), "when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren." In i. 17 too we have recalled most clearly St Peter's own picture of the life of Cornelius (Acts x. 2) when we read, "If ye call on the Father, who, *without respect of persons* judgeth *according to every man's work*, pass the time of your sojourning here *in fear*." We may trace too a remembrance of his own inability to watch even a short time with his Master, when "the hour" of his enemies and "the power of darkness" arrived, in those earnest exhortations to watchfulness (v. 8) which he gives against the attacks of the devil.

But most of all does he dwell on the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus. His great claim to be heard is (v. 1) that he is "a witness of the sufferings of Christ." He remembers the last prayer, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," so he exhorts those who have to suffer (iv. 19) to "commit the keeping of their souls to God in well-doing as unto a faithful Creator." And he makes special and constant allusion to the Passion. The whole scene of Christ's trial is before his eyes as he writes the words (ii. 19—24), "What glory is it, if *when ye be buffeted* for your faults ye shall take it patiently?" The Greek word means "smitten with the palm of the hand" as Christ was smitten. And the one word recalls the whole scene, and he applies it at once for the purpose of his exhortation. "Christ," he continues, "suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow His steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth, who when He was reviled, reviled not again, when He suffered He threatened not, but committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously; who His own self bare our sins in His own body *on the tree*, that we being dead to sins should live unto righteousness, by whose *stripes* ye were healed." These words shew as we read them that all the terrible events of that sad day were minutely revived. The mockery and the blows, the scorn of the High-priest and his colleagues, the submissive silent Jesus, are all depicted in his graphic words. He uses too for "tree" (ξύλον) an unusual word, which he also employs in like manner in two of his addresses in the Acts (v. 30; x. 39), while in the word for stripes (μώλωψ) we have the eye-witness clearly presented to us. It means properly "a wale or bruise" rising under the skin after a severe blow, and as we read the passage with this in mind, we can see that the writer's thoughts were on that mangled form which the hard blows had made to seem like a single bruise.

Such is St Peter's way of thought and writing in the first Epistle. Of like kind in our second Epistle we may note the use of (δελεάζειν) *to catch with a bait*, only employed here (ii. 14, 18) and by St James (i. 14) of the alluring of sinners unto evil ways, but in which the thought goes back to the fisherman's life on the Lake of Galilee. We can see too how he recurs, when he speaks of false teachers, to those words which only he and three others appear to have heard from Jesus (cf. Matt. xxiv. 3 with Mark xiii. 3), "Many false prophets shall rise and shall deceive many, and because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold." Peter had seen, yea been part of, such a turning away; and now when men are arising again "to deny the Master who bought them," he almost uses Christ's own words for the warning of his readers. Also he has strong in his mind the terms of that same discourse (Matt. xxiv. xxv.) when he writes (iii. 3, 4) that "in the last days there shall come scoffers walking after their own lusts, and saying, 'Where is the promise of his coming?'" while Christ's solemn words on the same occasion, "Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven and the powers of heaven shall be shaken, and then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven," are echoed in the exhortation (iii. 10) of the Epistle, where the words also look back to St Peter's Pentecostal sermon, "The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, when the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up."

Further, he seems ever to have in his mind the charge (Luke xxii. 32),

"*Strengthen* (στήριξον) thy brethren." No version can give the force of the original, but the Apostle reproduces the thought when he says (i. 12), "I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things though ye know them and be *established* (ἐστηριγμένους) in the present truth." He had fulfilled his Apostolic duty and *strengthened* them, but he would not through any neglect let them fall back into weakness. Once more, those who wrest the Scriptures (iii. 16) are "unlearned and *unstable*" (ἀστήρικτοι), having no strength or firmness of hold on the truth, while the better condition to which the Apostle hopes to have brought his hearers is noticed again by a form from the same word (iii. 17), "Beware lest ye...fall from your own *stedfastness*" (στηριγμοῦ).

This feature of resemblance between the two Epistles has been dwelt on at more length because it is what an imitator would be most unlikely to reproduce. Such a writer may carefully study and imitate the external marks of style in the author whom he intends to copy, but to enter into the man's mind, to look back with the vision of another over a life of which he has had no experience, and to reproduce touches the same in kind but different in particulars, yet such as would have been natural to the thought of the true writer, this is beyond imitator's work.

And there are not wanting other indications that our writer was not a forger. A forger would never have written "*Symeon* Peter" (i. 1), nor have varied from the terms of the heavenly message, at least as reported in some of the Gospels, when he was describing the Transfiguration. He would also hardly have ventured to claim so solemnly for himself a share in that scene, while he is writing against teachers of falsehood, if his words had not been true, nor would he have glided so naturally from the singular number to the plural in that narrative, just where the change is most suitable, nor would he have allowed, as he does, any testimony of prophecy to be counted of more certainty than the vision from heaven which he was professing to have seen. A second century imitator would hardly have spoken as our Epistle speaks (iii. 15) of "our beloved brother Paul," but would have used terms of greater honour and respect, such as were common in writers of that date[1], nor would he have failed to conclude his Epistle with a solemn ascription and Doxology as is done in the close of the first Epistle. Once more, the very difference of tone on some points in the two Epistles seems to mark them both as genuine. For example, in the first, where the object is to give comfort under trial, and to exhort unto patience "those who are being kept by the power of God unto salvation," the second coming of Christ may fitly be spoken of as a *Revelation* (ἀποκάλυψις, 1 Pet. i. 5), for they were preparing to welcome his appearing with the cry of the writer of the Apocalypse, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus." But when false teachers are abroad it is a time for Christ's coming to be set forth in another light. To those who fall away it will be a (παρουσία) *coming*, 'a *presence*,' but not one to which they have looked with joy. To them it will be "the great and terrible day of the Lord" and the "day of judgment" (iii. 7).

We can see too why Christ is so often called Saviour (σωτήρ) in the second Epistle from the same consideration. He had bought, redeemed His people, this constituted Him their Saviour, this was the great claim He had upon their love, and this is the reason why by the name which he so delights to apply to the Lord, the writer of the second Epistle gives emphasis to the work of Christ in man's redemption, and to His claim on man's love.

Then our Lord's sufferings are much dwelt on in the First Epistle, hardly at all in the Second. But is there not good cause for the change of tone? It was not the time to urge on men to imitate Christ in His humility and patience when they were being persuaded to deny Him altogether. The different circumstances sufficiently explain the difference of the language.

Combining all these points of internal evidence we seem to have many good grounds for accepting the second Epistle as the work of the same writer who composed the first. The tone of the two

[1] For an instance, see supra, p. 222.

letters is the same on a great many points, and where there are variations, these can be sufficiently accounted for by the times in which, and the objects for which, each was composed. The language of the two letters exhibits in large abundance the same peculiarities which differ entirely from those which an imitator of the first would have endeavoured to introduce into the second. The language also of the second Epistle has many points of resemblance to words which must have come from St Peter in the Acts, and to some which most likely did so in the Gospels, while the mental characteristics of the writer of 2 Peter so completely agree with those exhibited in the earlier Epistle, that to suppose them different persons is very difficult. There are at the same time many things to be found in the second Epistle which we can hardly conceive an imitator introducing or allowing to appear. If both letters be by St Peter all that we find in them may be explained naturally, to ascribe the second to an imitator raises difficulties which seem to pass solution. For these reasons, not indeed amounting to proof, but when combined with the decision of the Laodicean Council affording most strong presumption, it seems right to accept the verdict of antiquity and to receive our Epistle for St Peter's.

There are a few other points in connexion with the Epistle which need to be noticed, and foremost among them is its relation to the Epistle of St Jude. In several places in the notes occasion has been taken to remark on such forms and expressions as seem to shew that St Peter's Epistle was the first written. But it will be well to set the whole case before the reader here.

In the first place comes the grammatical evidence. St Peter (ii. 1) says: "There *shall also be* false teachers among you, who *shall privily bring in* heresies of destruction...and many *shall follow* their lasciviousnesses, by reason of whom the way of truth *shall be blasphemed*, and in covetousness *shall they with feigned words make merchandise* of you." Here the future aspect of the coming heresies seems most strongly emphasized. The writer proceeds to describe the judgment of these sinners as being prefigured by examples in the Old Testament, and in so doing completely identifies the false teachers who shall come hereafter with those who have been their types in the past. Thus he says, "they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities," "they speak evil of the things which they understand not," and other like sentences in the present or aorist tenses, but this is just what a writer would do who was figuring at the moment the future from a consideration of the past. And when he comes to conclude his admonition (iii. 1—4) on this subject, and to turn to things as they are, he shews again that the inroads of error are only dreaded in the time to come. For he writes, "*I stir up your pure minds* by way of remembrance: that ye *may be mindful* of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets...knowing this first that in the last days *scoffers shall come* in their scoffing." The whole position assumed here is that of one addressing Christians who were still free from admixture with error, and who only needed to be put in mind of what they had heard, to keep safe from the danger which the Apostle saw was growing up around them.

In St Jude's Epistle the language refers to a different time. The writer there says, "There *are certain men crept in* unawares," as though these were already carrying on the mischievous designs among the Christian community. They are "spots" now existing "in the feasts of charity," they "feast" among the brethren "without fear" and "pasture themselves." All this is in a different tone from St Peter's more predictive language. And when we come to verses 17 and 18 we have what appears to be a direct allusion to St Peter's words: "Remember ye the words which were spoken before of the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; how that they told you there should be mockers (ἐμπαῖκται) in the last time." This word for *mockers* is found nowhere else in the New Testament except 2 Pet. iii. 3, and the whole passage in St Jude wears the appearance of a quotation from that verse. And in St Peter the sentence is the Apostle's own language. He has said, "I stir up your minds...that ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken before by

the holy prophets and of the commandment of your Apostles...as ye know this first that in the last days mockers shall come." So that the portion quoted by St Jude is a direct utterance of St Peter, and not a quotation from any other source which might have been equally accessible to another writer. On the score of language therefore the second Epistle of St Peter appears to have been written before that of St Jude.

And when we look at the characters portrayed in the two Epistles this position is strengthened. St Peter speaks of those against whom he writes as "teachers," men, that is, who by the lessons which they gave were likely to induce others to accept their opinions, and in consequence to follow their practices. They bring in "heresies of destruction," "with feigned words they make merchandise of" their hearers, "they beguile unstable souls," "they make promises of liberty while they themselves are the servants of corruption." But in St Jude's Epistle the picture is much darker, the mischief has grown apace. There is no more mention of the offenders as teachers or setters forth of any doctrine. They are simply degraded in their life by wicked lusts. "They turn the grace of God into lasciviousness," "these men dreaming defile the flesh." "What they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves." "They are spots in your feasts of charity" (he continues), "feasting with you without fear, pasturing themselves," "they walk after their own lusts," "they are sensual, they have not the Spirit." They are such that it is only with fear and trembling that men may try to save them, their deeds are to be loathed as a defiled garment.

Here then we have another indication that St Jude wrote after St Peter. None will doubt that they are both addressing their exhortations against the same evil, and that one writer knew of the other's Epistle; and granting this, there can be little doubt that the letter of St Jude was composed when the evil teaching had found its natural consequence in evil doing, and that bad practices were encouraged without much outward show of a party of teachers in the Church.

Once more, when we look at the form of the sentences in the two Epistles, we seem able to trace St Jude's expansions, and in some cases to judge of the reason for them. This will be best seen if we place side by side a few of those verses which seem to bear out the view that St Jude takes his text from St Peter, but uses it as seems most fitting for his need. Comparing 2 Peter ii. 4 with Jude 6 we find

2 Pet. ii. 4. For if God spared not angels when they sinned, but cast them into Tartarus, and delivered them into chains [pits] of darkness to be reserved unto judgment...	Jude 6. And the angels that kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.

Here is a manifest comment upon "the angels that sinned," and it suits exactly with the relative position of the two Epistles as we think them to have been written. St Jude wishes to speak strongly of those who had utterly fallen away from Christian living, and therefore he charges the picture more deeply, and speaks of the angels as keeping not their first estate, but leaving their own habitation. So again,

2 Pet. ii. 6. Turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample to those that after should live ungodly.	Jude 7. Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them in like manner, giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire.

Here too St Jude has a scene of grosser character in his mind, and he uses the example which St Peter had employed, but gives it a stamp which fits it for the more corrupted days in which he is writing.

And we have another example of expansion,

2 Pet. ii. 11. Whereas angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not railing accusation against them before the Lord.	Jude 9. Yet Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, The Lord rebuke thee.

Both these passages are meant to illustrate the inconsistency of those sinners in the Christian communities who "rail against dignities." St Jude wishes, as we believe, to make his illustration even stronger than St Peter's, for the times were grown more evil. The latter had said, "Angels bring not railing judgment against evil persons." St Jude goes further with a concrete instance, and says, "Michael, the greatest of angels, did not bring a railing judgment even against Satan himself, the prince of evil."

So too if we set side by side

2 Pet. ii. 17.	Jude 12.
These are wells without water, and mists driven about by a whirlwind, to whom the blackness of darkness is reserved.	Clouds they are without water, carried about of winds; autumn withering trees, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots; raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.

Here as before we recognize the darker condition of those against whom St Jude is giving his warnings. These sinners now gloried in their shame and minded only earthly things. They cast their shame forth to the public gaze with no feeling of regret for the better state which they had lost. But perhaps the strongest phrase is that which speaks of them as trees doubly dead: there has been no mere blasting in their case of one year's promise, leaving hope that in another they may bloom again. All hope of such men is past, and it is "for ever" that for them the blackness of darkness is reserved.

These are not all the instances of such treatment which could be produced, but these examples are enough to illustrate the Midrash-like exposition which St Jude seems to have given to St Peter's text. The contrary process, viz. St Peter abbreviating St Jude's letter, is not easy to conceive, especially in view of the existence of those graver evils which are clearly indicated and spoken against in the latter Epistle, and which of themselves imply some time, if not a long time, since the false teachers of St Peter seemed near at hand.

Argument of the Epistle.

This may be summarized as follows:

Chap. I. It is addressed to those who hold the like precious faith with the writer (1, 2), who are urged because of God's gracious gifts unto them, to labour with all diligence for a steady advance in holiness (3—7). The graces to be cherished increase, men's knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and those who do not thus grow are blind, and lose the memory of former spiritual blessing (8, 9). Therefore be ye diligent (he continues) and I will not be negligent to keep you in mind of these things. For I shall soon be taken away, and I desire that after my death you may recall what I have said (10—15). For we have good warrant for our teaching, since we saw the Lord in His glory at the Transfiguration (16—18). And there is beside the word of prophecy, which is to other men more sure than our vision. Take heed to this and follow its light, for the words of the prophets are God's own words, for these men spake from Him, being moved by the Holy Ghost (19—21).

Chap. II. But of old there were false prophets, and there shall rise false teachers among you, and shall lead many astray, and cause the truth to be evil spoken of (1, 2). But their judgment has been foreshewn long ago, for they shall no more be spared than were angels when they sinned, or than the world before the Flood or the cities of the plain. The destruction of these was a type of the end of the false teachers, just as the deliverance of Noah and of Lot teaches us that God can deliver his servants out of their trials (3—9). The marks by which the false guides both in past times and in times to come can be discerned are these: they walk after the flesh and despise dominion and are self-willed; they speak evil of glories, blaspheming things which they cannot understand, and while they destroy others they shall be destroyed (10—12). They delight to revel in the day time, and are blemishes among your company; they beguile the unstable, and in their covetousness follow the example of Balaam of old (13—16). They give promise but

perform nothing, like fountains without water, and clouds without rain. They allure by their fine speeches, and promise liberty to their followers, but themselves are slaves of corruption (17—19). They have once known the right way, but have fallen back into evil, so their latter end is worse than their beginning. They fulfil the proverbs of the dog and the swine by returning to the evil from which they had been cleansed (20—22).

CHAP. III. I write this second Epistle to put you in remembrance of what you have been taught, for the times of danger spoken of both by prophets and apostles are near. The scoffers will come with their scoffings, and ask, Where is the promise of his coming (1—4)? These men wilfully forget that the earth has been destroyed, and its future destruction is pronounced. Do not you be like them, and count God slack because he does not strike sinners at once. He is long-suffering that men may repent (5—10). But the day will come when men look not for it, and those portents shall be seen which Christ foretold. Men ought therefore to walk in all holy conversation and godliness, that they may always be ready (11—13). We Christians look for new heavens and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness; we then should labour that we may be fit to dwell there and be found ourselves without spot (14). Think that God's long-suffering is meant for man's salvation. St Paul teaches us this, but there are portions of that Apostle's words which the unstedfast wrest to their own destruction (15, 16). But as ye are warned and instructed take heed that ye fall not away, but grow in grace and in the knowledge of Christ, to whom be all glory (17, 18).

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.

On these two points little can be said. St Peter was expecting his death soon to come, but we have no certain evidence in what year he suffered martyrdom. The traditions on which most reliance can be placed make it very probable that he died in Rome, and that his death was after A.D. 63 and before A.D. 70. Further than this we cannot go, nor need we, because there is no allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem in his Epistle, necessarily conclude that he died before it was destroyed. It seems almost certain that by "Babylon" in the first Epistle (v. 13) Rome is intended[1], and if this be so, we can hardly conclude otherwise than that he was in the same city when he wrote the second letter. It was not written so long after the first as to make the former out of mind, and as tradition places the death of the Apostle in Rome, it seems likely that he laboured there during his last years on earth, as one of the greatest centres of life, and so a place whence his influence would be most widely spread.

LANGUAGE.

Some attempts have from time to time been made to demonstrate that Second Peter and Jude were both originally written in Hebrew, and that the supposition of such Aramaic originals will explain many of the difficulties which meet us in the comparison of the two texts. But though highly interesting, no such speculations have yet been made convincing. One of the most recent of these discussions is by the Rev. E. G. King[2]. But though Mr King's remarks support strongly the position that St Jude wrote after St Peter, and was, as it were, an expounder or commentator on part of his text, yet the fact that both writers were Hebrews writing in Greek, and so, sure to give their thoughts a Hebrew turn, seems enough to account for the greater portion of the instances which are there brought forward.

CONCLUSION.

From all that has been here said it will be seen that, looking at the external evidence alone, we cannot arrive at certainty concerning the authorship of this Epistle. The internal evidence has been shewn to point very clearly to St Peter as the author. But there rises the question: What shall we say concerning its

[1] See Introduction to the First Epistle, pp. 160 seqq.

[2] 'Did St Peter write in Greek? Thoughts and criticisms tending to prove the Aramaic origin of the Second Epistle of St Peter and the Epistle of Jude.' Cambridge, 1871.

non-acceptance in the earliest days of Christianity? The Epistle was known in many quarters among the early Christians, and they could see, as we do, that it claimed to be the work of the chief among the Apostles. It will be said, 'Had they believed it to be really a writing of St Peter, could they ever have regarded it as uncanonical?' Yet holding it for uncanonical, many, as we see from the words of Eusebius, still considered it of value, and our only reply must be, that the circumstances of the time and the conditions under which writings came before the world in those early times were such as made it possible for works to be circulated and obtain only a doubtful acceptance without any suspicion of what we in modern days call literary forgery. We know from the preface to St Luke's Gospel that many Christian writings, and of varied value, came into circulation during the infancy of the Church, and it is not difficult to understand that our Epistle, sent probably from Rome to Asia, may have remained for a good while in partial obscurity, and when it began to be more widely known the circumstances under which it was first sent may have been in some degree hard to discover. Thus the Epistle would come to be classed with a multitude of other works about whose origin some uncertainty prevailed. But time brought it into its proper estimation. It was first found useful, and when the day of closer enquiry arrived it was accepted as canonical by the Laodicean Council. And when we remember what works were rejected from the Canon, and by what names they were known, names which in Canonical Scripture were highly distinguished, if not so highly as St Peter, we may rest sure that the evidence adduced before the Fathers of Laodicea was such as to make the external testimony bear out the claims made in the text of the Epistle.

It may therefore suffice us concerning this second Epistle, claiming to be St Peter's, to know, even though we have not all the evidence preserved to us, that in old time there was warrant found for accepting it as what it claims to be. We ourselves can see that it accords in sentiment with the teaching of the Gospels and the Epistles concerning which we have no doubt; that its view of the Christian Church is in agreement with that of other writings of the Apostolic age, that it fits in, in short, in its place among the Canonical Scriptures. We have seen that the internal evidence which would incline us to accept the Epistle as St Peter's is very strong, while the difficulty of finding a theory on which all the features that mark this letter could have been exhibited in the work of any imitator is well-nigh insurmountable. Therefore we receive it as St Peter's writing in spite of the doubts of the early Church, for we feel confident that they were cleared away before the book was included in the Canon. But above all we take it as part of our Christian Scriptures because of its harmony with what Christ taught. It bears its witness in itself.

THE SECOND EPISTLE GENERAL OF

PETER.

CHAPTER I.

1 Confirming them in hope of the increase of God's graces, 5 he exhorteth them, by faith, and good works, to make their calling sure: 12 whereof he is careful to remember them, knowing that his death is at hand: 16 and warneth them to be constant in the faith of Christ, who is the true Son of God, by the eyewitness of the apostles beholding his majesty, and by the testimony of the Father, and the prophets.

SIMON Peter, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to them

TITLE.

The title of the Epistle as given in the A.V. is only found in some late MSS. It is that which is given by Stephens, while the Textus Receptus adds "the Apostle" after "Peter." The MSS. of greatest authority (ℵ, A, B) and most recent editors give merely "Of Peter ii."

CHAP. I. 1—11. The apostolic salutation and prayer for a blessing on those for whom he writes, followed by an earnest exhortation. Seeing that God has granted unto you all things which pertain to a godly life, take good heed that ye provide with all diligence such graces as may prove you to be not unfruitful, for thereby shall be provided for you an entrance into the eternal kingdom of Christ.

1. *Simon Peter*] In the first Epistle we have only the one name *Peter* given. Without admitting in any sense that there was a Petrine and a Pauline party in the early church, it may be gathered from what St Paul says (Gal. ii. 7) of the "Gospel of the circumcision being committed unto Peter," that while both Apostles laboured in the same spirit and walked in the same steps, the son of Jonas was recognized most completely by the Christians who belonged to his own nation. Among them we can understand that he would be known by his Jewish as well as by his Greek name. Writing to churches of mixed Jews and Gentiles he combines both names and calls himself Simon Peter. The union is a token that Jew and Greek were rapidly being made one in Christ.

The best supported orthography of the name in this verse is *Symeon*. This is a strong mark of a Jewish hand. It is the form which the LXX. always gives for the name of the patriarch *Simeon* (Gen. xxix. 33, &c.), and which in the New Testament is written (Rev. vii. 7) as the name of the tribe called after him. It is also found as the name of the son of Harim (Ezra x. 31), though there the A.V. has *Shimeon*. In the Apocrypha the name of the Maccabean prince is written Σίμων (1 Macc. v. 17, &c.), though on his coins it stands with the same orthography as the name of the son of Jacob (see Gesenius, *s.v.*). In the New Testament Συμεών is found (Luke ii. 25, 34) as the name of that aged man who received our Lord in the Temple, also of a son of Juda in St Luke's genealogy (iii. 30), and of Simeon called Niger (Acts xiii. 1). It is also given as the form of St Peter's name in the account of that peculiarly Jewish assemblage, the council held (Acts xv. 14) concerning the circumcision of Gentiles converted to Christianity. From this it would seem that among Jews themselves the fuller form *Symeon* was most used, and would be the name written on religious occasions and for solemn purposes, while *Simon* was the form most current in their intercourse with non-Jews, and would be employed in the ordinary transactions of life. Whether we ascribe the use of this form of the name to the Apostle himself or to an amanuensis, its occurrence suits well with what we may conceive to have been the surroundings of St Peter in his later life. We know from Gal. ii. 11 how he was inclined to cling to everything which was Jewish. In his ministry to the converts from his own nation he would be likely to call himself, and to be called of others, by that form of his name which was familiar from their ancient Scriptures, and which occupied a place in their national history. Yet this would only be the case for a little while, until the Gospel narratives had come into circulation. After that time any writer, who might have undertaken to put forth this Epistle under St Peter's name, would have had the best chance of gaining acceptance for it, if he had made use of those forms which the Evangelists employ exclusively. A forger would assuredly have made his form of the name accord with that employed in the first Epistle, and would never have departed from the orthography found in the Gospels.

that have obtained like precious faith with us through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ:

2 Grace and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord,

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Thus this first word of the Epistle seems to be an indication that the letter is not the work of any forger. Where so little is known of the history of the Epistle from external evidence, the accumulation of such points of internal testimony seems the best, perhaps the only, answer that can be given to those who would assign this Epistle to a late date and to another hand than that of St Peter.

a servant and an apostle] This precise combination is found in no other apostolic salutation. The nearest approach to it is Tit. i. 1, where St Paul calls himself "a servant of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ." The former word, used often by St Paul (Rom. i. 1; Phil. i. 1, &c.) and more exactly rendered *bond-slave*, implies the entire devotion of the servant to his Lord, the latter the service in which his devotion engaged him.

like precious faith] Rather, **a** *like-precious*. The original is only one word, which does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament, and implies that the faith admits all those who have received it to the same Christian privileges, and is for that reason *alike precious* to them all. It is also *alike precious* through all time, to those who first received it, and to all those who shall hereafter do so. The gifts of Christ are like Himself, "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." But it is not meant that all who receive the faith profit equally thereby. The faith is the opened door, the progress made in Christian life differs according to the use which is in each case made of the good gift of God.

faith] This is not to be understood of a concrete form or profession of belief, in which sense πίστις came to be used in later times, but of that "substance of things hoped for and evidence of things not seen" (Heb. xi. 1) which alone can be spoken of as the gift of God's righteousness. The word rendered *obtained* (λαχοῦσι), literally, *received by lot*, indicates that this faith, which forms the foundation of the Christian's life, is a gift of God's grace, and not of merit, or by transmission. It should be noticed also that the construction of λαχεῖν here with an accusative finds its only parallel in the New Testament in a speech of St Peter (Acts i. 17).

with us] Is this Epistle addressed to the same readers as the first? The writer speaks (iii. 1) as if this were so, calling it a "second Epistle;" also in *v.* 16 of this chapter it seems to be implied that there had been some previous teaching given. In that case the reference in *us* may be only to himself and the rest of the Twelve who had been first called into Christ's Church from Judaism. He would say to his readers "We received the faith from the lips of Jesus, but though He has gone into heaven, the faith is the same as ever, and of the same saving virtue." But as there is no statement made about the readers for whom it was intended, we need not narrow the limits, for the dangers against which they are warned would beset all the Church alike; it seems better therefore to take the Epistle as designed for a wide circle, as the later tradition which named it "catholic" implies. Then the expression *with us* would include the Apostle and all those members of the Christian Church among whom he was labouring when the Epistle was written. If, for illustration, we suppose him writing at Rome to the Christians whom he knew in Proconsular Asia, the words would intimate that the faith was one and the same and of a like power in all the churches, salvation offered to mankind through Christ on whom they have believed.

through the righteousness] Better, "**in** the righteousness." That is, in the righteous dealing of God with men. The Judge of all the earth will do right, and under the Christian dispensation admits all believers to equal privileges through faith. The causes which prevent them from equally profiting thereby are not of God. He is no respecter of persons.

of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ] In the best MSS. the pronoun is with God. The translation should be, *of* **our** *God and* **the** *Saviour Jesus Christ*. It is indeed possible to explain both *God* and *Saviour* here as titles given to Jesus Christ, and so to render "our God and Saviour Jesus Christ." But as the Father and the Son are spoken of in contradistinction in the next verse, it is better to preserve the distinction here also. It should moreover be observed that we nowhere else find "God and Saviour" used of Christ. "Lord and Saviour" occurs in this Epistle (i. 11, iii. 18) and elsewhere in the New Testament very frequently.

2. *Grace and peace be multiplied unto you*] The order of the Greek is, "Grace unto you and peace be multiplied," and is the exact phrase employed in 1 Pet. i. 2. Here however it is further explained how the grace and peace can be multiplied.

through the knowledge] Better, **in** *the knowledge*. The noun is one much used by St Paul in the Epistle to the Colossians (i. 9, 10, ii. 2, iii. 10) and in the Epistles to Timothy (1 Tim. ii. 4; 2 Tim. ii. 25, iii. 7) and Titus (i. 1) as well as in other places. It signifies

3 According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that *pertain* unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us [1] to glory and virtue:

4 Whereby are given unto us ex-

[1] Or, *by*.

a steady growth in knowledge, an advance step by step, not knowledge matured but ever maturing. We can understand how such a word would come to be chosen by the Apostles to describe Christian knowledge, when the simpler word for knowledge (γνῶσις) had become identified with the heretical teaching of the early Gnostics, and so while γνῶσις is found in St Peter's first Epistle, ἐπίγνωσις is not, because the need for such a term had not become apparent when the first Epistle was written. Such knowledge as the Gnostics professed to have was a knowledge "that puffeth up," because it claimed to have reached an eminence whence no advance was needed. ἐπίγνωσις is a protest against such teaching; it implies a constant growth both as possible and indispensable. *In* this constant increase of the knowledge of God through Christ (no man cometh unto the Father but by Him) shall be found the abundance of peace for which St Peter prays. The steps of this growth in grace, and consequent peace, are set forth afterwards in *vv.* 5—8.

Jesus our Lord] This is an unusual expression found only here and in Rom. iv. 24. An imitator would have written some more common form, and would have introduced *Christ* before or after *Jesus*. There is probably some emphasis intended by the position of the pronoun ἡμῶν with which the verse concludes. Jesus is *our* Lord (the Lord of *us*), for His divine power hath granted unto *us* His precious promises, and He has called *us* by His own glory and virtue, and so He may claim us for His liegemen and faithful servants.

3. *According as his divine power*, &c.] Better, **Seeing that** *His divine power*, &c. There is no comparison implied in the sentence. The prayer which the writer has uttered in the previous verse needs only earnest zeal on man's part to bring about its fulfilment, *since* God has given on His side all things that tend to this increase of grace and peace. The construction is the same as in 2 Cor. v. 20, "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, *seeing that* (or *since*) God doth beseech you by us," &c.

his divine power] Here *His* seems most fitly referred to Jesus. Had the Father been intended there would have been no need for the adjective *divine*. The divine power of Jesus, and that He is able to grant those things which pertain unto life, had been evidenced by His resurrection, and through that resurrection Christians are begotten again unto a lively hope (1 Pet. i. 3). This divine power of the Son of Man would call for marked emphasis at a time when men were ready to deny this "Master that bought them."

hath given] The verb so rendered in A.V. is not the ordinary verb translated *give*, and for that reason a better English rendering here would be *hath* **granted**. The word in the original deserves notice, because in the New Testament it is only found here and in Mark xv. 45 of Pilate granting the body of Jesus to Joseph of Arimathæa. The close similarity between the language of the second Gospel and of these Epistles of St Peter has been noticed elsewhere. (See Introduction, p. 227.)

all things that pertain unto life and godliness] Under *life* is embraced all that is needful for the attainment of eternal life, in possession as well as in reversion, both the soul's support in this life, and the hope for the world to come; *godliness* refers to those means whereby the blessing of such life is to be cherished, and that growth in divine knowledge attained through which eternal life will become ours. Both are Christ's free gifts for men to treasure and to use. "Do the works and ye shall (ever more and more) know of the doctrine." "And this is life eternal, to know God and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent." And *all* things that pertain to both these gifts come to us through the divine power of Jesus.

The word rendered *godliness* occurs only in this Epistle (i. 3, 6, 7, iii. 11) and in St Paul's Pastoral Epistles, and in a speech of St Peter (Acts iii. 12), "by our own power or *godliness*" (A.V. holiness).

through the knowledge of him] As in the previous verse it is the constant progress of such knowledge which is intended.

that hath called us to glory and virtue] There is no original text which is capable of this translation. Some authorities read **through** *glory and virtue* (διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς), but the text which is best supported is **by His own** *glory and virtue* (ἰδίᾳ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ). That the word *virtue* (or *excellency*) should be applied to a divine Being need not startle us. It is in exact accordance with the usage in St Peter's first Epistle (ii. 9), "That ye may shew forth the virtues (or *excellencies*) of Him who called you out of darkness into His marvellous light." *Glory* is the essential subjective conception of the Godhead; *virtue*, the manifestation of God's working in and for believers. St Paul's teaching (Eph. i. 17, &c.) is of like character. The calling of Christians and their enlightenment is a revelation of the glory of God in Christ, "God... the Father of glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom...The eyes of your under-

ceeding great and precious promises: that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.

5 And beside this, giving all dili-

standing being *enlightened*, that ye may know what is the hope of His calling and what the *riches of the glory* of His inheritance in the saints."

4. *Whereby are given unto us*] The verb is the same, and in the same tense, as in the preceding verse. It is therefore better to render, *Whereby* **he hath granted** *unto us*. *Whereby* refers to all those things that are requisite for life and godliness spoken of in *v.* 3. Through these first-imparted aids we are enabled to become sharers in still larger gifts of grace. Christ is first the Way, and then the Truth and the Life. He first bestows those gifts which lead to Life, and then gives Life eternal to those who have rightly accepted His leading thereunto.

exceeding great and precious promises] The best supported text here puts *precious* in the first place; and the rendering of the A.V. omits any indication of the article (taking the place of the possessive pronoun) which is in the Greek. Read therefore, **His precious and exceeding great** *promises*. The *preciousness* consists in their being not promises merely, but actual present aids to our growth in holiness. So Christ's sacraments are not pledges for the future only, but strength for the present. The word *precious* (τίμιος) is used by St Peter in the first Epistle (i. 7, 19) of the trial of the Christian's faith, and of the blood of Christ, applications of the word which link together the diction of the two Epistles.

that by these] *i.e.* the aids granted unto you towards life and holiness.

ye might be partakers] The tense of the verb shews that the statement is undefined in time and is meant for believers in every age. So read, *that ye* **may become** *partakers*, &c. The idea of growth, which pervades all the language of this clause, is best given by the literal rendering of the verb. The true Christian is ever going onward, becoming "renewed through the Spirit in the image of his mind," and yet constantly looking forward to the day when he shall attain to "the stature of the fulness of Christ."

of the divine nature] *i.e.* of the holiness which belongs to God. All God's discipline, even His chastisements, are designed for this end, that we may become "partakers of His holiness" (Heb. xii. 10). God's word at first was "Let us make man *in our image, after our likeness*." His will is still to restore to its pristine holiness that which was at first very good in His sight. We shall be like Christ when we see Him as He is, and nearer to this restoration God is ever leading those whom in His love He has already called "sons of God" through Christ.

having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust] The literal rendering of the original is, "having escaped from the corruption that is *in* the world *in* lust;" for the preposition is in each case the same. The latter makes clear the force of the former. Corruption is *in* the world, is making its ravages daily, and so has taken an objective shape, and we can see its fatal action; but its fountain is *in* the lust that dwells within men's hearts (cf. Mark vii. 21). *Through* in the A.V. should therefore be understood as signifying "consisting in."

The word for *escape* is peculiar to this Epistle, and is found again ii. 18, 20. It seems meant to convey St Peter's idea of the nature of the Christian's deliverance. He must flee from the corruption which is in the world, as Lot fled from Sodom, fleeing for his life and casting no look behind him, lest he should become again entangled. Such a retreat is the truest valour, "for we wrestle not against flesh and blood."

The Greek word rendered *corruption*, also has the sense of *destruction*, and is used with that meaning in ii. 12 of "the brute beasts made to be taken and *destroyed*." For the full appreciation of the Apostle's meaning both senses should be kept in mind. The *destruction* is the sure consequence of the *corruption*, and he who would escape the one must flee from the other. But the language of the text shews that the source of the corruption is not in the natural creation, but in the heart of man. The first sin was a *lust* to become as gods, and the climax of the guilt of the world before the flood is described by saying, "All flesh had *corrupted his way* upon the earth," and "Every *imagination of the thoughts of man's heart* was only evil continually."

5. *And beside this*, &c.] This rendering cannot be maintained, and interferes with the Apostle's train of argument. It is *because* God has granted unto Christians His precious and exceeding great promises that they are to be careful, for their part, to give proof that they value these gifts. God has begun the good work, they are to evince a desire that it may be perfected. So render **Yea, and for this very reason**, &c.

giving all diligence] This is the portion which man is to contribute toward his growth in Christian graces. And the verb, which would be more precisely rendered **contributing**, intimates that it is only a little which men can do along with the mighty work

gence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge;

6 And to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness;

7 And to godliness brotherly kind-

which is being wrought in and for them. Its literal meaning is "to bring in by the side of," and it is one of the numerous unique words which are found in these two Epistles of St Peter. The spiritual life is begun by faith which is the gift of God. True, it is so much an essential to the Christian's vitality that the Apostle here calls it *your* faith, but it is that which, as the commencement of all things that are requisite to life and godliness, God must first bestow. Christian graces, growing up in the life of faith, increase by diligent culture expended on them. This diligence it is which man is to bring in as his offering, his share in working out his own salvation, while God is working in him according to His good pleasure.

add to your faith virtue] Literally, **provide in** *your faith virtue*. In this sentence the verb (a compound) is one which conveys an entirely Greek notion. It originally meant "to furnish the expenses of a chorus when a new play was to be brought upon the stage." But this word was one not unknown to the writer of the first Epistle, for in 1 Pet. iv. 11 we find the simple verb in the sentence, "if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God *supplieth*." From the primary sense the word came to have the general notion of *supplying* or *providing* in any matters. The word is also found in St Paul's Epistles (2 Cor. ix. 10; Gal. iii. 5; Col. ii. 19), and below in *v.* 11 of this chapter, and in all these places it is rendered *minister*.

God's gift of faith is to be evidenced by its fruits, and the Apostle begins the enumeration of these with a word in common use among heathen writers for the summit of moral excellence. Beza writes on this word ἀρετή, "Verbum nimis humile si cum donis Spiritus Sancti comparetur." Where unaided morality ends, there God's grace begins. But St Peter by his use of the word, and by his application of it (1 Pet. ii. 9; 2 Pet. i. 3) to God, has shewn that he employs it in a special sense. With him it seems to mean that earnest and living spirit which prompts to action. *Glory* (δόξα) and *virtue* (ἀρετή) are connected in 2 Pet. i. 3 exactly as *glory* (δόξα) and *might* (κράτος) are in 1 Pet. iv. 11, so that, when used of God, ἀρετή is the energy and power exerted on those whom He calls, that mighty influence by which they are drawn to Him. In the verse before us it indicates a like energy to be exhibited in the life of Christians. For such men will not rest content without deeds which shall bear evidence of the reality of their faith.

But as earnestness misdirected may do harm instead of good, there is to be joined unto it knowledge. Thus the force of the verse becomes: **In** *your faith* (*i.e.* in its exercise) **supply** *virtue, and* **in** *your virtue knowledge*. Thus good desires may be brought to good effect. Here the word for knowledge is the simple γνῶσις, for what is here intended is but one stage of the Christian's advance, while ἐπίγνωσις is the gradual progress which goes on through the whole life.

6. *And to knowledge temperance*] Here also, as the idea is the same, it is best to render: *And* **in your** *knowledge temperance. Temperance* here implies that whole self-control of the life, its feelings, tempers, passions and longings, which enables a man to gain rule over himself. "He that striveth for the mastery is *temperate* in all things" (1 Cor. ix. 25). The sense of the English word has been sorely curtailed in modern times, and there is a danger that the narrowed sense may be substituted here for that greater and nobler one of which the poet speaks,

"Unless above himself he can
Exalt himself, how poor a thing is man!"

and to temperance patience] Read, *and* **in your** *temperance patience*. And this patience is to be no mere callous Stoical indifference, but in it (as is shewn in the next clause, which should be rendered, *and* **in your** *patience godliness*), and constituting the main part of it, is to be that true fear of God, which makes men ready to endure hardships and wrongs for His sake and in His service. It will include also steady perseverance, like the constant but imperceptible growth of a fruit-bearing tree, of which the same word is used in Luke viii. 15.

Godliness is a grace which shews itself in continual exercise, and is profitable to all things both in this life and that which is to come. The word is much used by St Paul in the Pastoral Epistles (as are so many of the words of these Epistles of St Peter), and it is coupled with honesty, faith, love, and patience in those Epistles also. It marks the motive from which our actions should flow, and is equivalent to that fear of God in which St Peter, in the first Epistle, exhorts Christians to pass the time of their sojourning here (1 Pet. i. 17); it is that fear of God which shall make men good servants and masters (1 Pet. ii. 18), and win husbands, by its manifestation in the lives of their wives, to a love of the same Master. No better argument for the accord in all things between St Paul and St Peter can be found than this oneness of tone which pervades what they have left as their legacies to the churches.

7. *And to godliness brotherly kindness; and*

ness; and to brotherly kindness charity.

8 For if these things be in you, and abound, they make *you that ye*

to brotherly kindness charity] Here also we should read, *And* **in your** *godliness brotherly kindness, and* **in your** *brotherly kindness* **love.** When our hearts are filled with that fear of God which is also love towards Him, we shall not rest there. As God is the Father of the whole race, and we all are brethren, our affections will extend themselves to all men. Yet it is both natural and scriptural that our Christian fellow-believers should hold the first place in our hearts. So St Peter mentions foremost brotherly love, that is love towards our brethren in Christ, just as St Paul (Gal. vi. 10) writes, "Let us do good unto all men, *especially* unto them which are of the household of faith." As members of one household sympathize with and help most those with whom they have most in common, so will it be in Christian societies. But the Lord of Christians has taught us that His servants should do more than others. So both of these Apostles, in the spirit of their Master, follow up the precept that enforces brotherly love, with that of the grander love which St Paul has so highly extolled (1 Cor. xiii.), and which he expressly (1 Thess. iii. 12) prays for as the completion of the Christian character. "The Lord make you to abound in *love* one toward another and *toward all men*." Just of the same tone is St Peter's language here. "In your brotherly kindness (supply) love." With the much restricted sense in which *charity* is often used in the present day there is great loss in rendering ἀγάπη *charity*, for we thereby put out of sight the Godlike character of this virtue, that it is the *love* which the Father hath for men (John xiv. 23), that this love is of God, and maketh its possessor "born of God" (1 John iv. 7), yea that "it is an attribute to God Himself," for "God is love" (1 John iv. 8). And as this virtue is so eminent, so it is most difficult to attain unto, and thus fitly forms the climax of this scale of graces. It is no trial to love those who love us, but "to bear all things, believe all things, hope all things, endure all things," is the summit of Christian advancement. "The greatest of these is love." Its fitness to conclude the list of steps in Christian progress is also seen from the language of St Paul (Col. iii. 14), "And over all these things put on *love* which is the bond of perfectness." Just as here it is set forth as being the highest step of the ladder, so there the Apostle pictures it as the uppermost covering in the Christian dress, that which shall be apparent to all men. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have *love* (ἀγάπην) one to another" (John xiii. 35).

The preposition ἐν which St Peter has here employed throughout his enumeration of Christian graces, conveys somewhat the same notion. Each virtue is to be included within the one mentioned before it, and though the order thus appears to be reversed, and *love* (ἀγάπη) is the last mentioned, and so included within all the rest, it is only so because the character, as St Peter here depicts it, is described as it should appear unto God, while St Paul is describing it as men should see it. "Man looketh on the outward appearance, but God on the heart."

The list of graces enumerated in these three verses comprises first those which form the Christian character viewed in itself, such are virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience; then follow those which mark the follower of Christ (1) as a servant of God, and (2) as a member of the brotherhood of the Church of Christ, and (3) as belonging to the larger brotherhood of all mankind.

8. *For if these things be in you, and abound*] Rather, *For if these things be* **yours**, *and abound* **unto you.** Literally, "for these things being yours.....make you," &c. The pronoun though occurring only once in the original, and in close connection with the former of the two verbs, yet belongs to the latter also. And the first verb is one that is constantly used of "possession." Therefore the sense is not, "If these things be in you," as A.V. The difference is that between ownership and tenancy. There is to be no uncertainty in the holding unto these graces, they are to be part of the man himself. There must be no wavering exhibition of them. They are to be firmly fixed, like a plant deeply rooted, and whose growth is constant. This is the sense of the latter verb *abound*, which perhaps would be better rendered **multiply.** They are not merely to be abundant and continue so, but are to become daily more and more, growing with the Christian's growth and strengthening with his strength.

they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful] Better, *they make you* **not idle** *nor unfruitful.* The italics of the A.V. render the sentence cumbrous without adding to its force, while *barren* is not the sense of the first adjective. It is used of "*idle* words" (Matt. xii. 36) and of labourers "standing *idle*" (Matt. xx. 3, 6), and so it should be rendered here, and thus the tautology of "barren and unfruitful" is escaped. The Apostle's words intimate that such a growth in grace as he has just described cannot be hid, it will work, and make its presence felt. And in the form of his sentence he has expressed the earnestness of such action. He says it will

shall neither *be* barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

9 But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.

10 Wherefore the rather, brethren,

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make you "not idle" and "not unfruitful," which was a Greek way of expressing "very active" and "very fruitful" in the most emphatic form.

in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ] A better rendering of the preposition would be **towards** or **unto** the knowledge, &c. It marks the goal unto which all the Christian's works and their fruits will be tending. Here we have *the ever-waxing knowledge* (ἐπίγνωσις) again. The knowledge of the Saviour is never to stand still, and the gifts of the Spirit are all of them helps towards its increase. "He will guide you into all truth;" "He will teach you all things" was said not alone for the chosen twelve. And although this complete knowledge can never be ours in this world, the increase of grace within us makes increase of our spiritual discernment, and we are constantly finding some portion of the darkened glass made clearer, some approach *toward* seeing Christ as He is.

9. *But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see afar off*] A literal rendering is, **For** *he* **to whom these things are not present** *is blind*, **seeing only what is near**, and this brings out the Apostle's reasoning far better. He wishes to explain the impossibility of spiritual progress, increase in the knowledge of Christ, without the acquisition of the graces which he has before enumerated, and so he begins with a particle *for* which shall introduce his reasoning. After this he says, "he to whom these things are not present." He has gone back in thought to the initial stage of the course. He speaks not now of the gifts as being the Christian's own, but merely as being present to him. There are many gradations in religious life. Some men cannot be said to have the graces of which St Peter has been speaking. They have made but small progress, only a single step on the upward road. But even the least advanced are in a better state than he to whom these things are not present, to whom no light shines to guide his footsteps on the way of faith. Such a one is blind, continues the Apostle, and then, with another of his unique words, he defines the nature of the defect which he has called "blindness." Such a man "sees only what is near." The word (μυωπάζων), and technically *myops*, is used of one who has to close his eyes that he may see at all, who is weak-sighted, and to whom the light is painful, whose vision is consequently very limited. By this figurative word St Peter seems to paint for us the condition of such men as having once entered on the Christian life (for soon we read of the man as one who had been cleansed from his old sins) have sought for no help, striven for no advancement, and to whom therefore progress and all which prompts thereto is uncongenial. He first of all calls such a one *blind*, but correcting this first expression, he gives a definition of it which shews us a state worse than blindness. "If ye were blind, ye should have no sin," says our Lord (John ix. 41), but here is one worse than blind, who having known some light has preferred to fall back into darkness.

and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins] More closely, **having** *forgotten* **the cleansing** *from his old sins*. But the expression (λήθην λαβών) is no ordinary phrase for *forgetting*. The noun is found nowhere else in the New Testament. *Having incurred* or *accepted forgetfulness* would be a literal rendering. The words mark that the condition into which such a man has come is one which he has voluntarily accepted; he has made no effort, given no diligence to contribute anything towards improving the first gifts pertaining unto life and godliness. To him there may be imputed a wilful closing of the eyes enough to justify the Apostle's first expression, "He is blind." To him the Gospel message had at first come, as it came to St Paul (Acts xxii. 16), "Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins:" and thus far has he gone forward, but no step beyond; and as in the parable, where from the servant who has but hid his talent in a napkin, there is taken away that which was bestowed on him at the beginning, so here if the baptismal washing has been followed by no growth in holiness, the memory of that first blessing is taken away, and the guidance which would have strengthened each endeavour to advance is withdrawn, and the man no longer sees where to go. His spiritual sight becomes weakened, the light of Christ's example is painful, because he has so long neglected to use it; he therefore shuns it, and beholds only the things close around him; in this life and its concerns he becomes wholly entangled.

10. *Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence*] Though separated from the verb by the intervening vocative, the adverb *rather* (μᾶλλον) belongs closely to *give diligence* (σπουδάσατε), and the force of the words is better given by *Wherefore, brethren*, **give the more diligence**. *Wherefore, i.e.* because by the possession and constant increase of these graces you become fruitful unto the knowledge of Christ, be ye the more diligent. There are

give diligence to make your calling and election sure: for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall:

11 For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

12 Wherefore I will not be ne-

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two reasons assigned why this diligence should be given, first, because of the bountiful supply of grace granted from God, and, secondly, because the cultivation of these gifts results in an ever-increasing knowledge of the Lord Jesus. It is after the mention of this latter reason, that the Apostle dwells upon such a result as a motive for still greater zeal.

brethren] A favourite form of address with St James, only used in this passage by St Peter, his usual expression being *beloved*, which occurs in all the Epistles, but most frequently in St John, St Jude and St Peter. The employment of an unusual word marks the earnestness of the Apostle's exhortation.

to make your calling and election sure] The employment of this adjective indicates that both the *calling* and the *election* have reference to conditions which neglect may render insecure. Both words should therefore be taken of the entering into communion with God in this world. St Peter has already addressed the converts to whom he writes (1 Pet. ii. 9), "Ye are an elect race," but that does not prevent him from urging on them to abstain from "lusts which war against the soul," and which will render their walk unworthy of the vocation wherewith they had been called. Thus *election* (ἐκλογή) is found in St Paul's letter to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. i. 4), about whom yet the Apostle had fears lest the tempter should have tempted them, and his own labour be in vain. The *call* to which St Peter refers had come through the preaching of the Gospel, the *election* through the admission of the converts into Christ's Church. They were among those that were "being saved" (Acts ii. 47) and had been "added to the church," and so called out of the world.

for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall] The last verb would be better rendered **stumble**. And herein is no contradiction of what is said by St James (iii. 2), "In many things we all *stumble*." In that expression there is implied only such a degree of error, in the words and acts of daily life, as it may be possible to recover from. But the stumbling which shall render the calling and election of Christians insecure, is one from which there is no rising. It is a "stumbling that they should fall," such as that which St Paul (Rom. xi. 11) intimates would have made the restoration of the Jew impossible.

11. *For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly*, &c.] More closely, *For* **thus shall be richly provided for you** *the entrance*, &c. The Apostle takes up here the word which he had employed in *v.* 5, when he spake of what the Christian man should *provide* on his part. The beginning of the new life, the gift of faith, was from God. This is to be used as a groundwork on which the follower of Christ labours to build up virtue after virtue. And in the end there will be *provided* for him, also from God, the entrance into Christ's eternal kingdom. Both the beginning and the end of the work are of God. And so are most of the intervening stages also. For in the word *entrance* (εἴσοδος) is implied not only the final entrance into the kingdom of glory in heaven, but also the power and strength to approach nearer and nearer unto Christ in His kingdom of grace in this world. For a like use of the word cf. Heb. x. 19, where the *entrance* into the holiest is afterwards defined to be "drawing near" unto God "with a true heart in full assurance of faith."

into the everlasting kingdom, &c.] As αἰώνιος contains other ideas beside that of duration of time, it is better to use for it the word **eternal**.

12—21. And I will strive while I live to keep these things in your remembrance, and also that ye may not forget them after my death. For it is no fable by which we have been led in our teaching; but we were witnesses of the Transfiguration and heard the heavenly voice which proclaimed Jesus to be the Son of God. And more firm even than the assurance of this voice, heard only once, we have the word of prophecy, unto which we charge you to give heed, for it is the true source of enlightenment, it is a message sent from God through men who spake being moved by the Holy Ghost.

12. *Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things*] According to the reading of the best MSS., the rendering would be, *Wherefore I shall be* **ready** (or **sure**) *always*, &c. This sense of the word here used (μελλήσω) is not unfrequent in classical Greek, especially in Sophocles. Thus ('Philoctetes,' 446) where an enquiry is made about Thersites, and Neoptolemus answers, "I never saw him, but I heard he was alive;" the reply is (ἔμελλε), "He was *sure* to be so." And we may compare the New Testament use of the same verb (Matt. xxiv. 6), "Ye shall hear of wars." It may be that the Apostle intended to say that the letter which he was now writing should be a voice after his death. This sense is countenanced by the word *always*, and it is not till the following verse that he speaks of

gligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know *them*, and be established in the present truth.

13 Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting *you* in remembrance;

14 Knowing that shortly I must put off *this* my tabernacle, even as [a] our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me.

15 Moreover I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance.

[a] John 21. 18.

the admonitions to be given while he was alive. So that the connection would be (*v.* 12), "I will *always* keep you in remembrance" (*vv.* 13, 14), both *in my lifetime*, and (*v.* 15) *after I am dead.*

though ye know them, and be established in the present truth] The last clause would be clearer if we read, *and are established* **in the truth which is with you.** This means the truth which has been imparted to you by your teachers, and which ye now profess, "the Gospel which ye have received and wherein ye stand." The same word is rendered (Col. i. 6), "The Gospel *which is come unto* you." Those to whom the Apostle is writing had obtained a like precious faith with himself. The word rendered *established*, which with its derivatives is a favourite with the writer (cf. 1 Pet. v. 10; 2 Pet. iii. 16, 17), is a part of that same verb which our Lord used in his exhortation to the Apostle (Luke xxii. 32), "When thou art converted *strengthen* thy brethren."

In the words "though ye know them" we have an indication that the letter is written either to those whom the Apostle himself had instructed, or whom he knew to have been taught by St Paul (cp. iii. 12), or by Silvanus (1 Pet. v. 12), to whose brotherly faithfulness allusion is made in the first Epistle. (See note on that passage.)

13. *Yea, I think it meet*, &c.] Better, **And** *I think it* **right.** It is not the meetness or fitness of his admonition which the Apostle has in mind, but that it is the right and just thing for him to do, the only way in which he can discharge his duty.

as long as I am in this tabernacle] This figurative expression for the body is also used by St Paul (2 Cor. v. 1—4), and it is worth notice that St Peter here employs the same mixture of metaphors which occurs in St Paul's language there. First the tabernacle is viewed as a building, and then spoken of as a garment which must be put off, or rather replaced by another; so St Peter speaks in the next verse of the *putting off* the tabernacle of the body.

to stir you up by putting you in remembrance] The literal and better rendering would be, "to **excite** or **keep you awake in** (or **by**) **reminding you.**" The expression occurs again in iii. 1, where it is rendered, "to stir up (your pure minds) by way of remembrance." The end of such reminding is that they may not be idle, and so unfruitful.

14. *Knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle*] Better, *Knowing that* **the putting off of my tabernacle cometh swiftly** (or **is soon to come**). These words may refer to the advanced age of the Apostle, from which he was conscious that the fulfilment of Christ's prophecy concerning him (John xxi. 18, 19) could not be far distant. "When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not." And the adjective ταχινὸς (swift, speedy) may also relate to the violent and hastened death which was to close the Apostle's existence. The rendering, "is soon to come," seems to refer more clearly to Christ's words, while the other interpretation would contain something prophetic uttered by St Peter about himself, which would hardly accord with the tone of the whole passage, which speaks of a knowledge derived from what our Lord had shewed to him.

The word ἀπόθεσις, *putting off*, is only found here and in 1 Pet. iii. 21.

even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me] Better simply, *shewed me.* The verb is an aorist. The allusion is not only to John xxi. 18, 19, quoted above, but to John xiii. 36, "Whither I go, thou canst not *follow* me now, but *thou shalt follow* me afterwards," which words find an echo in the words of Jesus (John xxi. 22), "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? *follow* thou me." St Peter had now learnt the full force of Christ's sayings, and to what end the following of Jesus was to bring him.

15. *Moreover I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance*] Better, **Yea I will give diligence that at every time** *ye may be able after my decease* **to call** *these things to remembrance.* The *moreover* of the A.V. seems to imply that the Apostle was promising some new care, but he had previously said, "I shall be ready always." It is better therefore to look upon the particles as only an emphatic resumption of something which had gone before. The adverb of time qualifies the first portion of the sentence, and the whole clause signifies that there shall be

16 For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus

left behind, when St Peter is dead, some record to which at each occasion, when need arises, they may be able to appeal for a reminder of his lessons, which they would probably not have always in remembrance.

A similar use of the verb *to have* (ἔχειν) in the sense of "to be able" is found Mark xiv. 8, "She hath done what she was able" (lit. what she had). And for traces of a gradual slipping into this meaning see Matt. xviii. 25, "because he *had* not to pay," and John viii. 6, "that they might *have* to accuse him."

"To call these things to remembrance." The phrase, which is only found in this place in the New Testament, is one used by classical writers in the sense of "making mention" (cf. Thuc. II. 54). But St Peter does not mean that his lessons shall be spoken of only, but when called to mind, they shall be acted upon.

The word ἔξοδος=decease (lit. departure) is that which is used by the Evangelist (Luke ix. 31) in the account of the Transfiguration, concerning Christ's decease, and there can be little doubt that the thoughts of the writer are led by the use of this unwonted expression for "decease" to the recollection of that scene of which in the succeeding verses he makes express mention. In that last recorded conversation of our Lord with St Peter (John xxi. 22) the Apostle had been bidden to follow his Master, and it was known that the words of Jesus, in that parting interview, had reference to the death whereby St Peter "should glorify God." St Peter would naturally give the same name to his own death as had there been given to Christ's. He would naturally turn in mind to the wondrous manifestation of which he had been one witness. But to suppose that an imitator or forger would do this is to assume in such writer a subtlety of thought and a power to transfer himself into the position of him whose character he assumed, which would be marvellous in an age of greater literary power than that in which our Epistle appeared.

In the first verb in the verse, "I will give diligence," the writer is looking back to the exhortation in verse 10, "Wherefore, brethren, give diligence." It is as though he would say, "I have urged you to diligence in your Christian course, and I will not be wanting, on my part, to supply you with means for your guidance and encouragement when I am taken away from you."

16. *For we have not*, &c.] As soon as the writer begins to speak of things with which not only himself but James and John also had to do, he passes at once from the singular into the plural number. He might have continued to use the singular, but the memory of the scene is with him, and in thought he is with his companions on the mountain, and thus they are included in his language.

followed] The verb in the original is a compound form, and thus may be presumed to have a somewhat fuller force. It is found only in this Epistle in the New Testament. In the next chapter we have it in ver. 2, "many shall *follow* their pernicious ways," and in ver. 15, "*following* the way of Balaam." Hence some have thought that the preposition ἐξ=*from* or *out of* has reference to the wrong character of the guidance which is followed. It seems better, however, not to press such a sense upon the word, but to take it in its usual meaning of "to follow where some one leads." Thus the Apostle is made to assert that he is not merely following the lead of another, speaking at second-hand, in what he says, but is himself the actual witness of and for the whole narrative.

cunningly devised fables] As the mind of the writer is fixed upon that manifestation of the glory of Christ which was revealed at the Transfiguration, it is to be supposed that by "fables" (μύθοι) he alludes to the heathen stories of the appearance of the Gods among men, or to some of the Gnostic figments concerning emanations from the Divinity. That legends of this kind, as well as Jewish myths concerning the Messiah, were current, and had produced errors in the faith, we can see from the frequent warnings against them contained in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. i. 4, iv. 7; 2 Tim. iv. 4; Tit. i. 14); where alone except in this verse the word (μῦθοι) is found in the New Testament. The same erroneous teaching is here meant as that which (ii. 3) is spoken of as "feigned words" (πλαστοὶ λόγοι), and the adjective there used may guide us to the signification of "cunningly devised" in the text. The stories had been moulded and fashioned by the skill and cunning of their authors, while in the narrative of the Transfiguration all that the writer tells us he had seen for himself.

made known unto you] As this Epistle is addressed to Christians far and wide, and the labours of the other Apostles are included in the expression, these words must not be referred to the first Epistle of St Peter, though the power and coming of Christ are there spoken of, as in all Christian Scriptures, but rather to the preaching of St Peter and his companions. Their account of what they had seen was published orally at first, and though by the time when this Epistle was written, there may have been a Gospel narra-

Christ, but were eyewitnesses of his majesty.

17 For he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my

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tive circulated among the churches, yet all that is here implied may be only the preaching of the first Christian teachers.

coming] Or, *presence*. To the *presence* of the Son of God among men they were the best witnesses who had seen His glory, and heard the voice which declared the divine nature of Jesus. Thus could they with firm assurance teach that He had *come* into the world. But this first coming was only a pledge of that second coming about which the disciples asked in the same phrase (Matt. xxiv. 3), "What shall be the sign of thy *coming*, and of the end of the world?"

eyewitnesses] The word is not the same which is so rendered Luke i. 2. In heathen writers the word rendered here *eyewitnesses* (ἐπόπτης) is very frequently used of those who have been admitted by initiation into the highest mysteries of their religious worship. And the word may have been designedly used here by the Apostle to signify the initiation of himself and his companions on the mount of the Transfiguration into mysteries which they were to make known when Christ was risen from the dead. This noun (here alone) and its kindred verb (ἐποπτεύω) are used by St Peter only (1 Pet. ii. 12, iii. 2) among New Testament writers.

majesty] *i.e.* as it was displayed when He appeared unto them in His glory. The word is one of rare occurrence in the New Testament, but it is worthy of notice that it is used (Luke ix. 43) in the narrative of the healing of the lunatic boy which took place at the foot of the mountain of Transfiguration, to describe the miracle which had just been wrought, "They were all amazed at the *mighty power* of God." Thus the wonder of the multitude at once owns the "majesty" of which the Apostles had just been made conscious by the heavenly glory and words from above.

The solemnity of the statement in ver. 16 is such that we cannot conceive that any forger could have made it. The two participial clauses, ἐξακολουθήσαντες, "having followed," and ἐπόπται γενηθέντες, "having been constituted eyewitnesses," are exactly parallel, the first giving an account of what the writer was *not* guided by, the other of that which did guide him in his teaching. More literally the construction would be expressed thus: "We did not make known, &c., from the mere following of fables, but we did so because we had been constituted eyewitnesses."

17. *For he received*] The construction in the original is interrupted. The sentence commences with a participle, "For having received," &c., and the strict grammatical sequence would require that the next verse should begin with a finite verb referring back to this participle, *e.g.* "He had us as listeners thereto when we were with him," &c. There is a similar interruption in the grammar of 2 Cor. v. 6—8.

from God the Father] because the heavenly voice declared "This is my beloved Son."

honour and glory] It seems most probable that these refer here, the first to the voice which declared Jesus to be the Son of God, the latter to the brightness of His body and robes at the time of the Transfiguration. Though *glory* (δόξα) is used by Christ Himself (Joh. viii. 54) as almost an equivalent to *honour* (τιμή). "If I glorify (A. V. *honour*) myself, my glory (*honour*) is nothing."

when there came such a voice] The literal rendering would be "*when such a voice was brought*," and the same expression is found in the next verse, "*which came*," *i.e.* *which was brought*. The verb is the same as in Acts ii. 2, where the sound which came from heaven is spoken of, and which, subsequently in verse 6 of that chapter, is called a *voice* (φωνή), though the rendering of the A. V. "Now when this was noised abroad" does not make this clear.

from the excellent glory] The preposition is that which after a passive verb would be strictly rendered *by*. The force is seen when the clause is translated literally, "such a voice was brought to him *by* the excellent glory." The excellent (or *majestic*) glory is an expression equivalent to the Hebrew *Shechinah*, the visible manifestation of God's presence above the mercy-seat, and so signifies God Himself. By God was the voice uttered which proclaimed Jesus as divine. The adjective (μεγαλοπρεπής) *excellent* (or *majestic*) is used by the LXX. (Deut. xxxiii. 26) as a title of God, ὁ μεγαλοπρεπὴς τοῦ στερεώματος. (The A. V. comes more closely to the Hebrew, and renders "in his *excellency* on the sky.") The same adjective is applied (2 Macc. viii. 15) to the name of God, and more especially illustrative of the story of the Transfiguration is its application (3 Macc. ii. 9) to the manifestation (ἐπιφάνεια) of God. This noun is applied often by St Paul (2 Thess. ii. 8; 1 Tim. vi. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8; Tit. ii. 13) to the appearance of Christ in the clouds when He shall come to judge the world; and also (2 Tim. i. 10) to His appearing in the world at His birth, and in like manner μεγαλοπρεπὴς δόξα here describes the magnificent splendour which shone round the whole scene of the Transfiguration, and told that God was there

beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

18 And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount.

19 We have also a more sure

as when on Sinai (Exod. xxiv. 17) "the sight of the *glory* of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount."

This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased] Though the A. V. makes the rendering exactly accord with that of Matt. xvii. 5 (and could hardly do otherwise) yet the Greek of the two passages presents a variation. (The Evangelist writes ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα, the text in St Peter has εἰς ὃν ἐγὼ εὐδόκησα; while in the parallel passages (Mark ix. 7; Luke ix. 35) the words ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα are omitted altogether.) So that the text before us corresponds literally with none of the records of the Evangelists. Had one been merely writing in the character of St Peter, and making use of the Apostle's name that he might gain more acceptance for what he was saying, it is hardly conceivable that he would not have followed to the letter some one of the Gospel narratives, whereas an actual witness of the scene who cared less for the exact words than for the fact to which he testified, would feel no scruple about the change of form in his language.

18. *we heard*] As if to mark specially the personal connection which the writer had had with the events which he relates, the personal pronoun is here emphatically inserted, and the first clause of the verse would be both more literally and more forcibly represented thus: "and this voice *we ourselves* heard come (or *brought*) out of heaven."

the holy mount] It has been objected that in this expression there is trace of a late date, since such an appellation would not be in early days given to the mount of Transfiguration. But of all places to which special sanctity would be ascribed by Christ's followers, surely that would be the first to be so marked where the most solemn testimony was given to the divinity of Jesus. To the Jewish Christian this would rank with Sinai, and no name would be more fitly applied to it than that which had so constantly been given to a place on which God first revealed Himself in His glory. The "holy mount of God" (Ezek. xxviii. 14) would now receive another application, and he would see little of the true continuity of God's revelation who did not connect readily the old and the new covenants, and give to the place where the glory of Christ was most eminently shewn forth, the same name which was applied so oft to Sinai.

19. *We have*, &c.] The pronoun may be taken as referring to the Apostles, of whom the writer may say that in consequence of the vision at the Transfiguration the sense of prophecy is to them more clear, and they have a more sure grasp of its meaning. But as the closing words of the verse are an exhortation to his readers to give heed to the word of prophecy, it is better to make the pronoun "we" include both the Apostle and those for whom he is writing. "We are all of us more sure of the meaning of the prophetic writings, because of the revelation which we received and have imparted unto you." Thus would the new light imparted at the Transfiguration be viewed as illuminating the hitherto dark places of the Old Testament prediction, and this sense would be best brought out by rendering "And we have the word of prophecy made more sure."

But the meaning of the text may well be, "We have, as a still more sure ground of confidence than our vision at the Transfiguration, the word of prophecy, which has spoken so fully of the Messiah, and received so complete a fulfilment in the life of Jesus." This would imply that though St Peter laid great stress on the revelation which had been vouchsafed to him and his companions, who were to go forth as the heralds of Christ, yet that the broader view given of the Messiah's office and the life which He should lead on earth is, at any rate for other men, a more sure basis of faith than can be the evidence derived from the narrative of one single vision. With this the sequel of the verse best accords. The Christians are exhorted to take heed to this prophetic word, to use it as a lamp which will guide them in their way to a full knowledge of God as He has revealed Himself, *a more sure word of prophecy*. The phrase is definite and the adjective belongs to the predicate. Render either (1) *we have* **the** *word of prophecy* **made more sure** (*i. e.* by what we have seen and heard when we were with Jesus at His Transfiguration). Or (2) *we have* **the** *word of prophecy* **yet more sure** (*i. e.* on which men may rather rest their trust than on our narrative of what we have seen).

This latter rendering is here to be preferred. And to appreciate this we must put ourselves somewhat in the place of those for whom St Peter wrote. The New Testament as we have it was to them non-existent. Therefore we can readily understand how the long line of prophetic scriptures fulfilled in so many ways in the life of Jesus would be a mightier form of evidence than the narrative of one single event in St Peter's life, however mighty the influence of that event might be on the mind of him to whom it occurred. And this is one of those passages which indicate that here we have no work of an inventor. Had such a one been writing he would have been sure to give most prominence to what had been made

word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts:

20 Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation.

21 For the prophecy came not [1] in old time by the will of man: but

[1] Or, *at any time.*

known to St Peter directly. The true St Peter acts differently.

ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος is used by Clemens Romanus ('2 Ep. ad Corinth.' 11) of words which are not contained in the Old Testament, and which bear some resemblance to passages in the New Testament (James i. 8, &c.), but we cannot refer the expression here to anything but the writers of the Old Testament, the false prophets under which dispensation are presently referred to in ii. 1.

as unto a light] Better, *as unto a* **lamp**. The idea conveyed by the words is of something which can be employed to give light wherever light may be needed. It is not merely a beam of light which shines in where all else is gloomy, but such a means of lighting as can be brought to bear now on one spot, now on another.

that shineth in a dark (or **squalid**) *place.* The lamp of prophecy was the source of light to God's servants as they moved through this life, which is a squalid place until it receives the full illumination which a right faith in Jesus brings to the heart. It is clear from the Apostle's exhortation, urging on his hearers to take heed to the word of prophecy, that it is to this life that his words refer, and he is looking forward to an advance in spiritual knowledge for those to whom he speaks. They are Christians, but still they have many things to learn before God's whole dispensation becomes clear, and the words of the prophets will be their best guide towards their complete enlightenment.

until the day dawn] The verb rendered "dawn" is only found here in the New Testament. It differs from the word used by the Evangelists (Matt. xxviii. 1; Luke xxiii. 54), and implies a thorough illumination, and bears out the explanation given above, that in the Apostle's thought there is a course of illumination which must gradually be shed over the believers, and in the end they will attain to that brightness which may be compared to entire daylight. Of course the perfect day will not be reached till this life is ended, and there cannot but be in language like that of the text some looking forward also to that time when we shall know even as also we are known, but the primary reference of the words is to that degree of Christian light and knowledge which may be reached in this life.

and the day star arise in your hearts] "day star" (φωσφόρος) is another unique word, and the picture set before us by this "light-bringer" is of that light which grows within men's hearts as the reward of constant faith, and study of God's revelation, which makes them wise unto things divine, and also gives them understanding concerning a life to come. The world will still remain the "squalid place," but the light which is kindled within the heart will preserve the steps from stumbling, and cheer the dreariness and gloom of the journey.

20. *Knowing this first*] The sense required is better given by the English verb **understanding**. The Apostle is laying down a rule for the right use of the prophetic word, and without a due comprehension thereof, there may be error in the use. This they are first to understand thoroughly before they begin to interpret prophecy.

that no prophecy of the scripture] The translation would be made more exact by the omission of "the."

is of any private interpretation] The word rendered "interpretation" is only found here in the New Testament, but the verb from which it is derived is used in St Mark (iv. 34), "He *expounded* all things to His disciples," and that sense is no doubt the correct one. The force of the whole verse would be better seen if the verb rendered "is" were more fully translated; here it has its proper sense of "becomes," "arises," "originates." Thus we are guided to apply the words to prophecy as it was uttered by those who first gave it forth. It did not arise from the private interpretation of the prophets. The words of the prophets of old were no mere human exposition, no endeavour on man's part to point to a solution of the difficulties which beset men's minds in this life. The prophets were moved by a Spirit beyond themselves, and spake things deeper than they themselves understood. With this may be compared what St Peter (i. 10) says about the prophets enquiring what the Spirit of Christ, by which they were moved to speak, was shewing unto them.

The force of ἴδιος "private" (*or* **special**) in other passages of St Peter's Epistles (1 Pet. iii. 1, 5; 2 Pet. ii. 16, 22, iii. 3, 16, 17), where it is generally rendered "own," may suggest that the writer would also have his readers understand, that prophetic Scripture does not become its own interpreter, does not bring its own interpretation with it. It needs for its full comprehension the coming of the day-star. The Spirit of God in men's hearts will continue to illumine words that aforetime seemed dark.

21. *For the prophecy came not in old time*

holy men of God spake *as they were* moved by the Holy Ghost.

CHAPTER II.

1 *He foretelleth them of false teachers, shewing the impiety and punishment both of them and their followers: 7 from which the godly shall be delivered, as Lot was out of Sodom:* 10 *and more fully describeth the manners of those profane and blasphemous seducers, whereby they may be the better known, and avoided.*

BUT there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in dam-

by the will of man] There are several points in the rendering of this sentence which are capable of greater exactness. Instead of "in old time," read rather, "at any time," as in the margin. Next for "came," read "was brought." It is the same verb which is rendered "moved" in the next clause of this verse, and of the voice from heaven mentioned in verse 18, and which is used of the "rushing" wind, indicative of the Holy Spirit's presence in Acts (ii. 2). The article would also be better omitted before "prophecy," and so the clause would read "for no prophecy ever was brought (or imparted) at the will of man." The prophets were only God's instruments, the carriers of His message, a sense well expressed by the frequent phrase in the Old Testament, "by the hand of." (Cf. Isai. xx. 2 (*marg.*), Num. xv. 23, &c.)

but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost] Here is a variation in the Greek texts. The most authoritative reading would be rendered, "but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost." It is not meant that the very words were given to the prophets, but that God's Spirit within them was the source and commencement of all their utterances. What to say was given to them, the garb in which it was to be clothed was marked by the individuality of the men.

The verb *spake* (ἐλάλησαν) is not unfrequently used in the New Testament writings of words spoken by God or by His prophets. (Cf. Luke i. 45, 55, 70, xxiv. 25; Acts iii. 21, 24; James v. 10.)

CHAP. II. 1—22. The whole chapter forms but one paragraph, of which the connection may be indicated thus. As of old there were false prophets, so shall there be false teachers now. These shall lead astray many, but in the end shall be destroyed. They shall be punished as surely and as terribly as the angels that sinned, or as the world before the flood, or as Sodom and Gomorrah, but, like Noah and Lot, they that are godly shall be saved, for the Lord knoweth how to deliver. The most patent marks of those who shall become false teachers are that they walk after the flesh and are self-willed, despising dominion; they live merely a life of sense, and count it pleasure to revel in the daytime, and being licentious themselves beguile others by their evil ways. Yet they promise boldly that they will give freedom to those who walk with them, whereas they are themselves very slaves of corruption. They have known something of the way of righteousness and had escaped in a measure from the defilements of the world, but now are entangled again therein. So their last state is worse than their first, and they fulfil the proverb, "The sow that is washed has turned again to the mire."

1. *But there were* (**arose**) *false prophets*] The language of the Pentateuch (Deut. xiii. 1—5) speaks of such misguiding teachers and proclaims no mercy toward them. The text speaks of the *gradual* rise and spread of lessons that should lead men astray from the purity of the faith. The writer is standing at the commencement of such an irruption of error, and marks the signs of the times and gives his warning.

also] *i.e.* as well as the "sure word of prophecy" spoken of in i. 19. In the visible Church, Jewish as well as Christian, the evil is ever mingled with the good.

among the people] *i.e.* of Israel. The word *people* (λαὸς) is thus used of the Jews as distinguished from the rest of the world in Rom. xv. 11, and in Jude 5 they are spoken of as a *people* (λαὸς) whom the Lord had saved out of Egypt. As the whole history of Israel is a type of what should come on Christ's church in later days, so the evils were pictured there as well as the blessings and mercies. That St Peter felt this to be so, cf. 1 Pet. ii. 4—10.

false teachers] Now that He was come of whom all the prophets had spoken, the gift of prophecy was withdrawn and Christ's ministers were to be teachers after another manner, yet their lessons should be travestied for the delusion of men as had been those of the prophets before them. St Paul (Acts xx. 30) had foretold such false teachers rising out of the midst of the Church, and doing harm which none but they were able to do, drawing away disciples after themselves, and Christ Himself (Matt. xxiv. 11) had spoken of these days. The writer of this Epistle was one stage nearer to the appearances of such deceivers, and could see what form their teachings would take, and what their lives would be like.

privily shall bring in] This in the original is one verb, which in addition to the notion of introducing something alongside of something else contains also the idea of secrecy.

nable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction.

2 And many shall follow their [1] pernicious ways; by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of.

[1] Or, *lasciviousness*, as some copies read.

It is found here only in the New Testament, though the adjective derived from it is employed by St Paul (Gal. ii. 4) to describe the false brethren *privily brought in* to the Christian community. In Jude 4, we have a different verb, though compounded with the same prepositions, to describe the men who in his day have already accomplished their evil work and *are crept in unawares*. St Peter foresaw what St Jude witnessed in fact.

The whole question of the relation of the Epistle of St Jude to this second chapter of St Peter's Epistle has been discussed in the Introduction to 2nd Peter. The contrast between παρεισάξουσιν here and the παρεισέδυσαν in Jude is that which most definitely marks the difference in time between the two writers, and it would do violence to the literal meaning of the Greek words did we not place St Peter's narrative anterior to St Jude's. The former says the false teachers will come in, the latter, using the aorist, yet speaks of a thing accomplished, of men who are in the Church and doing their mischief, and he only employs the indefinite tense because he feels that while some are already in the Christian communities yet still more are coming after them. The whole relation of the two passages seems to suit only with the grammatical acceptance of these key-words to the position of their respective writers.

damnable heresies] Better, **destructive** *heresies*. The literal rendering of the Greek is "heresies of destruction," signifying "heresies which lead to destruction," *i.e.* which destroy not only those who are led astray thereby, but those who lead them likewise. Cf. below on *v.* 12, where the false teachers are spoken of as to be destroyed in their own destroying, and in the final clause of this verse are said to be "bringing upon themselves swift destruction."

even denying the Lord that bought them] The *even* qualifies the latter portion of the sentence, and the word rendered Lord should be Master. *Denying* **even the Master** *that bought them* would therefore express the meaning of the original more nearly. These self-willed teachers knew that Christians were not their own but bought with a price (1 Cor. vi. 20), and therefore were the bondservants of Christ (1 Cor. vii. 23), for Christ had bought them off from the curse of the Law (Gal. iii. 13), and in that purchase He made them sons of God by adoption (Gal. iv. 5). But both by their lessons and lives they ignored all this. St Jude expands and explains St Peter's phrase, "denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ."

This clause of the verse describes the nature of the heretical teaching, and Bp Wordsworth points out, from the history of the heresies of the Apostolic age, how every phase resulted in a denial of Jesus Christ. The Jewish teachers explained away the doctrine of the Trinity. One form of Gnosticism taught that there were not in the Godhead three distinct persons, but only three different revelations of the same person. Others taught that the body of Christ was but a phantom; others that He was merely man, though the greatest and best of men; others that Jesus was man, but Christ was the divine Spirit, which entered into Jesus at His birth but left Him before His crucifixion; while others in practice, by their dissolute lives, denied Christ as their Master, and used their bodies as their own and not His.

After his own fall and repentance, to deny the Master would be in Peter's mind the strongest term which he could find for apostasy. But when he denied Jesus the Master had not yet paid the price for the redemption of His servants. How much more grievous must be the falling away of Christians; yet for all these who now denied Him, Christ had died. The redemption which He wished to make was to be for all men, "even for the rebellious."

and bring upon themselves swift destruction] The verb is a participle, "*bringing* upon themselves," and expresses the result of the wrong teaching. These men bring in heresies of destruction unto others, and know not that they are bringing at the same time destruction on themselves. *Swift* (ταχινός) refers quite as much to the suddenness with which the destruction shall come as to any other characteristic of it.

Ταχινός, like ψευδοδιδάσκαλος and παρεισάγειν, is a word peculiar to St Peter in the New Testament.

2. The rendering should be, *And many shall follow their* **lasciviousness** *ways*. Cf. below, *v.* 18, where "by words of vanity" these teachers are said "to entice in the lusts of the flesh by *lasciviousness*."

In this verse the Text. Rec. reads ἀπωλείαις, but all the earliest MSS. have ἀσελγείαις. And this is now adopted by all editors, for it is easy to see how the former word has come in from the previous verse, while the earlier reading is in the spirit of St Jude's more expanded expression, τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν χάριτα μετατιθέντες εἰς ἀσέλγειαν.

by reason of whom] This refers no doubt both to those who teach error and to those

3 And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.

4 For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast *them* down to hell, and delivered *them* into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment;

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who follow them. Both bring the way of truth into dishonour, the former by the words which they speak against it, the latter by deserting it and affording to others an argument that it is not worth following.

The early Church had much to dread from the calumnies which might be cast upon it from the evil lives of any who professed to be in any sense Christians, for charges of immorality were among the most common slanders against which the early Apologists had to defend the Christians, and these no doubt grew out of the licence encouraged and indulged in by these false brethren.

3. *And through covetousness*] The preposition in Greek is ἐν=in, and the literal rendering expresses exactly the condition of these false teachers as set before us in Scripture. From Simon Magus onward they are described as covetous, and so the Apostle styles them below in *v.* 14, and Jude (16) expands the idea, "having men's persons in admiration for the sake of advantage." And to Timothy St Paul (1 Tim. vi. 5) had spoken of those who supposed gain was godliness, and to Titus (i. 11) of men who "teach what they ought not for filthy lucre's sake." These false brethren were sunk *in* covetousness.

with feigned words] The adjective is only found here in the New Testament, and alludes to the lying character of the promises which these men made to those who listened to them. They promised what they could not give because they had it not. (See below, *v.* 19.) Cf. also Rom. xvi. 18.

make merchandise] As with the Judaizing teachers of whom St Paul speaks (Gal. vi. 13), the glory of these false brethren was to have a multitude of followers. These they are represented as buying, but all the price they pay is "feigned words," promises which never can come true. No doubt there is also a notion that such teachers would be supported by their followers, and in covetousness they aimed to secure such support, and treated in this respect their adherents as objects of traffic out of which they might make gain.

whose judgment] Rather, **sentence**. Their doom is pronounced already, and their end is destruction. (Cf. Phil. iii. 19.)

ἔκπαλαι=now of a long time, is a Petrine word, found only here and in iii. 5, while in ἀργεῖ and νυστάζει, the former of which is unique and the latter occurs only here and in Matt. xxv. 5 (in its literal sense), we have examples of that figurative language of which so many examples can be produced from both the first and second Epistles. Their judgment is not *idly loitering*, nor is their destruction *nodding to sleep*, but is sure to come.

and their damnation] Better, *their* **destruction**. The original is the same word that occurs twice just before in *v.* 1.

4. The Apostle proceeds to give examples of the punishment of the ungodly and the deliverance of the righteous. These he draws (1) from angels that sinned, (2) from the world before the flood and the deliverance of Noah, and (3) from the overthrow of the cities of the plain out of which Lot was saved.

For if God spared not the angels that sinned] There is no definite article in the original. Better, *spared not* **angels when they sinned**. It has been generally held that the allusion here is to the narrative in Gen. vi. 4, and that the angels here mentioned are those who are there called בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, but as there is no account given in Genesis of the punishment of those offenders, and as it is the *punishment* which in the Epistle is mainly dwelt on, it seems better to conclude that the allusion is to some extra-biblical literature in which mention is not unfrequently made of the sins and punishments of the angels (*e.g.* 'Bk. of Enoch' VII. 1, 2). Such traditional literature was familiar to the Apostles, as we may see from 1 Cor. x. 4; 2 Tim. iii. 8, &c. For instances illustrative of this passage from Rabbinical literature, see Additional Note at the end of the Chapter.

The parallel passage in Jude 6, which expands the statement of St Peter, "angels which kept not their own principality [*or* dominion] but forsook their proper habitation," seems to give some countenance to the connection of this passage with the story in Genesis, but yet that expansion may equally well be referred to the Rabbinical tradition, for there too a change of abode is mentioned.

but cast them down to hell] The original ταρταρώσας, which is not found elsewhere, is literally, "having cast them into Tartarus," which to a Jewish mind would be the same as Hades or Gehenna. That the notion of Tartarus, though strictly a heathen one, was not unfamiliar to the Jews we may see from Josephus, who ('c. Apion.' II. 33) speaks of the oldest heathen gods as ἐν ταρτάρῳ δεδεμένους =fettered in Tartarus.

and delivered them into chains of darkness] In the verb *delivered* (παρέδωκε) is the idea of

5 And spared not the old world, but saved Noah the eighth *person*, a preacher of righteousness, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly;

6 And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha into ashes condemned *them* with an overthrow, making *them* an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly;

7 And delivered just Lot, vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked:

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committing to prison. Cf. Acts viii. 3, xii. 4 and other places.

On the word rendered "chains" the MSS. ℵ, A, B, C have a various reading which might be translated "pits" or "dens," and this reading has been adopted by recent editors. But there are variations of text in A and ℵ which if adopted would require the word to be taken as an adjective, and the variation is so slight (σειροις for σειραις) that it seems hardly established that "pits" should be the rendering. For the word as found in use signifies a pit where grain can be stored and kept safe for use. Now this is scarcely the notion required by our context, while the expression "chain of darkness" is found Wisd. xvii. 17, and it will be seen that the idea of "chaining in darkness" enters largely into the Rabbinical literature concerning the fallen angels. (See extracts at the end of this Chapter.)

to be reserved unto judgment] Amid such pains as are said in the Gospel (Matt. xxv. 41) to be "prepared for the devil and his angels."

5. *And spared not the old* (**ancient**) *world*] Though the wrong doers and wrong teachers may be many, their number shall not profit them, for God spared only Noah and his family when the flood swept away the world of the ungodly.

but saved (**preserved**) *Noah the eighth person*] This is a not uncommon though somewhat abbreviated Greek formula=*Noah with seven others*. The expression "guarded" or "preserved" (ἐφύλαξε), is apparently an allusion to the words of Genesis (vii. 16), "the Lord shut him in."

a preacher of righteousness] We have no intimation of this in the Scripture, but we may see from Josephus ('Antiq.' I. 3. 1) that there was a tradition of the kind among the Jews. The whole passage, which illustrates our text, is as follows, "Noah being grieved at the things which were done by them and being displeased at their counsels, urged them to change for the better their thoughts and actions. But seeing that they did not yield, but were mightily mastered by the pleasure of evil, fearing lest they should kill him, he departed from the land with his wife and his sons and the women whom they had married." And in the Midrash, 'Bereshith Rabba,' xxx. 6, we find "There rose up a *herald* for God in the age of the deluge: that was Noah." This explanation of the Midrash is noteworthy in the light of St Peter's word "herald" (κήρυξ).

bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly] Better, **when He brought a flood**, &c. There is no article in the Greek, indeed the whole verse is remarkable for having no article in it.

6. *And turning...into ashes*] The verb so rendered (τεφρώσας) is unique and is one of the writer's picturesque and expressive words.

condemned them with an overthrow] The dative here, as in Mark x. 33, might be taken =to overthrow. But "overthrow" is not a word of the same character as "death" in that passage, and in the case of the cities of the plain it was *by* their overthrow that their deeds were condemned, and they made a perpetual warning. The expanded text of St Jude (*v.* 7) in this notice of Sodom and Gomorrah is worth observation, as a sign of a later date when the licentiousness of these false teachers had become more apparent, and had made the parallel between them and the cities of the plain more complete.

making them] Rather, **having made them**, and so in St Jude they are said to be "set forth," as if in perpetuity, that men may always be able to point to them.

an ensample unto those, &c.] *i.e.* a type of the utter overthrow which should come on such offenders.

that after should live ungodly] The word "after" would be better omitted. (It makes a double translation of μελλόντων, the future sense of which is sufficiently given by "should.") The offences of the sinners before the flood and of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah are described by the same term ἀσεβεῖν. First they have no fear of God before their eyes, and when that is absent regard for man, either in their own persons or those of others, soon follows it, and so these men may all be classed together.

7. *And delivered just* (**righteous**) *Lot*] He, like Noah, had by his life been a herald of *righteousness*. Josephus styles him "one who had learnt Abraham's goodness."

vexed] The verb is rather connected primarily with the sense of physical weariness than mental pain. So "worn out" or **distressed** would be a closer rendering. He had talked to no purpose. "He seemed as one that mocked unto his sons-in-law." The word only occurs in the New Testament again,

8 (For that righteous man dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing, vexed *his* righteous soul from day to day with *their* unlawful deeds;)

9 The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished:

10 But chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness, and despise [1]government. [a]Presumptuous *are they*, selfwilled, they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities.

[1] Or, *dominion.*
[a] Jude 8.

Acts vii. 24, of the Israelite who was *wronged* by the Egyptian.

with the filthy conversation of the wicked] Literally, "by the life of the wicked in lasciviousness." *Conversation* in the older English of the A.V. nearly always represents, as here, the Greek ἀναστροφή, meaning "manner of life." Perhaps the best rendering would be, **by the lascivious manner of life** *of the wicked.*

The word here rendered *wicked* is only found in this Epistle (here and iii. 17) in the New Testament, and signifies "those who set law at defiance and so are deprived of its protection."

8. This parenthetic verse is an explanation of the nature of the distress under which Lot suffered. It was by what he saw and heard that he vexed (the word literally means **tormented**) his righteous soul. The sentence is so framed as to give emphasis to Lot's self-torture because of what he saw. And when we notice the words "dwelling among them," and remember that it was his own choice (Gen. xiii. 11) that selected the plain of Jordan and the neighbourhood of Sodom for his home, we can understand how such self-tormenting might be natural. For it is recorded when he made the choice that "the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners before the Lord exceedingly."

The words *seeing* (βλέμμα) and *dwelling among* (ἐγκατοικέω) are not found elsewhere in the New Testament.

9. Here we come to the apodosis of those conditional clauses which commenced in *v.* 4, and all depend on the conjunction that is only once expressed there.

The Lord knoweth] And God's knowledge implies His power.

to deliver the godly] As He shewed in the instances of Noah and Lot. The temptation in the former case seems not to have been so wilfully entered into as was Lot's, but whether God send the temptation or men choose it for themselves, yet if they resist it and continue to hold fast their integrity, the way to escape will be made for them.

In the next clause the verb rendered by the A.V. "to be punished" is not in the future but in the present tense, and is closely connected with the other verb in the sentence. It is better to render: *and to reserve* **under punishment the unrighteous.** For their state is one of chastisement even before the judgment-day comes. Our Saviour's picture in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus reveals this to us.

the unjust] *i.e.* such as the offending angels, and the ante-diluvian generation, and the Sodomites, of the first of whom it has been already (*v.* 4) said, that they are "to be reserved unto judgment."

10. *But chiefly*] *i.e.* above all others shall God reserve under punishment the sinners now to be described.

them that walk after the flesh] St Jude, who saw to what lengths these offenders had come, describes them as offending in like manner with Sodom and Gomorrah. "Yet" (*i.e.* in spite of the warning set forth before their eyes) "in like manner these also defile the flesh." Some Gnostic teachers allowed themselves in sensual excesses, and the writer of this Epistle speaks not so plainly indeed as St Jude of their foul lives, but yet shews that he saw clearly whither they were tending.

in the lust of uncleanness] Just as St Paul to the Ephesians (iv. 22) speaks of "lusts of deceit," deceitful lusts, lusts which deceive all who follow them, so the lusts spoken of here are such as defile all who are captivated by them. The word for "uncleanness," as also a kindred word in *v.* 20 rendered "defilements," is used nowhere else in the New Testament. The former signifies a condition of defilement, the latter the thing which defiles.

and despise government] Better, **dominion.** The word signifies *lordship*, and it may be referred primarily to Jesus Christ, but it also includes every form of authority which would exercise restraint upon these offenders. Christ or other authority they utterly disregard.

Presumptuous are they] Better, simply, **Daring**: though they have known the penalties of sin yet they defy them.

selfwilled, **they tremble not to rail at** *dignities*] Here *dignities* (δόξαι) seems from the context to refer to spiritual powers, God's agents in the government of the world. This is apparent from the κατ' αὐτῶν of the following verse, where the angels are said not to bring a railing accusation against these δόξαι, and a special instance is given in St Jude's more expanded and Midrash-like form of the illustration; for he speaks of Michael the

11 Whereas angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not railing accusation [1] against them before the Lord.

12 But these, as natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed, speak evil of the things that they understand not; and shall utterly perish in their own corruption;

13 And shall receive the reward of unrighteousness, *as* they that count

[1] Some read, *against themselves.*

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archangel disputing with the devil, and yet bringing no railing judgment. In later times the inhabitants of heaven were ranged in Christian literature into ranks and orders. Such a division was no doubt largely due to the Gnostic teaching with its systems of Æons, each possessed of its own specific powers and office. But speculations on such a subject might find an earlier warrant from words like those of St Paul (Rom. viii. 38), where he speaks of "angels, principalities and powers" as separate classes of spiritual agencies. In the verse before us St Peter means that the daring and self-willed sinners of whom he speaks, though knowing the might of the spiritual powers, yet in contempt of them, whether they be good or bad, proceed on their evil courses, setting at naught the danger into which evil powers may lead them, and disregarding the warnings which may be ministered to them by the good. And though doing this they tremble not.

11. *Whereas angels*] And St Jude's example is that of the mighty archangel Michael.

though *greater in power and might*] *i.e.* than the dignities (δόξαι), for in all orders of the hierarchy of heaven, whether founded on Scripture or not, the angels and archangels stand first.

bring not a railing **judgment** *against them*] The only apposite illustration in Holy Scripture is Zech. iii. 2, where the "angel of the Lord" appears with Joshua the high-priest under his care, while Satan comes forth as an adversary. There it is said, "The Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan." In which passage the manifestation of the divine presence under the form and name of "the angel of the Lord" is in harmony with the rest of the Old Testament narrative, and this representative of Jehovah must have been the speaker of the words of rebuke to the adversary. And the very words "the Lord rebuke thee" are put by St Jude into the mouth of Michael (Jude 9).

before the Lord] By some MSS. and editors these words are omitted, but the balance of evidence is in favour of their retention. For such a scene is here hinted at, where Jehovah presides as supreme Judge, hearing all sides before He gives a decision, cf. Job i., and similar descriptions are not unfrequent in the Rabbinical writings. Cf. 'Bereshith Rabba,' p. viii. (on Gen. i. 26).

12. *But these*] the sinners of whose evil lessons and practices the Apostle is giving warning.

as creatures without reason. Though professing to have greater light than other men they act with as little reason as the brute creation. The A.V. "as natural brute beasts" is a most expressive rendering of this word and those which follow, but scarcely enables the reader to see the force of the several Greek words.

born mere (*or* **natural**) **animals.** And never advancing beyond the "things which they know naturally as brute beasts" (Jude 10).

to be taken and destroyed] Which, for the harm they do, deserve no better fate. Some have rendered these words, "to take and destroy," as though they looked on to the latter clause of the verse, thus making them a description of the acts of those men who ensnared and ruined all whom they were able to beguile by their teaching. But it seems better to connect them with the description of the animals.

railing in matters whereof they are ignorant. Thus shewing themselves "creatures without reason."

shall in their destroying be utterly destroyed. In this respect too their lot shall be that of mere animals, which by their appetites are led on to destruction, and are taken and slain while attempting to seize some prey. So these men while they are bent on misleading, and so destroying, shall fall themselves into the destruction which they have made for others.

13. *And shall receive the* **wages** *of unrighteousness*] This is another form of expressing that for their work of destruction they shall reap destruction. The wages of unrighteousness can be but ruin, as to Balaam (Num. xxxi. 8, 16) and to Judas (Acts i. 18). Some very ancient MSS. read here, "being wronged in the wages of unrighteousness," and a sense may be obtained from these words, if we think that these deceivers had looked for different wages from their master than they in the end obtained, that the promise made to them at the outset had been as fair-seeming as that which they now make to others.

wages *of unrighteousness*] The words μισθὸν ἀδικίας are only found here and below in *v.* 15, and in St Peter's speech concerning Judas (Acts i. 18). The expression is thus peculiar to St Peter, and it is well that it should be rendered by the same English ex-

it pleasure to riot in the day time. Spots *they are* and blemishes, sporting themselves with their own deceivings while they feast with you;

[†] Gr. *an adulteress.*

14 Having eyes full of †adultery, and that cannot cease from sin; beguiling unstable souls: an heart they have exercised with covetous practices; cursed children:

15 Which have forsaken the right

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pression in each case. The A.V. has varied them in each instance.

men who count it pleasure to **revel** *in the day time.* Here begins an enumeration of other features in the character of the false teachers. Hitherto there has been mainly noticed their bearing towards all authority, now we are to hear of their excessive self-indulgence.

τρυφὴ is rather "delicate living" than "riot." Cf. James v. 5, "Ye have *lived in pleasure* on the earth." Some have understood τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφὴν of luxury which lasted for a brief time, but the design of the Apostle is to describe these false teachers not as simply sinners, but as far worse than other sinners. The day is for honest walking, and "they that are drunken are drunken in the night" (1 Thess. v. 7), but these men give day as well as night to their revels, and find their pleasure in so doing.

Spots and blemishes] An utter contrast to those whom Christ redeemed (1 Pet. i. 19), and who should strive after His likeness Who was as a lamb without blemish and without spot. Cf. for this character of true Christians iii. 14 and Eph. v. 27.

revelling in their deceivings] Here the "deceivings" would signify the things which they have gotten by deceit, and on which they live delicately. For not only self-indulgence and licentiousness but greed of gain is among the offences of these sinners.

Some ancient authorities and some modern editors read here ἀγάπαις for ἀπάταις, and this is the word in Jude 12. At first sight the pronoun αὐτῶν appears to be an obstacle to the adoption of the same word here. It seems natural enough to say "they revel in (*or* on) *their* deceivings," but not quite so to speak of the love-feasts as *theirs*. But if we hold St Peter's Epistle to be the earlier we can see a reason for the change of the pronoun. In his day these false teachers at love-feasts of their own devising held their riot, but when St Jude wrote the evil had spread farther and from being a practice confined to the few who had crept in unawares was become so extended that he could speak of such men as blots on the *agapæ* of the whole Church. But it is impossible to decide with certainty on the true reading here, though the word in Jude is in some degree an evidence that we should adopt the same here.

while they feast with you] The congregations have established these common meals to cheer the hearts and strengthen the affection between their members. The false teachers come and share like the rest, join in the banquet of the Church's bounty, but are spots and blemishes in the body of Christians, for it is no feast of brotherly love which they seek to share, but by their boldness and licence to lead their fellows astray and turn the ἀγάπη into τρυφή.

14. *Having eyes full of adultery*] Literally, as in the margin of A.V., *full of an adulteress.* A most forcible but singular phrase for expressing that complete absorption in sensual thoughts and desires that the eye, the most expressive feature, seems to realize the presence of some object of the desire and to be intently gazing on it.

and that cannot cease from sin] The eyes have been so schooled to sensual expression that now they never lose it, but seem ever on the watch for opportunity to do evil.

enticing unstedfast *souls.* The metaphor is from a bait to catch fish, and the word occurs again in *v.* 18, and is used by St James (i. 14), and would come at once to the minds of the fishermen of Galilee. *Unstedfast* (ἀστήρικτος) is only found in this Epistle (here and iii. 16), and is a word of much significance for St Peter, for he was charged specially to labour against such unstedfastness (Luke xxii. 32), "When thou art converted, *strengthen* (στήριξον) thy brethren."

having a heart exercised in covetousness. Here we come on the third evil characteristic of these deceivers. They are greedy of gain. (The Text. Rec. gives πλεονεξίαις, which the A.V. renders rightly by the plural, but the best MSS. read πλεονεξίας, and the verb is not uncommonly followed by such a genitive.) The exercise indicated by the verb is that of an athlete for a contest. In like manner have these men trained themselves in their habits of greed.

children of cursing. The A.V. "cursed children" scarcely gives the force of the original. The sense is like that phrase (Eph. ii. 3) "children of wrath," *i.e.* for whom wrath is prepared, and so these men have a curse in store for them.

15. **forsaking** *the right way*] According to Tischendorf's eighth edition the present tense has rather more authority than the aorist, but it is so closely joined with the finite verb which follows in the aorist, that the change does not affect the sense. "The right way" is that which is called (Acts xiii. 10) "the right ways of the Lord," which Elymas (a

way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam *the son* of Bosor; who loved the wages of unrighteousness;

16 But was rebuked for his iniquity: the dumb ass speaking with man's voice forbad the madness of the prophet.

17 These are wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempest; to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever.

forerunner of the false teachers against whom St Peter speaks) was seeking to pervert.

they *are gone astray*] Having at first been deluded, but afterwards giving themselves up to the wrong way into which they have been brought, they are seeking to make others as bad as themselves.

having followed the way of Balaam the son of Bosor] The verb "having followed," which is a strengthened form, is found three times in this Epistle (i. 16, ii. 2, 15) and nowhere else in the New Testament. It gives the idea of following out to the end, as Balaam went on, though he learnt that his way was unpleasing to the Lord.

It is noteworthy how many times the word "way" occurs in Num. xxii., the account of Balaam's sinful journey.

Bosor is a form which arose probably from some dialectic pronunciation of the ו in the name בְּעוֹר, and it would be better here to conform the English Version to the Old Testament orthography.

In Rev. ii. 14, 15 Balaam is mentioned in such a conjunction with the Nicolaitans that we can hardly help concluding the writer of this Epistle and St Jude had those false teachers in their thoughts when they spake of Balaam's sin as marking the offenders against whom they wrote.

who loved the wages of unrighteousness] See above on *v.* 13. Balaam's love was for the gain, though on his lips was, "Though Balak should give me his house full of silver and gold." So these deceivers have one thing on their lips but another in their hearts.

16. *But was rebuked for his* **transgression**] His offence was a defiance of God's command, which at first spake expressly that he should not go with Balak's messengers. The word for "rebuke" is only found here in the New Testament.

a *dumb ass*] ὑποζύγιον, literally "a beast of burden," is used of the ass, but in the East that animal and the mule are the only *jumenta*.

speaking with man's voice **stayed** *the madness of the prophet*] It was not the ass but the angel who really hindered Balaam on the way, but the clearer vision of the dumb beast was the cause of the first delay, and so the whole result is ascribed to what was but the first step towards it. It is not without purpose that Balaam is styled "the prophet," but thus the contrast is heightened between the wicked folly of him who should have been wise, and the brute beast by which he was rebuked.

The word for *madness* (παραφρονία) is only found in this place.

17. Having specified the sins which should mark the lives of these false teachers, the Apostle now goes on to notice the vain nature of all which they profess to teach. They promise great things, and men look to them with expectation but are doomed to disappointment.

These are **springs** *without water*] It is to bring out as strongly as possible the idea of apostasy that the imagery of this verse is employed. These false teachers bear the semblance of teachers, just as, for a little time, a place in Eastern lands where water has flowed will continue green, but disappoint the thirsty traveller who may be led by a little verdure to hope for water. There was water, and perhaps not long ago, but there is none now, and so with these deceivers. They give promise, but that promise is never realized. And the same notion is in the next clause.

and mists driven by a tempest. These promised showers of blessing, but the wind carried them away, and they did no good to the ground over which they were swept so quickly. The Text. Rec. reads νεφέλαι=clouds (A.V.), but the best MSS. have instead καὶ ὁμίχλαι. ὁμίχλη is not found elsewhere in New Testament.

for *whom*] *i.e.* for the deceiving teachers.

the **blackness** *of darkness*] The words are the same as in Jude 13, and it is better to translate them in the same way in both places.

hath been *reserved*] The way of the wicked is frequently spoken of as a way of darkness (cf. Prov. iv. 19), but the passage which is most nearly an illustration of the text is Jer. xxiii. 9—12, where false prophets are spoken of, over whose deeds "the heart is broken, for the land is full of adulterers, both prophet and priest are profane...wherefore their way shall be unto them as slippery ways in the darkness."

At the end of the verse the A.V. has "for ever," but these words are not in the original of the best MSS., and appear to have been inserted here in later MSS. to bring the text of St Peter into more exact accord with that of St Jude, where the words are found.

18 For when they speak great swelling *words* of vanity, they allure through the lusts of the flesh, *through much* wantonness, those that were [Or, *for a little*, or, *a while*, as some read.] clean escaped from them who live in error.

19 While they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption: for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage.

20 For if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Sa-

18. *For* **uttering** *great swelling words of vanity*] In the previous verse we had these false teachers described in figures, now we have the application. We see why they are waterless fountains, and rainless mists, because their words are vanity. All that they say must come to naught. Cf. Eph. iv. 17, "The *vanity* of their mind."

This first clause describes the means employed to beguile the unstable; words which promise much. The "when" of A.V. is not needed. The boastful promises of the deceiver are always there. The adjective rendered "great swelling *words*" (*ὑπέρογκα*), is only found here and in the parallel passage, Jude 16, and the verb *φθέγγεσθαι* is not the usual word for speaking but rather indicates a public and loud proclamation, and it is to be noticed that it is only found in the New Testament here and above (*v.* 16) of Balaam's ass, and in Acts iv. 18, a passage of which the language is probably due to St Peter.

they **entice**] as above in *v.* 14.

in *the lusts of the flesh*] Here is described the condition in which these men live. "They walk after the flesh in the lust of defilement," and "have eyes that cannot cease from sin."

by lasciviousness. The word is plural in the original and intimates that there is no temptation which they do not offer. This is the bait by which they entice their followers.

those who are just escaping. (The Text. Rec. here is *τοὺς ὄντως ἀποφυγόντας*, which is well rendered *those that were clean escaped*, but the oldest MSS. give *ὀλίγως* with the present participle.) This suits the context better. For they who were clean escaped would not be in so much danger of falling back as would those who were but just getting free.

from them **that** *live in error*] With this expression may be compared i. 4, "having escaped from the corruption that is in the world through lust." Those that live in error are the heathen who know not God. Having lived lives according to the flesh hitherto, they are more easily led astray by temptations of that nature, when they have just begun their Christian profession. To such weak brethren the false teachers utter their proud promises, and shewing them a life more like their old one, and calling for less restraint than true Christianity demands, win them to their teaching.

19. **Promising** *them liberty*] No doubt these apostates would make a wrong use of words like those of St Paul (Rom. viii. 21) concerning "the glorious *liberty* of the children of God," and (2 Cor. iii. 17) "where the Spirit of the Lord is there is *liberty*," leaving out of mind that other admonition (Gal. v. 13), "use not *liberty* for an occasion to the flesh." And here we have an example of those sayings of St Paul which "the ignorant and unstedfast" (like these backsliding professors) "wrest unto their own destruction."

while they themselves are **bondservants** *of corruption.* Here, as in i. 4, there is deep-rooted in the word for "corruption" the other notion of "destruction," as above in *v.* 12 of this chapter. These false teachers have taken service as bondslaves under a master who uses them to corrupt others, but who at the same time will, in their service, destroy them too. They destroy others and will themselves "in their destruction be destroyed." The verb for "are" in this clause is one which describes their being as a settled condition. It is used below (iii. 11), "what manner of persons ought ye *to be* in all holy living." The notion is that of being "employed on" or "busy about" anything.

for of whom (or *what*) *a man is overcome, of the same is he* **also** *brought* **into** *bondage*] For the sentiment cf. John viii. 34; Rom. vi. 16. The *also*, which is in the Text. Rec. as well as old MSS., seems to give force to the sentence. It is possible for a sinner, though he fall, yet to rise again, and try once more to resist temptation, but when he has owned himself beaten, then sin goes further and makes him its slave.

20. In this verse the Apostle gives a reason for calling these false teachers bondservants. They had once got free, or what seemed to be free, from their life in error, but a relapse makes them powerless to struggle into freedom again. They are hopelessly enslaved now.

For if after they have escaped the **defilements** *of the world*] These defilements are the corruption that was in the heathen world through lust (i. 4). These teachers by joining the fellowship of the Christian Church seemed to have made this amount of progress.

Here *μιάσματα* is an unique word.

through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ] This is that full knowledge (*ἐπίγνωσις*) on which the Apostle so strongly insists (cf. i. 2), and which he here defines as a

viour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein, and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning.

21 For it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known *it*, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them.

22 But it is happened unto them according to the true proverb, The dog *is* turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.

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knowledge of Jesus Christ as the Lord and Saviour. It was such a knowledge which these apostate teachers appeared once to have had, but now they were "denying the Master that bought them."

they are again entangled therein, and overcome] They called their condition freedom, but the Apostle sees that they are like the fishes (to which by his language he has already compared those whom they entice), caught in the folds of a net from which there is no escape.

the last state is become *worse with them than the* **first**] Cf. Christ's language, Matt. xii. 45. The evil spirit that had been cast out has returned and brought with him seven other spirits more wicked than himself. Such applications of the language of Jesus as we find in this verse and the one preceding it, where the words are not literally repeated, as a forger might have been tempted to use them, but given with such modifications as shall retain their spirit, though suiting the form to the occasion which calls for their use, are most interesting because they indicate that the writer knew the circumstances under which Christ spake, and could use His words as they were intended to be used. And more than this, they are in some degree characteristic of a time when the Gospel narrative was being orally delivered, and when living hearers of Jesus were still in the world.

The τούτοις in this verse has by some been made emphatic and referred to the false teachers, and thus the whole sense of the verse modified in this wise. For if (those who are beguiled by these apostates) after they have escaped...are again entangled by *these* (deceivers)...the last state, &c. But such a rendering seems to suit the context very ill. For those men who were only just escaping from those that live in error (*v.* 18) can hardly be said in any sense to have attained to the knowledge of Jesus Christ the Lord and Saviour, or to have "known the way of righteousness" (*v.* 21).

21. *For it had been better for them*, &c.] For with increased knowledge comes increase of responsibility, and greater condemnation for the misuse of what men know. On the condition of such apostates cf. Heb. vi. 4—6. They crucify the Son of God afresh.

the way of righteousness] This was defined in the last verse as the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. But the Apostle's use of the present expression as equivalent to the former, shews that faith in Christ was never without works of righteousness.

the holy commandment, &c.] Christ's explanation of the moral law in His Sermon on the Mount may emphatically be called by this name. And some of the precepts which He there delivered were those which these false teachers disregarded in their own lives, and from the restraints of which they promised freedom to those who joined their number. And Christ's interpretation and application of the Mosaic code (which St Paul, [Rom. vii. 12] had called holy of itself) had made that law still more worthy of the title.

22. *It has happened unto them*, &c. The "But" of the A.V., representing δέ in the Text. Rec., seems to be a later addition, and not warranted by the earliest MSS.

proverb] The two proverbs which are here cited are taken from the two beasts held in greatest contempt in Eastern and Jewish thought. The dog to this day is the usual scavenger in Oriental cities, and swine are an abomination. For an instance of the coupling of these two animals as illustrations of what is most profane and degraded, cf. Matt. vii. 6.

The dog **turning** *to his own vomit again*] It is better to translate the participle form of the original exactly. This first proverb is generally referred to Prov. xxvi. 11, but it seems very doubtful whether that be the source of the Apostle's words. The LXX., from which he would quote if he were thinking of that verse, has ὥσπερ κύων ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμετον. In which passage neither the verb, the pronoun, nor the final noun are the same as in St Peter. It seems much more likely that the proverbs were both of them in frequent use and in several forms, and that the Apostle has used one, which was well known to his readers. We can see from our Lord's words quoted above that these animals were not unlikely to be chosen as representatives of all that was degraded, and so would come into the proverbial philosophy of the land in many ways.

and the sow that **had** *washed to her wallowing in the mire*] The LXX. of Proverbs xxvi. 11 adds to the first proverb the words "and becomes abominable." It has been suggested by some who believe that there was an Aramaic original of 2nd Peter, that under these

words of the LXX. we have a trace of some lost Hebrew words, which were the source of the second proverb, but which the LXX. misrendered. This however is not very probable. The word for "wallowing" is found of a different form in some texts. The form adopted by the A. V. signifies "a place for wallowing," and to make this somewhat more clear the translators added "her" before "wallowing." The better text means "the act of wallowing." Both forms are found nowhere else in the New Testament, and the same holds good of *vomit* (ἐξέραμα) and *mud* (βόρβορος) in this verse.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. II. 4, 11, 15.

In this second chapter, besides those illustrations of the character and punishment of false teachers which he draws from Holy Writ, the writer of the Epistle in three passages makes reference to some things not contained in Scripture, but probably forming part of that traditional teaching of which the Jews had so much, and of which we find traces in other parts of the New Testament (1 Cor. x. 4, &c.). This traditional literature has never been fully collected, but we have great stores of it in the Talmuds of Babylon and Jerusalem, in the various Midrashim and the Zohar. The dates of these different works it is impossible to fix with any exactness, but the traditions, which they have preserved for us, go back far beyond the earliest date assigned to their preser form, and may be taken as representing a great deal of what was current teaching among the Jews in the days of our Lord and His Apostles.

It seems worth while therefore to gather such traces of extra-biblical tradition as we find in this literature that we may gain the nearest approach now to be attained to what was in the mind of the writer of this Epistle, and from which he and the Jewish audience he addressed drew their illustrations quite as readily as from the canonical books.

In *v.* 4 we read, "For if God spared not angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and committed them unto chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment."

In the Zohar (ed. Zolkiew, III. 208 a), we have the following, "Rabbi Isaac opened his lecture and said, 'What is man that thou rememberest him?' (Ps. viii. 4). This verse the Rabbis settled in the following way: that the governors of the world said it at the time when it rose in the will of the Holy One to create man. He called many hosts of the upper angels and placed them before Himself and said unto them: 'I wish to create man.' Then they said before Him, 'Man will not continue one night in his glory' (Ps. xlix. 12). Then the Holy One stretched forth His finger and burnt them. After that He placed other hosts before Him, and said unto them: 'I wish to create man.' And they said before Him: 'What is man that Thou rememberest him?' What is the good of this son of man? And he said unto them: This man shall be in our own image so that his wisdom shall be superior to your wisdom. When God had created man, and he had committed a sin, and had gone forth as a culprit, there came Uzza and Azael and said before God, We have a cause of complaint [lit. an opening of the mouth] against Thee. Here is the son of man whom Thou hast made; he has sinned before Thee. And He said unto them: If you had been among them, you would have done worse than they. What then did the Holy One? He *threw them down from the holy position that was theirs, even from heaven.*"

Then follows a short digression, after which he continues: "After the *Lord had thrown them down from their holy place, even from heaven*, they erred after the women of the world, and caused the world to err. Here is a point worthy of our meditation. Surely it is written [Ps. civ. 4], He maketh His angels *spirits*, and surely these were angels? How could they then exist on earth? Come and see [*i.e.* I will give you an explanation]. All these angels of above do not exist and cannot exist except in the upper light that shines unto them and preserves them, and if this upper light is cut off from them they cannot exist. How much less those whom *God has thrown down, and from whom that light of above has ceased?* For their glory was altered, and when they came down and the air of this world got rule over them, they were changed into another [*i.e.* lower] degree. Here is an explanation. The manna that came down to Israel in the wilderness sprang originally from the dew of above (see Canticles v. 2), which comes down from the Ancient One, the hidden of all hidden things. And when it comes down its light shines through all the world, and from it is fed the field of the apples and the upper angels. But when it came down here below and the air of this world had rule over it, it became congealed and its splendour was changed, becoming only like coriander seed [Num. xi. 7] and nothing more. How much more angels? When they came down and the air had power over them, they were changed from their former degree in which they had been. What did God then do? He saw that they were misleading the world, so *He bound them in iron chains in the mountains of darkness.* In what place do they sit? In the depths of the mountains He placed Uzza, and *cast darkness into his face*, because at that time when God bound them, Uzza hardened himself and rebelled against the Highest. So God *threw him down into the depth up to his very neck and cast darkness into*

his face. Now Azael, who did not harden himself, God placed near his fellow, but let the darkness be light to him."

And again (Zohar, I. 9 b), the writer speaking of the spirits of light and darkness says, "They dive into the great sea, and when they have arrived at *the chain* of Uzza and Azael, they rouse them and these spring into the mountains of darkness and think that the Holy One *is going to cite them to judgment.*"

That some traditional teaching of this kind was current in our Lord's day is evident from the petition of the devils (Luke viii. 31), "They besought Him that He would not command them to go out into the deep."

The second passage in which some traditional development of the words of Holy Writ is found is in *v.* 11, "Angels which are greater in power and might bring not railing accusations against them before the Lord."

On this it will be enough, after the instance cited above of the Lord's rebuke to Satan in Zech. iii. 2, to quote from the Jalkut the comment which the compiler extracts from the 'Agadath Samuel,' on Isai. vi. 3, "And one cried unto another and said, 'Holy, holy, holy.' This teaches us that *the angels honour one another;* the one says to the other: 'Commence thou, because thou art greater than I.' And some say that they [the angels] are companies, and the one company says to its neighbour, 'Commence thou, for thou art greater than I.'"

And with reference to the special instance given in St Jude of Michael the archangel not railing against Satan, we read in the פטירת משה thus: "Samael was the chief of the Adversaries, and every moment was expecting when the time would arrive for him to put Moses to death and take away his life, just as a man expects some great joy. When Michael the prince of Israel saw Samael the wicked one expecting to put Moses to death, he lifted up his voice and wept, while Samael rejoiced and laughed. And he said to him, 'Wicked one, while I weep thou laughest.' And some tell us that he said, 'Do not rejoice against me, mine enemy, though I have fallen I shall rise again; I have fallen in Moses, I shall rise again in the leadership of Joshua.'"

The third passage is where (*v.* 15) it is said of Balaam that "he loved the wages of unrighteousness." This perhaps might be inferred from the narrative in the Book of Numbers, but there is abundance of evidence that this view of Balaam's character was much dwelt on in Jewish traditional literature. Thus in the Midrash Rabba on Numbers, par. 20, we find, "Behold there is a people come out from Egypt, come curse (*qabah*) me them." (Balak uses one word for curse (*arah*), but Balaam in repeating his message before God uses the stronger expression *qabah.*) This is to teach us that Balaam hated the people more than Balak, for Balak did not say *qabah* but *arah.* And the meaning of the *qabah* is distinctly shewn. For the one (Balak) says, "that I may drive them out of the land," but the other says, "drive them out" [unqualified, *i.e.*] "from this world and the world to come." *And God said unto Balaam, Thou shalt not go with them.* Then he replied to Him, "Shall I then curse them from my place?" And He said to him, "Thou shalt not curse the people." Then he said, "Shall I bless them?" "They have no need of thy blessing for they are blessed." As folks say to the wasp, "Neither with thy honey nor with thy sting" (*i.e.* do we want anything to do). *And Balaam rose up early in the morning, and said unto the princes of Balak,* &c. Balaam did not say to them, He hath not given me leave to go and to curse, but "He refuseth to give me leave to go with *you.* God said to me, It is not for thy honour to go with these, but with greater men than these; for (said he) he takes pleasure in my honour." Therefore (we read), *And Balak sent again princes more and more honourable* (as it says), "For I will promote thee to very great honour, more than thou hast received in times past do I give thee." And Balaam answered and said, "If Balak will give me his house full of silver and gold." From hence thou learnest that Balaam had three qualities: an evil eye, and a proud spirit, and a *grasping heart.* An evil eye, for it is written, "And Balaam lifted up his eyes and saw Israel dwelling according to their tribes." A proud spirit, for it is written, "Because the Lord refuseth to give me leave to go with *you.*" A grasping heart, for it is written, "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold."

The same qualities are ascribed to Balaam in the 'Pirke Aboth,' v. 29 (Taylor, p. 109), and in the 'Midrash Tanchuma,' par. *Balak,* § 6.

CHAPTER III.

1 *He assureth them of the certainty of Christ's coming to judgment, against those scorners who dispute against it:* 8 *warning the godly, for the long patience of God, to hasten their repentance.* 10 *He describeth also the manner how the world shall be destroyed:* 11 *exhorting them, from the expectation thereof, to all holiness of life:* 15 *and again, to think the patience of God to tend to their salvation, as Paul wrote to them in his epistles.*

CHAP. III. 1—7. The Apostle recurs once more to the purpose with which he wrote this second Epistle, and gives an additional mark by which the false teachers may

THIS second epistle, beloved, I now write unto you; in *both* which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance:

2 That ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of us the apostles of the Lord and Saviour:

3 Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts,

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be known: to their other sins they will add that crowning one of "sitting in the seat of the scornful," in wilful forgetfulness that it is eternally true that "the way of the ungodly shall perish."

1. *This* **is now,** *beloved,* **a** *second epistle* **which I write** *unto you.* In the conclusion of the letter the Apostle grows still more earnest, and appeals to the affection of those to whom he writes. The word "beloved" addressed to them is found four times in this short chapter. It is difficult to understand how such an expression could be used by any except one who was well known to those whom he addressed, and the writer could scarcely have dared to speak of St Paul, as he is spoken of in *v.* 15, except he had been a contemporary of that Apostle's. Had our Epistle been written at the date assigned to it by many, such words could have found no place. And the whole subject treated of in the chapter is too solemn to be made the material for a literary forgery.

The "now"=already (ἤδη) intimates that the second Epistle came not long after the first.

and in both of them *I stir up your* **sincere** *mind by* **putting you in** *remembrance.* This verse is not, as some have suggested, the commencement of another Epistle, but merely a resumption of what has been said in i. 13. There he had said, "I think it right to stir you up by putting you in remembrance." In the second chapter many examples of the destruction that awaits sinners have been set forth, and he now returns to earnest exhortation. Here the mind (διάνοια) is the faculty which weighs and estimates and so understands. It can be darkened (Eph. iv. 18), but in those to whom St Peter wrote it was still bright and clear (which is the original force of the word rendered *sincere*), and so prepared to receive pure impressions from his teaching.

2. *That ye* **should remember** *the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets*] Of the value which the writer of this Epistle attached to the teaching of prophecy we have evidence in i. 19. It is noteworthy that St Jude only mentions (*v.* 17) "the words spoken before by the Apostles." He knew how earnestly this letter of St Peter urged on Christians the study of prophecy, and for him "the words spoken by the Apostles" included the other exhortation of this verse.

and the commandment of the Lord and Saviour through your apostles. The evidence of MSS. is nearly all in favour of *your* (ὑμῶν) instead of *our* (ἡμῶν). So that the "us" of the A.V. cannot stand. And the Apostles can rightly be called the Apostles of those to whom they have written or preached. No doubt St Peter includes himself among the number of such Apostles, but the persons for whom he wrote knew the Epistles of St Paul (iii. 15), and to judge from the numerous allusions to it which are contained in St Peter's first Epistle, as well as some in this, they must have been familiar with the Epistle of St James. Therefore, as in i. 16 when speaking of the Transfiguration he did not employ the singular pronoun and say, "*I* have not followed," &c., so here he speaks of *your* Apostles, rather than make any direct reference to himself.

The commandment is called in the original "the commandment *of* the Lord and Saviour," and then with another genitive "the commandment *of* your Apostles." But the sense of the latter is well given by *through*. The commandment came through the Apostles from Christ, and is the same which is spoken of before in ii. 21.

3. *Knowing this first*] He has used the same phrase i. 20 concerning prophecy and its interpretation, and now that he is about to give warning against those who shall mock at the non-fulfilment of the promise of Christ's coming, he repeats the words. For the men against whom he wrote were the men who would expect prophecy to have its fulfilment in strict accord with their private interpretations, and if it were not so, would make it a ground for mockery.

that...in the last days] This expression was used by the Old Testament writers to signify the end of that dispensation. Thus Isaiah ii. 2, "It shall come to pass *in the last days* that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established." And so in Micah iv. 1 (the parallel passage). Then in the New Testament it occurs of the coming of Christ in the flesh. Thus 1 Pet. i. 20, "Christ who in these *last times* was manifest for you" (cf. Heb. i. 2). But specially was the phrase, in some form, employed after the Ascension to signify the, no doubt soon expected, return of Christ to judgment, before which event St Paul (2 Tim. iii. 1) had foretold that "in the last days perilous times should come." And St Peter and St Jude after him, seeing the signs of the times, spake of them as marks

4 And saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue *as they were* from the beginning of the creation.

5 For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth [†] standing out of the water and in the water:

[†] Gr. *consisting.*

that the time of the end was near. And there can be little question that these Apostles expected the second coming would not be long delayed, but both St Paul in his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians and St Peter here indicate the proper spirit in which such expectations were to be entertained. Men were not to think of knowing times and seasons. With God one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day; and if He bring not the end at once, it is because He is long-suffering, and willeth not that any should perish.

mockers *shall come* **with mockery.** Of such mockery he gives a specimen in the next verse. The words rendered "with mockery" are not found in the Text. Rec., and the noun does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament, but the MS. evidence is so strong in favour of them, that they are received by all modern editors. Beside which they are an expansion quite in the Hebrew style, of which there are so many traces in the Epistle. The word for "mockers" is only here and in the parallel place in St Jude. The characteristic of this mockery seems to be that the men would profess themselves willing to accept all that was told them concerning Christ, if only they could have the evidence for it framed after their own desire.

walking after their own lusts] And demanding evidence according to their own heart's fancy in consequence. But by reason of following their own lusts, they were too blind to discern the true nature and signs of Christ's kingdom.

4. *And saying, Where is the promise of his coming?*] In the spirit of those mentioned in Isaiah (v. 18, 19), "who draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart rope, who say, Let Him make speed and hasten His work that we may see it." Cp. Jer. xvii. 15; Ezek. xii. 22, 27.

for **from the day that** *the fathers fell asleep*] As it is the second coming of Christ which is here spoken of, and as the expectation of that coming could only have been entertained since His ascension, and the promise of the angels that he should come again, the fathers here spoken of can only be the first Christian generation. These had looked for and no doubt often made mention of the approaching Advent, but they had died without seeing it, and the mockers now beheld all things still continuing, and these fathers taken away with hopes unfulfilled, and so they mockingly said that the coming was never to be. Stephen was the first of those who had "fallen asleep," and after him James the brother of John, and then that other James, the bishop of Jerusalem, and many more would rank as "fathers" of the Christian community whose names have not been written for us, but who were well known to the Churches. If these men had died, and the Advent was not yet, was there (asked these mockers) ever to be an Advent?

all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation] It seems as if while rejecting the hope of Christ's return, these sinners also had rejected the Old Testament record too. They were of those, it appears, who maintained that God did not interpose in the affairs of men and nations. He had created the world and given it a law (this they might admit), but it was unchangeable. The thing which was, was that which ever had been since the creation, and which now for ever would be.

5. *For this they* **wilfully forget.** The mockers have spoken of all things as unchanged from the creation of the world. The Apostle brings an example to refute them, and one of which, had it not been from wilful ignorance, they must have been conscious.

by the word of God] Alluding to Gen. i. 6, 9, where the language gives some warrant for the expressions used both here and in the Psalms quoted. The waters covered all things, and from the midst of them the dry land appeared at the word of God, and by the same word were separated from each other the waters above, and those under the firmament. It is unnecessary to observe that neither Genesis nor the Epistle of St Peter was written to go beyond the ideas of those for whose use they were intended. With regard to the former it has been abundantly shewn that scientific advancement has taken nothing from the true worth of its teaching, though it may express what is there recorded in more technical terminology.

that there were heavens of old. The plural is a representation of the Hebrew word for "heavens" which is always a plural form.

The heavens had existed, and the earth too, long ages before the flood, and men at that time might have held the same notions that all things in the world were unchanging. But the flood came. "God spared not the ancient world" (ii. 5).

Of old (ἔκπαλαι) is a Petrine word only found here and in ii. 3.

and the earth compacted out of water

6 Whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished:

7 But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men.

8 But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day *is* with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.

9 The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is longsuffering to us-ward, not willing that any should

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and amidst water. The Apostle speaks in the language of David, Ps. xxiv. 2, "He hath founded (the world) upon the seas and established it upon the floods," and Ps. cxxxvi. 6, "He stretched out the earth above the waters."

6. **By which means.** The Greek is here in the plural δι' ὧν, and there has been no plural antecedent. But the reference of the pronoun seems to be to the twice-mentioned water of the previous verse. The waters above the firmament and those under it were alike employed to bring about the deluge. The fountains of the great deep were broken up and the windows of heaven were opened.

the world that then was] *The world* (κόσμος) must be used here in a limited sense, for it was only the inhabitants of the earth that perished. The destruction was not like that which is to come hereafter when "the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved."

being overflowed with water, perished] The very element out of which and amidst which the earth had been compacted was employed as the means of its destruction. And it is against Him these mockers scoff, at whose word the same agencies become, according to His will, creative or destructive.

7. *But the* **heavens that now are.** In contradistinction to the "new heavens" spoken of below in verse 13.

and the earth, by the same word **have been stored up for fire.** Here some authorities read "by his word." It makes no difference to the sense. The argument is that as in the ancient world, created by God's word, there was, even in the materials whereof the earth was created, a means whereby it could be destroyed, so hereafter the heavens and the earth are to be destroyed by that other element which now tends so much to their conservation. That the future destruction of the world shall be by fire cf. Isai. lxvi. 15; Dan. vii. 10, and especially Mal. iv. 1, "The day that cometh shall burn them up." And point had been given to all these predictions by the language of our Lord, Matt. xxiv. 29, and other similar passages.

It is possible, though not so satisfactory, to construe πυρὶ = "with fire," and then the sense would be that the agency was already prepared by which they should be destroyed. It is better to take πυρὶ with the verb which precedes it, than to render as the A.V. "reserved unto fire against the day of judgment."

being reserved against *the day of judgment and* **destruction** *of ungodly men.* And at that day not only shall the earth be destroyed, but the sun shall be darkened, the moon shall not give her light, the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. This shall be the birthday of the new heavens and the new earth, wherein righteousness shall dwell, the ungodly having been swept away from it as the sinners from the world before the flood.

"The destruction of ungodly men" is explained (2 Thess. i. 9) as being wrought "by the face of the Lord and the glory of his might, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints," just as (2 Thess. ii. 8) the lawless one is said to be slain "with the breath of his mouth, and brought to nought by the manifestation of his coming."

8—13. The Apostle gives another argument against the mockers. Time is no element in the counsels of Him who is from eternity to eternity. When His promise seems to tarry, it is mercy which holds back His hand. He will have all men to be saved. But the day of the Lord will come suddenly, and the destruction by fire shall come to pass as Christ foretold. The thought of this should be an incentive to godly living, and specially so unto those who look earnestly for the fulfilment of God's promise of a new heaven and a new earth in which only righteousness shall dwell.

8. *But* **forget not this one thing,** *beloved.* Be not ye like these mockers, forgetful of what the older Scriptures should have taught them. The allusion in the verse is to Ps. xc. 4, "A thousand years in thy sight is but as yesterday." For God time, as men regard it, exists not. So His doings cannot be subjected to human standards.

9. *The Lord is not slack*, &c.] The idea which the Apostle desires to express is that the Lord, who has made the promise, does not, for any reason of His own, delay the fulfilment thereof.

as some men count slackness] Which would be that men might be tardy in fulfilling what

perish, but that all should come to repentance.

10 But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up.

11 *Seeing* then *that* all these things shall be dissolved, what manner *of*

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they had promised because they would gain by the delay. God deals not so with men; when He is slow, it is that they may be the gainers.

but is longsuffering to **you-ward**] All the best authorities are in favour of the pronoun of the second person.

God's delay of the day of judgment is an illustration of that character in which He revealed Himself when He proclaimed His name unto Moses (Exod. xxxiv. 6), "The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, *long-suffering*," but even there it is added for the warning of mockers, "that will by no means clear the guilty."

not **desiring** *that any should perish*] Man being allowed free-will in his actions may sin, and though God gave man free-will and must have foreseen that he would fall, yet it was not of God's will that he fell, and a way was prepared at once for his redemption; and this provision declares that from everlasting God has been the same, not desiring that any should perish, but offering to the fallen the way of life.

but that all should come to repentance] St Paul (1 Tim. ii. 4) says the same in other words, "He willeth that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth." And the way unto this "knowledge of the truth" is by repentance (2 Tim. ii. 25), and this repentance is the gift of God, but He offers it to all who will accept it. And this is hinted at in the word χωρῆσαι, which is not the simple word "to come," but contains in itself the notion of "opening for the reception of anything," and so shewing a readiness to accept it.

10. *But the day of the Lord*] The expression is common in the Old Testament to signify the advent of the Messiah, and is found from Isaiah to Malachi, usually connected with the idea that His coming would be a time of judgment. In consequence it was readily adopted by the New Testament writers (1 Thess. v. 2), and also the form "the day of Christ," to signify the second Advent (cf. 1 Cor. i. 8; Phil. i. 6; 2 Thess. ii. 2).

will come as a thief] The Text. Rec. adds ἐν νυκτί, but the best authorities reject the words, which are probably an insertion to make this verse accord with 1 Thess. v. 2. Both passages are founded on Christ's words, Matt. xxiv. 43.

in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise] ῥοιζηδὸν = *with a great noise*, is a root which is used to describe the noise of bees, the sound of flights of birds, the whizzing of weapons through the air, and the din of cataracts of water.

shall pass away] is Christ's own word (Luke xxi. 33) of the destruction of heaven and earth.

and the elements **shall be dissolved** *with fervent heat*] The so-called elements, viz. fire, air, earth and water, cannot all be included in the term here, for one of them is to be employed as the agency whereby all nature's composition shall be unloosed. Some have therefore confined the word στοιχεῖα here to the sun and the planets, the heavenly bodies, a signification which the word undoubtedly has in some astronomical writings. But this seems too late and technical a sense to be that intended by St Peter. He rather employs it of the whole constitution of the world, and means that as water was the agency of destruction in the ancient world, so at the last day fire shall not be restrained within its own domain, but prevail over and bring to nought all else. The participle translated "with fervent heat" is found only here and in verse 12.

the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up] "The works that are therein" refers to all man's creations, and everything which he has done. And in this connection some editors have preferred a reading, which has very early MS. authority, "shall be discovered," instead of "shall be burned up." This sense joins on very well with the question in the next verse, "What manner of men ought ye to be?" and accords with the language of verse 7, where in connection with the destruction by fire we have the mention of "the day of judgment and destruction of ungodly men."

But the use of εὑρίσκειν is of *persons* seeking to find something out, and its passive could hardly be made to bear the sense "shall be found out" when used of things. So it has been proposed to render this clause interrogatively, "And shall the earth and the works therein be found?" (*i.e.* remain at such a time). But the reading though undoubtedly old has not been accepted by many editors and is beset with much difficulty.

11. *Seeing that these things are* **thus** *all to be dissolved.* For οὖν = *then*, good authorities read οὕτως = thus.

what manner of **men** *ought ye to be*] The

persons ought ye to be in *all* holy conversation and godliness,

[1] Or, *hasting the coming.*

12 Looking for and [1] hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat?

13 Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

14 Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot, and blameless.

15 And account *that* the longsuf-

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word rendered *what manner* has the primary signification "of what country," and seems to indicate that the life of the Christian should be one which shewed that he was looking for a better country.

in holy life *and godliness.* The old word "conversation" has lost its meaning, which was an admirable rendering of *ἀναστροφή* in 1611 (see above, ii. 7). The life of the believer will be in marked contrast to that which these false teachers allow and practise.

12. *Looking for and* **earnestly desiring** *the coming of the day of God*] The second verb in its literal signification = "to hasten." This sense is accepted here by some as intimating that the diligence in holy living among God's people will sooner bring on the day of God, and therefore their lives may in a sense be said to hasten it on. This was the rendering of Erasmus, *Expectantes et accelerantes adventum diei.* But the conception is not in accord with other parts of Scripture, and the word *σπεύδειν* is elsewhere used in the New Testament only intransitively. Thus the sense of "earnest desire" is to be preferred. The old expression of the A.V. meant this, though it is not clear to a modern reader. The transitive sense is also noticed in the margin of A.V.

the coming] (lit. *the* **presence**) is the word constantly used of the second advent of Christ. Thus (Matt. xxiv. 3), "What shall be the sign of thy *coming?*" And St Peter here expressly names that coming, the day of God, even by his form of words testifying to that teaching which fills the whole Epistle, and was cast off by the false teachers who denied the divinity of Jesus. In all other places "the presence" (*παρουσία*) is spoken of as the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, and St Peter, feeling the needs of his day, takes the opportunity of modifying the expression so as to emphasize the truth which was being denied.

by reason of which *the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved*] The original does not signify "wherein," as A.V., but that the coming of the Son of Man shall be the cause of all these signs and destruction. This is in harmony with the language of St John (Rev. xx. 11), where it is said, "From whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them."

and the elements shall melt, &c.] The verb is not the same as in verse 10. It is stronger in force and implies not only the relaxation of all the bonds of nature, but the wasting away of the whole universe from its place.

13. **But** *according to his promise.* The promise is that made through Isaiah (lxv. 17), "Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth," and as that only which is righteous can be permanent before God, the prophet says (lxvi. 22), "The new heavens and the new earth, which I shall make, shall remain before me, saith the Lord." It is the coming of Christ which is to destroy that lawless one whom the Lord will consume with the breath of His mouth (2 Thess. ii. 8), and the same shall be the lot of all that is unrighteous. Cf. Rev. xxi. 27. In the city of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel, "the people shall be all righteous" (Isai. lx. 21).

14—18. The Epistle closes with an earnest exhortation to holiness of life because Christ's coming is expected, and also to a right conception of the longsuffering of the Lord. The Apostle enforces the latter part of his admonition by a reference to the teaching of St Paul, and exhorts that those who had been thus taught should stand fast in the truth, and strive by adding grace to grace to know still better their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

14. *Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for* **these** *things*] that is, for the promise of the new heaven and the new earth, strive to prepare that you may be fit to be received into those everlasting habitations.

give diligence *that ye may be found of him in peace*] The thought in the last two words is illustrated by St Paul (1 Thess. v. 23), "The very God of *peace* sanctify you wholly." By this sanctification alone can men look with peace for the coming of the day of the Lord, and this St Paul shews by the way in which his prayer in that verse continues, "and may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."

without spot, and blameless **in his sight.** Conformed as much to the likeness of Christ as sinful men may be. He was *without spot and blameless* (Eph. i. 4), and if God sanctify us wholly we shall then be made like unto Him. It is better to connect *αὐτῷ* closely with

fering of our Lord *is* salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also according to the wisdom given unto him hath written unto you;

16 As also in all *his* epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are un-

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ἀμώμητοι, though no doubt the pronoun relates both to the word that follows and to that which precedes it.

The character of the Apostle's exhortation is framed with reference to the dangers of the time arising from those false teachers whom he has called "spots and blemishes" (ii. 13).

15. *And account that the longsuffering of our Lord is salvation*] Cf. *v.* 9. The passage in the writings of St Paul which comes nearest to the language of this verse is Rom. ii. 4, which Epistle, being written to the Jews as well as the Gentile converts at Rome, might by the end of St Peter's life be well known and circulated among the churches of Asia. But the spirit of the words is to be found elsewhere in St Paul's Epistles (cf. 1 Tim. ii. 4; Tit. ii. 11).

*even as our beloved brother Paul...*wrote *unto you*] The use of the plural pronoun "our" is very natural, for if St Paul had already written to the churches for which the present Epistle was intended, he would be dear to them as to St Peter; and in his labours among "all the churches" he may have been known by face to some to whom St Peter was writing. "Beloved" (ἀγαπητός) is a word applied four times in this chapter to those to whom the Epistle was sent, and seems to have been like "brother" (ἀδελφός), a term of affection much used among the first Christians. It is found very frequently in St Paul's Epistles, and we can quite understand that St Peter would use it in speaking of St Paul, just as he would of other members of the Christian churches. But it is not easy to believe that a writer in the second century would thus have spoken of one who in the mouths of all who then allude to him is mentioned in terms of highest reverence, as *sanctified*, *blessed*, *glorious* and *divine*. Some such epithets would have been sure to have been applied at that date in a passage which like the present admits of the largest praise being bestowed on the Apostle of the Gentiles.

For the use of ἀδελφός cf. Acts ix. 17, xxi. 20, and numerous passages in St Paul's Epistles.

according to the wisdom given unto him] St Paul though comparing himself to a wise master-builder, yet speaks of his own labours as wrought "according to the *grace of God* which was given unto him" (1 Cor. iii. 10). There can be no doubt that his learning and special training in the Jews' religion made him in every way the most prominent and able member of the Apostolate, and that his influence is no more than duly represented by the large share which his writings occupy in the New Testament. To St Peter his wisdom would be the more abundantly apparent after the spread of Christianity so widely among the Gentiles.

wrote *to you.* The verb is aorist. We cannot tell what Epistle is here alluded to. The Epistles of St Peter were written to Christians scattered throughout Asia Minor, in which region were the churches of Galatia, Ephesus and Colossæ, to which St Paul wrote Epistles that still remain, and of Laodicæa, to which he also sent an Epistle (Col. iv. 16). Now without speculating whether there may not have been other Epistles of St Paul known to St Peter which are not preserved to us (and we know that some of his letters have not come down to us), there is enough in the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, concerning diligent preparation for the coming of Christ, of being without spot and blemish, and of the mercy of God in man's salvation, to give abundant foundation for St Peter's remark. To take only a few instances: (Eph. i. 4) "God therefore chose us in Christ before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blemish before him in love." Eph. ii. 8, "By grace ye have been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God." Cf. also Eph. iv. 5, v. 27; also Col. i. 22, ii. 8 (a warning against teachers such as St Peter had in his thoughts when writing).

16. *As also in all his epistles*] These words shew that St Peter had not in his mind any one single topic on which St Paul had written, but those general lessons and warnings which are found in all his letters, to avoid false teaching, to stand fast in the Lord, to be stedfast, unmoveable, and always abounding in the work of the Lord, knowing that it would not be in vain that they laboured thus in the Lord.

speaking in them of these things] This clause also shews that there were many points of St Paul's teaching in the writer's thoughts on which that Apostle's lessons had been to the same effect, and given with a foresight of like dangers with those which St Peter saw to be coming.

wherein. There is a variation here in the MSS. between οἷς and αἷς. The latter has been more largely adopted by modern editors, and this would make the relative refer to the "Epistles," while οἷς would be connected with τούτων immediately preceding it, and would imply that among the *subjects* on which St Paul had given his lessons, and for which St Peter was referring to him, there were some hard to be understood. Which certainly would be true; but it seems better to suppose

learned and unstable wrest, as *they do* also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction.

17 Ye therefore, beloved, seeing ye know *these things* before, beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own stedfastness.

18 But grow in grace, and *in* the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To him *be* glory both now and for ever. Amen.

that the Apostle was here speaking of the general difficulties which are to be found in many parts of St Paul's writings.

are some things hard to be understood] A statement as true now as when St Peter wrote it, though we cannot tell to what difficult matters he may be alluding, except by reflecting on what subjects St Paul's teaching was wrested in the early days of the Church.

which the **ignorant and unstedfast** *wrest.* The three principal words in the sentence are peculiar to St Peter and to this Epistle, the first adjective and the verb being found only in this verse. The full sense of the verb is "to put on the rack, to subject to torture," and it is very expressive of the violent methods of those who made St Paul contradict St James, or St Peter, or St John.

There are many points of St Paul's doctrine which might be wrested in this way, as that concerning "the liberty with which Christ makes men free," and also that statement "where sin abounded there grace did much more abound," which some men might conceive to be a warrant for doing evil that good might come.

as they do also the other scriptures] Thus St Peter includes the Epistles of St Paul among the "Scriptures" (γραφαί). This word is used in the New Testament of the Old Testament Scriptures alone, except in this passage. The noun in the singular number may be found applied to some words (James iv. 5) which are not found in either the New Testament or the Old Testament, but the use of the plural is limited to the Holy Scriptures, and indeed the adjective "holy" (ἅγιαι) is not unfrequently joined with it. We may therefore conclude that as the Mount of Transfiguration was beginning to rank side by side with Sinai as "the holy mountain," so there were being gathered even at this date a body of writings concerning Christ and His Church which were to form a new covenant to be set forth to fulfil and in a degree to supersede the older Scriptures, and among these writings the Epistles of St Paul were included.

unto their own destruction] The lessons of the false teachers have been called "heresies of destruction" (ii. 1), and such as should bring on those who held them "swift destruction," and it is said (ii. 12) "in their destroying they shall surely be destroyed." And even when the errors and torturings of Scripture are made by the ignorant and unstedfast without the malicious aim of leading others astray, nothing but destruction can await those who thus abuse what is written.

17. *Ye therefore, beloved,* **knowing** *these things before*] *i.e.* that false teachers shall come and beguile the unstedfast, and that the end will be destruction both to the deceivers and the deceived.

beware **that ye be not** *led away with the error of the wicked*] The same word for "wicked" has been applied (in ii. 7) to the people of Sodom in the days of Lot, and there is no doubt that the sensual indulgence which the Gnostic teachers permitted to their followers was a bait quite as powerful as, if not more powerful than, any pride which they might rouse in men by their profession of superior knowledge.

and *fall from your own stedfastness*] Which, as has been before noticed, St Peter was specially charged to secure among his brethren. The word στηριγμὸς is only found here.

18. *But grow in grace*] The food which shall promote such growth is described 1 Pet. ii. 2, "spiritual guileless milk," which can only be longed for by those who have put away all malice, guile, hypocrisy, envies, and evil speaking; and the steps of this growth are marked 2 Pet. i. 5—7, and there we are told that the result shall be a progress toward full "knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ."

and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ] Here he calls Jesus not only Lord (as in i. 8), but Saviour also, this being the doctrine for which from the outset he has been contending, and which the false teachers, some in one way, some in another, denied. Jesus is the Saviour; men through His promises may become partakers of the divine nature, and may enter into the eternal kingdom. Knowledge of Him would help men to escape the defilements of the world, that they may be found of Him, at His coming in the day of the Lord, without spot and blameless. This is what the Epistle teaches from the beginning to the end.

To him be **the** *glory both now and for ever. Amen*] *The* glory for all the gracious gifts and helps which could come from none but God, therefore to Him be that eternal glory which belongs to God alone.

for ever] is literally "into the day of eternity," *i.e.* not only in time be the glory given to Christ, but also when time shall be no more. When that day of eternity comes there shall be no night to succeed it, and so the glory will be, like the day, eternal.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST JOHN.

ACTA S. BAITHENEI.

Die Nona Junii.

"His quoque adjiciendum est testimonium ipsius sancti Columbæ de eo: dicebat enim, quod Baithinus alumnus suus, ac Joannes Evangelista alumnus Christi, in *innocentia sincerissima*, et in *simplicitate prudentissima*, atque in *disciplina rigoris perfectorum operum* non dissimile (*sic*) fuerunt[1]."

(Ex codice membraneo Salmanticensi [formerly preserved at Salamanca; but now in the Burgundian Library at Brussels].)

Dans une hymne des bords du Rhin on chantait à S. Jean:

Jesu cum recubuisti
Supra pectus; ebibisti
Dicta evangelica.

A Venise on lui disait:

Tu sopr' el sacro pecto se discerno
Di Jhesu possando 'l tesor gustasti
De gran secreti, che son nel ciel superno.

(Baunard, 'L'Apôtre Saint Jean,' p. 116.)

Occurrit mihi Epistola beati Joannis; ut cujus Evangelium paululum intermisimus, ejus Epistolam tractando ab eo non recedamus; præsertim quia in ipsâ Epistolâ satis dulci omnibus quibus sanum est palatum cordis ubi sapiat panis Dei, et satis memorabili in sanctâ Ecclesiâ Dei, maximè charitas commendatur.—Locutus est multa et propè omnia de charitate. Qui habet in se unde audiat, necesse est gaudeat ad quod audit. Sic enim illi erit lectio ista, tanquam oleum in flammâ; si est ibi quod nutriatur nutritur, et crescit, et permanet. Item quibusdam sic esse debet, tanquam flamma ad fomitem; ut si non ardebat, accedente sermone accendatur. In quibusdam enim nutritur quod est, in quibusdam accenditur si deest; ut omnes in una charitate gaudeamus.....

Jam ipsum audiamus.

'In Epist. Joann. ad Parthos Tractatus.'—Prologus.
(S. August. 'Opp.' Tom. III. P. 2. 1978. Edit. Migne.)

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[1] A Bishop of Derry and Raphoe may be pardoned for preserving in connection with a saint who was a native of the Diocese of Raphoe, and whose name is still preserved in the Church and Parish of Taughboyne (Baethin's House), this pregnant sentence of the famous Abbot whose name is so closely associated with Derry.—It seems to the writer that the three great characteristics of St John as manifested in his Epistles are grasped with rare practical precision by St Columba—transparent *innocence;* the straightforward penetrating *simplicity* inseparable from the profoundest Christian thought; and the unceasing aspiration after *perfection,* which keeps indulgence for others and disciplines self with rigorous severity. ("Son exquise pureté, sa pénétrante simplicité, son amour de la perfection." Montalembert. 'Les Moines d'Occident,' p. 224.)

I. JOHN.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

1. Brief notice of St John's life, in reference to his Epistles.

2. St John's connection with Ephesus established

(*a*) from the first chapters of the Apocalypse,

(*b*) from the epistle of Irenæus to Florinus,

(*c*) from the synodical epistle of Polycrates.

3. Description of Ephesus.

Local illustrations of the First Epistle of St John—especially of the last verse.

II.

Polemical element in the Epistles of St John.

1. This element exists, though often exaggerated.

2. Indications of heresies in the Churches of Asia Minor from the New Testament.

3. Gnosticism—Dualistic and Doketic. Three general forms of heresy in Asia Minor:

(*a*) of the *intellect*—Cerinthus;

(*b*) of the *senses*—the Nicolaitanes;

(*c*) of the *imagination*—Magic.

4. Abiding principles enshrined in St John's Epistles in the refutation of local and temporary errors.

III.

1. Close and pervading connection of the Gospel and First Epistle of St John.

Three phenomena to be considered in comparing the two documents:

(*a*) *Interpenetration,*

(*b*) *Suggestion,*

(*c*) *Circumscription.*

2. This connection inconsistent with a forgery upon the part of the author of the Epistle.

Compared with the so-called Epistle to the Laodiceans.

3. Objections to the discourses of our Lord in the Fourth Gospel from the identity of their style with that of the writer of this Epistle—answered

(*a*) upon moral grounds,

(*b*) from the different tone and style of our Lord's teaching under different circumstances.

Considerations from the power of impressing their thought and style upon others, shewn by writers and teachers—illustrations of this—applied to St John.

IV.

Alleged faults of St John's style.

1. Want of *variety*—answered.

2. Want of *connection*—answered.

Assurance and *sublimity* of St John's style; the latter illustrated by Chrysostom.

The Epistle is the picture of a *soul.*

V.

1. Summary of the argument—as to

(*a*) the *authorship* of the Epistle (additional evidence from the *Canon Muratorianus*),

(*b*) the *time* and *place* of writing (additional evidence from the Second and Third Epistles).

2. Importance of the Epistle in the controversy upon the genuineness of the Gospel.

VI.

External testimony to the Epistle.

VII.

Analysis.

Conclusion.

I.

1. THE general biography of St John belongs to the Introduction to his Gospel, where it has been fully treated. It is important, however, to enter upon the study of his Epistles, with certain facts of his life present to the memory.

The special favour bestowed upon St John by his Divine Master might have led us to suppose that he must have taken an active part in the propagation of the Gospel. But, in the Acts and Apostolic Epistles, St John is almost completely overshadowed by others, especially by St Peter and by St Paul; he

is only *five* times mentioned in these books[1].

In the Acts of the Apostles he walks, in grave and mysterious silence, beside one apparently better fitted to be a pioneer—one of readier speech and more forward deed. If we contrast him with the other great Apostle, St Paul, it has been well said that both these servants of God seem to preserve, with an almost unvarying uniformity, the attitude in which they were surprised by the call of grace. St Paul has ever something of the horseman, speeding on to Damascus; St John is ever resting on the bosom of Jesus.

We naturally enquire how St John was employed while other Apostles were traversing sea and land.

The sacred legacy bequeathed to him from the Cross—the Virgin-Mother given to the virgin-soul—must have demanded his reverential care. To some it has appeared difficult to reconcile the supposition of his residence with her at Jerusalem with St Paul's distinct assertion that, upon his visit to that city, after his return to Damascus from Arabia, he saw none of the Apostles, except Peter and James the Lord's brother[2]. But, as St John was certainly at Jerusalem during the second visit of St Paul[3], his previous absence may have been temporary[4]. It has been conjectured that he returned to Galilee until after the destruction of Jerusalem. In that case St John would have left the Holy Land about A.D. 67.

The undying tradition of the Church that St John lived on far in the first century of the Christian Era, probably to its very close, possibly some two years later (A.D. 102)—after all the other Apostles had entered into their rest—is certainly quite in accordance with the tone of some words of Jesus preserved in St John's Gospel.

[1] *Once* in the list of the Apostles, Acts i. 13, *three* times in conjunction with St Peter, Acts iii. 4, iv. 13, viii. 14. *Once*, again, he is referred to by St Paul, in the same breath with James and Cephas, as universally admitted to be among the chief pillars of the Church, Gal. ii. 9. This is the first and last occasion where St John is recorded to have come into personal relation with St Paul.

[2] Gal. i. 19. [3] Gal. ii. 9.

[4] There is, however, no trace of St John's presence at Jerusalem on the occasion of St Paul's last voyage, A.D. 60. (Acts xxi. 17 sqq.)

The incident of the miraculous draught of fishes after the Resurrection[1] has not merely a *symbolical* but a *prophetical* significance. St John did not, like St Peter, cast himself into the sea, whose waters are peoples and tongues. His life-work might rather be described by saying that he 'abode[2]' in the bark of the Church. The action of St Peter (John xxi. 7) might find its interpretation in an energetic mission to the islands of the sea; the words about John addressed by Jesus to Peter (John xxi. 22) might be more suitable to the quiet life of one who bore the name of John in later days—the English priest and poet, *John* Keble, "abiding" in the parish where his body rests. The first incident may indicate the young impulse of elastic life with which St Peter threw the Gospel net at Pentecost, or flung himself forward into the sea of humanity as a missionary of the Cross. One single word in the question of Jesus (*v.* 22) compresses a whole biography of blessed uneventful years; and well denotes the work of the old man, "*abiding*" in the Church, even to the close of the first century, and helping to draw the net, filled with fishes, safely to the shore[3].

2. Until recent times, it would scarcely have occurred to any ordinary writer to do much more than indicate some of the many ancient writers[4] who connect the later years of St John's prolonged life with the city of Ephesus. It was unhesitatingly believed that the 'Apostle found his way to Asia Minor, and died there at a very advanced age. Indeed, a very singular legend was associated with his grave at Ephesus[5]. The most de-

[1] John xxi. 1—14.

[2] ἐζώννυες σεαυτὸν...μένειν, *vv.* 18—22. It is worth while to notice Bossuet's admirably close translation of the three last words of *v.* 18—"Toi—suis-moi."

[3] See note on the accordance with this view in the tone of 3 John, *vv.* 7, 8.

[4] Especially Irenæus, 'adv. Hær.' III. 1, 3; Eusebius, 'H. E.' v. 24, III. 24. 31, v. 18; Hieron., 'Epist. ad Galat.' III. 10.

[5] The story which represents St John as actually alive in his Ephesian tomb, and the earth as heaving with his slumber, is related (as "in quibusdam Scripturis, *quamvis Apocryphis*") by St Augustine. 'Tractat. 124 in Evang. Joann.' The whole subject is discussed with great learning and completeness by the late Dr Mill. 'Five Sermons on the Nature of Christianity.' Note B. pp. 147—149.

structive critics—even those who disbelieved in the authenticity of the Gospel, of the Epistles, of the Apocalypse—acquiesced in the universal tradition which gave to Ephesus the honour of a lengthened residence of St John[1]. Keim appears to have first raised any serious question upon the subject[2]. His view is based upon the conjecture that John 'the Elder' is confounded with St John the Apostle, and that in what is related by ancient writers the first is confused with the second. The same hypothesis has been still more recently supported by Scholten[3]. The answer to this exaggerated scepticism—which even M. Renan considers an instance of "the excessive spirit of negation which has come into the Protestant liberal school in the last 25 years"—seems to rest upon three evidences of undeniable solidity.

(*a*) The first of these is contained in the earlier chapters of the book of the Revelation.

These chapters — whatever view be taken of the authenticity and genuineness of the Apocalypse, and to whatever author it is assigned—form an argument of overwhelming weight for the Apostle's connection, not only with Asia Minor, but with its Metropolis. If Scholten's hypothesis be correct, the Christians of Ephesus and of the other Churches addressed in the Apocalyptic Epistles must have perfectly well known that St John had never been in Asia Minor. But it would have been palpably absurd to suppose that these Churches would have attached the slightest importance to the counsels or warnings of a writer who addressing them authoritatively spoke of John as an exile at Patmos[1], while yet he must have been aware, that they, beyond any other Christians in the world, were certain that the Apostle had never sojourned in those regions at all. If the writer of the Revelation were not St John, it must at least have been some one who had absolute assurance of St John's connection with Asia Minor and of his exile to Patmos. But Patmos leads us irresistibly to Ephesus. That little island was scarcely visited except by voyagers on the way from Ephesus to Rome, and from Rome to Ephesus. It was one resting-place for the night, on the system of short sails between the two cities. The tone of the whole of the three opening chapters of the Apocalypse is that of a metropolitan of the Asian Church; and Patmos may almost be said to face Ephesus and points towards it[2].

(*b*) The second evidence is that of Irenæus. It is unnecessary to quote at length one of the best-known pieces of early Christian literature—the fragment of the Epistle of Irenæus to Florinus, preserved by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History. Irenæus in mentioning the sojourn of St John in Asia Minor appeals to no dim tradition. He has a clear recollection of Polycarp whom he remembered in his youth—"where he sat to talk, his way, his mode of life, his appearance...how he used to tell of his

[1] So certain, indeed, did this seem to Neander, that he applies it to solve the mystery (for him) of the upgrowth of episcopacy. Neander writes from his point of view—"the constitution of the Church of Asia Minor in the time of Polycarp is different from the time of Paul. We are forced to suppose a powerful influence at work." Hence the modern fashion of attributing diocesan episcopacy exclusively to *St John*, and styling it with some German scholars "the Johannic system." Yet we find episcopacy not only in the Churches of Asia Minor in the Apocalypse or in the days of Polycarp. St James the Less presides over the Church at Jerusalem. St Paul, "called to diffuse himself over *the whole world*," will have Titus remain at Crete, Timothy at Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3; Titus i. 5). It is not of course intended to deny the important part which St John played in the organization of the Church. "Habemus et Joannis alumnas Ecclesias...ordo Episcoporum, ad originem recensus, in Joannem stabit auctorem." Tertullian, 'adv. Marc.' IV. 5.

[2] 'Vie de Jésus,' pp. 161 — 167 (1867). Tom. III. pp. 41—45, 477 (1872).

[3] 'De Ap. Johann. in Klein-Asien.' Cf. Holtzmann, 'Kritik der Eph. und Kolosserbriefe,' pp. 314—324.

[1] Rev. i. 9.

[2] "The only way of getting to Patmos has remained the same since the days of St John. One must engage at Mycone, the most easterly of the Cyclades, or at Scala Nova, the port of Ephesus, a little vessel, decked well or ill, and manned by four or five sailors. We embarked boldly with the chances of a passage under sail, which might last twelve hours at least, perhaps indefinitely longer. We set out from Mycone at midnight; we were at Patmos the next day just before sunset." This extract is from a delightfully vivid paper which has come into the writer's possession. ('Une visite à Patmos,' par M. de Julleville, 'Revue des cours littéraires.' Mars 2, 1867.)

intimacy with John, and with the others who had seen the Lord[1]." The ingenious attempt of Scholten to invalidate the authority of the letter by making it out to be apocryphal is unavailing, as Irenæus uses almost the same language in another of his writings[2].

(*c*) The third witness is that of Polycrates.

We still possess a fragment of a synodical epistle written by Polycrates, Bishop of *Ephesus*, to Victor and the Roman Church about the close of the second century. Polycrates wrote with the other Bishops of Asia in favour of the celebration of Easter at the same time with the Jews *decimaquartâ lunâ*[3]. Polycrates speaks of the mighty ashes which sleep in Asia[4] to awaken at the advent of the Lord, when He shall come with glory from the heavens, and raise up all His saints. He mentions specially Philip (of the number of the twelve), who sleeps in Hierapolis; and his two daughters who grew old in their virginity; and another daughter of his, having served the Church in the Holy Spirit, who taketh her rest in Ephesus—"yea, and John, moreover, who reclined upon the breast of the Lord, who was a High Priest, bearing the plate of pure gold[1], and martyr, and teacher. He '*sleepeth in Ephesus.*'" It is unnecessary to enter upon the controversy which has been waged as to the literal or metaphorical interpretation of St John's wearing "the plate of gold[2]." Polycrates at all events states that the Apostle had the threefold glory of being high priest, martyr, and doctor, and that he sleeps in Ephesus[3].

It is conceived that evidence such as this—local and unequivocal as it is—renders the connection of St John with Asia Minor and Ephesus one of the best attested facts of early Christian antiquity[4].

3. Some description of the great city thus associated with the ministry of St John, is not only demanded by a craving of the modern spirit, but adds vividness to our appreciation of St John's writings.

The importance of Ephesus is abundantly attested. For Pliny it is "the light of Asia." By Seneca it is compared

[1] Ap. Euseb. 'Hist. Eccles.' v. 20.

[2] Ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατριβων. 'Adv. Hær.' Lib. III. ch. i. In Lib. III. ch. iii., he is said to have lived at Ephesus till Trajan's time. [Lat. Vers.] Scholten's objection is mainly based upon the extraordinary longevity which this narrative would imply in three persons successively—in St John, in Polycarp, in Irenæus. But St John need not have died until A.D. 96—98 (the last seems to be the date assigned by S. Jerome, 'Cat.' IX.), possibly three or four years later, and Irenæus wrote A.D. 180. The author of this Introduction can testify that within the last few years, in or near the city where he is now writing, several individuals were alive who distinctly remembered a remarkable personage—a Bishop—who died in 1802. One of these persons—in this respect something like Polycarp—was able to point out a walk which the Bishop in question had paced up and down, and remembered all that the Bishop had said to him upon one occasion. The writer is also well acquainted with a distinguished physician, still alive (1881), and not in very advanced years, who at an early period of his career was for a short time much thrown with Mr Alexander Knox. But Mr Knox was a personal disciple of John Wesley, and John Wesley died in 1791.

[3] S. Hieron. 'Lib. de Vir. Illust.' XLV.

[4] μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται,

[1] The ציץ (πέταλον, LXX.) of Exod. xxviii. 36, xxxix. 30—ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς, translated by S. Jerome—*pontifex ejus* (sc. Domini) *auream laminam in fronte habens.* The fragment of Polycrates will be found in Routh, 'Reliq. Sac.' II. 13. 36.

[2] The same expression is used also in reference to James, brother of the Lord, first Bishop of Jerusalem (Epiphan. 'in Hæres.' LXXVIII.); and to St Mark the Evangelist—(of the last for a different reason, because supposed to be of the lineage of Aaron, Col. iv. 10; cf. Acts iv. 36. 'Passio S. Marc.' quoted by Valesius, apud Routh, *ut supra.*) Dr Routh adopts the metaphorical interpretation. Cotta's monograph on the subject is said to be exhaustive. ('De Lamine Pontif. App. Joann. Jacob. et Marci,' Tubing. 1754.)

[3] To the proofs of the connection of St John's writings with Asia Minor may now be added the mode of *reckoning time* in St John's Gospel. Cf. Bishop Jacobson's remarks on 'Martyrium S. Polycarpi,' XXI. and the note in this commentary on John iv. 6. That the Asiatic computation of hours was adopted by St John is established by Bishop Wordsworth on John iv. 6, and with admirable clearness and fulness by Mr McClellan on John xix. 14. ('The New Testament,' pp. 737—743.) It is a result of the two different computations of the hours, Jewish and Asiatic (which the writer omitted to mention on 1 Thess. ii. 9, iii. 10; cf. Acts xxvi. 7, where "night and day" is probably the true reading) that St Paul naturally speaks of "night and day" (1 Tim. v. 5; 2 Tim. i. 3); St John of "day and night" (Rev. iv. 8, vii. 15, xii. 10, xiv. 11, xx. 10).

[4] Considerable use has been made in this section of Renan, 'L'Antechrist,' pp. 559—562.

to Alexandria. On a coin of Vespasian it is spoken of as "the chief city of Asia." "Ephesus," writes Lampe, "as the metropolis of Asia was a noble emporium, well adapted for commerce; on the coast of Asia, in the heart of the Mediterranean—central to Asia, Africa, Europe—whence the passage was easy to Syria and Egypt, and so to Greece and Italy[1]."

The temple of Diana was the central wonder of Ephesus. After rising on seven different occasions from its ruins it was finally destroyed by the Goths (A.D. 248). As it stood in the days of St John, it "had been reared by the arts of Greece and the wealth of Asia." It was supported by 127 marble columns of the Ionic order, each sixty feet high, each the gift of a nation or of a monarch. The splendid altar was adorned with the sculptures of Praxiteles, the subjects being chosen with especial reference to the popular legend of the place — the birth of Latona's children; the concealment of Phœbus after the slaughter of the Cyclops; the clemency of Dionysus to the Amazons. The Ephesians gloried in their poetical mythology. The spirit of savage fanaticism which raised the cry 'great is Diana of the Ephesians,' and which made 'the city of the Ephesians the temple-keeper of the great Artemis, and of the image which fell down from Zeus[2],' is exactly what might be expected from the almost contemporary records of classical antiquity. To Tiberius the Ephesians asserted with hard literalism and dogmatic bigotry that "it was a vulgar delusion to suppose that Artemis and Phœbus were born at Delos. Theirs was the Cenchrean river, theirs the Ortygian grove, where Latona, leaning upon an olive-tree which was still standing, had given birth to those heavenly twins in the grove which was consecrated by their express command. There had Phœbus escaped the wrath of Zeus for killing the Cyclops; there Father Liber had spared the Amazons[3]." These subjects appear again and again upon the coins of Ephesus, which are stamped with the images and symbols of Artemis and Phœbus, of the river Cenchrea, of the Amazons, of the four temples[1]. The great temple was 220 years in building. It was erected upon the marshes, as being somewhat less liable to entire destruction by the earthquakes so common in that fatal soil. That the foundations might not be too fluid for solidity of superstructure, a sort of frame was formed of coal tramped in and of tight-rammed wool sacks[2]. Ctesiphon is named as the architect by Strabo and Pliny. Beside the miracles of Christian architecture, indeed, the Ephesian temple would have been almost dwarfed into insignificance. Its length was 425 feet, while St Paul's is 500 and St Peter's 620 feet, and the arms of the Christian cross require an amplitude and expansion far beyond that of the oblong pagan shrine. The *epistylion* excited the astonishment of beholders. How was that enormous mass lifted to such a stupendous elevation? It was effected by an ingenious device. Sacks filled with sand were heaped up until they rose higher than the columns. Then the lower sacks were gradually emptied, that the work might settle down in its bed. The erection of the structure was difficult. The architect's resources and ingenuity were taxed to the utmost. At last he seemed to be baffled, and contemplated suicide. Wearied and worn out he fell asleep; and lo! in the night the present goddess appeared to him in a vision, and bid her servant live and not die, for she herself had taken order that the stones should settle into their places. And it was so when day dawned; for the whole mass was brought into place by its own weight[3].

As the modern reader peruses the narratives of travellers, his fancy catches at some illustrations of the writings of St John. One recent writer tells us how he visited the marshy and verdant plain covered with the remains of Ephesus. 'The nature of the vegetation, the

[1] See the quotations in Hengstenberg 'on S. John's Gospel,' Vol. I. *ad init.*

[2] Acts xix. 34, 35.

[3] Tacit. 'Annal.' III. 61. "Ortygia, a little above the sea, a glorious grove with trees of every kind, especially cypress. The river Cenchrea flows through it, where Latona washed. They shew the shrine in which the swaddling clothes are kept, and the olive-tree by which they said the goddess first rested, when her travail was past." Strabo, 'Geograph.' XIV. p. 641. Cf. Callimachus, 'in Del.' II. 209; Ovid, 'Metam.' VI. 338.

[1] Of Artemis, Phœbus, Dionysus, Heracles. Eckhel, 'De Numm.' II. 512.

[2] S. August. 'De Civ. D.' XXXI. 4.

[3] Plin. 'Nat. Hist.' Lib. XXXVI. 21.

flocks which grazed in the deep grass, the grandeur of the ruins, the extent, the solitude, the broken arches of the long aqueduct, recalled irresistibly the sombre majesty of the Roman Campagna. While examining the semi-circle of the theatre, the traveller was struck by the aspect of the sky, and its strange effect upon the landscape. Towards the mountain the sky was grey and rainy; overhead copper-coloured clouds passed over clouds of spectral whiteness. At intervals pale gleams illuminated the immense ruins, the severe outline of the hills, the desert plain. Then all was shadowy—until looking seaward the sky was of brilliant azure, and the Ionian light began to grow pure and full[1]. Was the Apostle thinking of some effect like this when he wrote—"because the darkness (or *shadow*) is drifting by, and the Very light now enlighteneth[2]"? "In the sides of Mount Preon," says the writer lately quoted, "gape two tenantless grottoes. As we go down into their depths; as our eyes are lifted up to the black and yellow rocks only half-lighted by a mysterious gleam; as we ascend to the day again by a scarped path in the cliff, through masses which seem to have been piled there by some suddenly interrupted convulsion, we are tempted to think that the eagle of the Revelation may have sometimes lingered in the hollow rock, and have had in these truly Apocalyptic caverns a foretaste of the terrible visions of Patmos[3]." All this may be fanciful. What seems to be as certain as almost any historical fact of the kind is that amidst these very scenes the Apostle St John found Christians to teach, and the very forms of error which he was divinely trained to encounter and overthrow. There were numerous churches in that quarter, founded by St Paul during his third missionary journey, A.D. 55—58. From the well-known passage in Pliny we learn that Christians abounded in the province of Bithynia. There, in Ephesus, St John remained for many years, the inheritor, the completer, the organiser of the work whose foundation had been so deeply laid by St Paul[1]. "At the foot of the shrine of Diana of the Ephesians"—writes an eloquent historian of the Church—"under a sky blazing with light: in an atmosphere loaded with brilliant vapours; to minds enamoured of mystic initiations, and for the purpose of refuting heresies which naturally sprung from a soil so teeming, he developes, in a language full of grandeur, the sublime simplicity of Christian Metaphysics[2]."

One local allusion at least can scarcely be fanciful. Let any student of the First Epistle of St John read its six closing words[3] in the light of Acts xix. 34, 35, and of the passages cited above from Strabo and Tacitus, and he will better see their force. The Epistle closes with a shudder—"**the idols.**"

II.

1. Commentators are, perhaps, responsible for having excited prejudice against the Epistle now before us by exaggerating the extent of its *polemical* element. When the student sees the formidable list of heresies to which St John refers, or is supposed to refer, he may be tempted to exclaim—"This is an obsolete chapter in the history of human error. These theological scare-crows are nothing to us now. The refutation of errors, which to us in the 19th century have the air of coming from some treatise on lunacy, has little meaning in our day[4]." Now we do not deny the polemical purpose of parts of this Epistle, as will be seen. But St John does not confine himself to the eccentric and fortuitous forms of temporary error. He deals with its essential and permanent substance. Had the Apostle been hunting down local heretics in every verse, Gospel and Epistle alike would have become obsolete with their overthrow. But the Antichrists of whom he tells us that "they are come, have come into being[5]"

[1] J. G. Ampère, 'La Grèce, Rome, et Dante—Une Course en Asie Mineure,' pp. 357—362.

[2] 1 John ii. 8. See note.

[3] Ampère, *ut supra*.

[1] Acts xix., xx. For the extension of St Paul's influence in Asia Minor during the three years when he made Ephesus his headquarters, see Acts xix. 10, and the language of Demetrius, *ibid.* 26.

[2] De Broglie, 'Histoire,' I. 80.

[3] *τεκνία, φυλάξατε ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων.* 1 John v. 21.

[4] A perfect repertory of all that is known about these strange heresies will be found in Burton, 'Bampton Lectures,' Lecture VI. Vol. III., pp. 157—191, and Notes 68—86, pp. 464—527.

[5] *γεγόνασιν*, 1 John ii. 18.

were the exponents, in that age, of errors which will appear, again and again, in other shapes, until the last dark and dreadful spirit shall arrive, whose advent is spoken of by the same solemn word as the Saviour's own[1]. While we hold with Mosheim that Hammond has exceeded all bounds in his passion for "detecting Gnostics where there are none" in almost every verse of this Epistle, it is also certain that it contains an important *polemical* element. In it St John furnished the Church with infallible guidance against forms of error, which might have proved fatal to her very existence.

2. It is perfectly certain that the prophetic words addressed by St Paul to the elders of the Church of Ephesus[2], many years before the issue of St John's Epistles, had received ample fulfilment. Peculiar germs of speculative error were in the teeming air of Asia Minor, which were destined to find an appropriate *nidus* in the Church herself. A few years later (A. D. 65—66) St Paul deems it necessary to warn Timothy, as Bishop of Ephesus, against the 'polemics' or 'antitheses' of 'the *gnosis* that is falsely so called[3].' Elsewhere, in the same Epistle, he speaks of 'myths and genealogies'—not Jewish 'stemmata,' but systems of divine potencies, which the gnostics and gnosticising Rabbis loved to call *æons*, drawn out in what seemed lines of unending complication and tenuity[4]. The 'genealogies' are assuredly those of the *æons*, the successive emanations of existences from the bosom of the Infinite. The deceptive wisdom is that of the *gnosis*. St Paul signalized this error; St John confuted it.

3. This was, probably, one of the gravest dangers which Christianity has had to undergo. Gnosticism was not a partial, it was, so to speak, a *Catholic* heresy. Its object was to take the Christian creed; to transform, and apparently *spiritualize* it; to elevate the *faith* into a philosophy —a *knowledge*—and then to substitute this *knowledge* for the *faith*, concealing the deception by retaining the terminology of the Gospel. Gnosticism was eclectic. On the side of Greece and Hellenic Egypt, Platonism, Stoicism, and Pythagoreanism—on the side of Persia and India, Parseeism and a pantheistic cosmogony supplied it with materials.

The two most important features of this singular system were its *dualistic* and *doketic* aspects. *Dualism* asserted that the good and the evil of creation proceeded from two principles, one good, the other evil,—the one light, the other darkness[1]. But *spirit* was the good influence, co-extensive with light. *Matter* was the power of evil, whose home is the realm of darkness. A mind thoroughly imbued with these ideas could only look at the dogma of the Incarnation from one point of view. The Christian Church taught that the "Word was made Flesh." But how could the Word of Light be hypostatically united to a true material body, plunged in the darkened world of matter? Christ, indeed, had been seen on the earth. But the human flesh which was seen was only *apparent*. Redemption was a spectral drama played out by unsubstantial shadows. A shadow was nailed in appearance to an apparent cross[2]. Philosophical dualism was by a

[1] 'Αντίχριστος ἔρχεται, *ibid.*

[2] Acts xx. 30.

[3] ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, 1 Tim. vi. 20.

[4] μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις, 1 Tim. i. 4; Buddæus, 'Introd. et Hist. Phil. Heb.' pp. 336—347. Irenæus quotes 1 Tim. i. 4, and explains the γενεαλογίαις by the Gnostic *æons*, 'adv. Hær.' I. Præf.

[1] S. John probably refers to this, 1 John i. 5. Cf. Gospel i. 5.

[2] It is impossible to mistake the exuberant fulness of language, so unusual with St John, in 1 John i. 1, 2, 3, the emphatic I. X. ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, 1 John iv. 2, ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί, 2 John 7, the reference to the blood and water from the *real* Body, 1 John v. 6. A little later, the same region was still haunted by these shadowy dreamers. Ignatius writes with impassioned energy to the Trallians of Christ who "was *truly* born, ate and drank; *truly* suffered: *truly* was crucified and died: *truly* rose"—then playing upon their name, 'λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτὸν αὐτοὶ ὄντες τὸ δοκεῖν' ('Epist. ad Trall.' IX. X). In the Epistle to the Church of Smyrna we find this form of error stigmatised as not confessing that "Jesus bore real human flesh" (μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον). This heresy upon the Incarnation became, as it was logically bound to be, *anti-sacramental*. Doketic Christians ceased to observe the Eucharist ('Epist. ad Smyrn.' V—VII). This necessary logical conclusion of Doketism lends additional force to the view of 1 John v. 8, advocated in the notes upon that place, and so clearly put in the paraphrase of a great Calvinistic commentator. "St John means not only that water and that blood which flowed once for all from the side of Christ, and once for all gave their witness to

logical necessity theological doketism, anti-dogmatic and anti-sacramental.

The errors with which St John was immediately concerned may be looked upon as heresy of the intellect, heresy of the senses, heresy of the imagination[1].

(*a*) The heresy with which St John had to deal in its *intellectual* forms is specially connected with the name of Cerinthus. For Carpocrates, probably, lived somewhat later than Cerinthus, and approached the problems of the day from a different and bitterly anti-Judaistic point of view. What is known of Cerinthus may be best told in the clear language of Dean Mansel.

"The other form of heresy, subsequently known as the Ebionite[2], appears towards the close of the first century in the person of Cerinthus, a man of Jewish descent[3] and educated at Alexandria, the headquarters of that philosophy from which his corruption of Christianity would most naturally emanate. The date of his notoriety as a teacher may be inferred with tolerable certainty from the well-known anecdote recorded by Irenæus on the authority of Polycarp, that St John, having entered into a bath at Ephesus, and finding Cerinthus within, hastened out of it with the words, 'Let us fly, lest the bath should fall while Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is in it[1].' Other, but less trustworthy, authorities assign to him a yet earlier date. According to Epiphanius, he was one of those Judaising disciples who censured St Peter after the conversion of Cornelius for having eaten with men uncircumcised, and also one of the multitude who raised a tumult against St Paul on the charge of having brought Greeks into the temple, and one of the false brethren whom St Paul mentions in the Epistle to the Galatians[2]. But the narrative of Epiphanius is very confused, and all these supposed early allusions to Cerinthus are at variance with the statement of Irenæus, who speaks of the Cerinthian heresy as much later than that of the Nicolaitanes[3].

"The principal features of the teaching of Cerinthus are given in the following brief summary by Irenæus, who is followed almost word for word by Hippolytus. 'A certain Cerinthus in Asia taught that the world was not made by the Supreme God, but by a certain power altogether separate and at a distance from that Sovereign Power which is over the universe, and one which is ignorant of the God who is over all things. He represented Jesus as not having been born of a virgin (for this seemed to him to be impossible), but as having been the son of Joseph and Mary, born after the manner of other men, though distinguished above all others by justice and prudence and wisdom. He taught moreover, that after the baptism of Jesus the Christ descended upon Him in the form of a dove from that Sovereign Power which is over all things, and that He then announced the unknown Father and wrought miracles; but that towards the end (of His ministry) the Christ departed again from Jesus, and Jesus suffered and rose from the dead, while the Christ remained impassible as a spiritual being[4].'"

Him upon earth—but the *water of Baptism*, and *the Supper of the Lord* (which are Sacraments of the blood shed upon the cross), which will be witnesses to Him even to the end of the world." (Piscat. 'Anal. Log. VII. Epp. Cathol.' p. 368. Doketism lingered on to a late date. The Homilies of Chrysostom upon St John were preached about dawn twice a week to earnest Christians. Chrysostom would have been very unlikely to select any heresy for refutation which was not popular and prevalent, a question of the day. But in one place he shews his hearers how to deal with those heretics who said that "all about the Incarnation was *putative*—a phantasy, a personation, an idea" (ὅτι φαντασία τις ἦν καὶ ὑπόκρισις καὶ ὑπόνοια τὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἅπαντα. S. Chrysost. 'In Joan. Homil.' XI. 2, Tom. VIII. 79, edit. Migne).

[1] This classification has been borrowed from M. Baunard.

[2] It is not absolutely certain whether any such person as Ebion ever existed. The Ebionites prided themselves upon the derivation of the name of their sect from the Hebrew word for poor (אביון). Burton, 'Bampton Lectures,' Works, Vol. III. 182—183.

[3] His Jewish descent may be inferred from the character of his teachings; cf. Burton, 'B. L.' p. 477. His study in Egypt is asserted by Hippolytus, VII. 33, and by Theodoret, 'Hær. Fab.' II. 3. Cf. Burton, 'B. L.' p. 175; Milman, 'Hist. of Christianity' II. p. 55. Merinthus, who is sometimes supposed to be a contemporary of Cerinthus (Epiphan. 'Hær.' XXVIII. 8), was probably only a nickname of Cerinthus, from μήρινθος, a *cord*.

[1] Irenæus, 'Hæres.' III. 3.

[2] Epiphan. 'Hær.' XXVIII. 2—4. Epiphanius seems to have confounded St Paul's visit to Jerusalem in company with Titus, Gal. ii. 2, Acts xv. 2, with the later one in company with Trophimus, Acts xxi. 29.

[3] Irenæus, III. 11. 1. Cf. Massuet, 'Dissert. Præv. in Iren.' I. § 125.

[4] Irenæus, I. 25. Cf. Hippolytus, VII. 33.

The system of Cerinthus at least bore its testimony to the central miraculous fact of Christianity, though it is difficult to see how the resurrection of Jesus could be brought into real coherence with its first principles. But while his Christology was free from the apparently almost insane aberration of later Gnosticism, it is evidently Gnostic[1].

(*b*) The errors with which St John had to deal as *moral* heresy—heresy of the senses—appear to have attained formidable proportions. Our Lord, in His letter to the Church of the Ephesians, recognizes the existence of the Nicolaitanes, and commends that Church for its hatred of their deeds[2]. He also speaks of certain in the Church of Pergamos as holding the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, "which thing I hate[3]." It is unnecessary to enter here upon the perplexing controversy as to the leader from whom the party took its name—to examine whether the word is formed from the name of "Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch," one of the seven deacons[1] become an heresiarch[2], or is to be understood as the Greek translation of Balaam. Nicolaism was plainly a fleshly heresy, antinomian upon principle[3]—a sensuality half veiled by Gnostic symbols. It is evident what an advantage such a system must have derived from the very sky and soil of Asia Minor. There were *Æons*, it was said, who actually wished to be served by deeds of unspeakable pollution. But in the walks of the glorious Ortygian grove, by the delightful banks of the Cenchrea or Cayster—near the islands which were haunted by Aphrodite, under the shadow of the Temple of Artemis, beneath that burning and voluptuous sky, the way was smooth for heresy which travelled with the human heart. There were many Christians lapsed into this heresy of the senses, of whom it might be said that

> "Of sight or sound
> Whatever in that clime he found
> Did to his mind impart
> A kindred impulse, seem'd allied
> To his own powers, and justified
> The workings of his heart.
> Nor less to feed voluptuous thought
> The beauteous forms of Nature wrought,
> Fair trees and gorgeous flowers.
> The breezes their own languor lent;
> The stars had feelings which they sent
> Into those favour'd bowers[4]."

The First Epistle of St John sums up and represents the great strain of holy teaching in the Church of Ephesus, which won for it that precious word from the lips of the living Christ, tempering all the righteous severity of the message which was addressed to it—"but this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which I also hate[5]."

A survey of the sketch given above of the system of Cerinthus by Dean Mansel will shew how that system would naturally lead, if not to Nicolaitan abandonment, at least to a fatally lowered line of Christian action[6]—and that precisely in

['The Gnostic Heresies,' Mansel.—Lecture VIII. pp. 111—113.]

[1] It may be well to supplement the remarks in the text by some sentences from Bishop Pearson's useful summary of the heresies of Asia Minor. "Two principal heresies upon the nature of Christ then prevailed, each diametrically opposed to the other as well as to the Catholic faith. One was the heresy of the Doketæ, which destroyed the verity of the *Human Nature* in Christ; the other was the heresy of the Ebionites, who denied the *Divine Nature* and the eternal Generation, and inclined to press the observation of the ceremonial law. Ancient writers acknowledge these as heresies of the first century; all allow that they were powerful in the age of Ignatius. Hence Theodoret (Procem.) divided the books of these heretics into two categories. In the first he included those who put forward the idea of a second Creator, and asserted that the Lord had appeared illusively. In the second he placed those who maintained that the Lord was merely a man. Of the first, Jerome observed ('Adv. Luciferian.' XXIII.) 'that while the Apostles yet remained upon the earth, while the blood of Christ was almost smoking upon the sod of Judæa, some asserted that the body of the Lord was a phantom.' Of the second the same writer remarked that 'St John, at the invitation of the Bishops of Asia Minor, wrote his Gospel against Cerinthus and other heretics—and especially against the dogma of the Ebionites, then rising into existence, who asserted that Christ did not exist before Mary.' Epiphanius notes that these heresies were mainly of Asia Minor (φημὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ). 'Hæres.' LVI." (Pearson, 'Vindic. Ignat.' II. c. 1, p. 351.)

[2] Rev. ii. 6.

[3] *Ibid.* 15.

[1] Acts vi. 5.

[2] So Irenæus, 'Hæres.' I. 27; Tertull. 'De Præscript.' 47; S. Hieron. Epist. 1.

[3] Rev. ii. 15.

[4] Wordsworth, 'Poems of the Imagination,' Ruth XXI.

[5] Rev. ii. 6.

[6] It is this, rather than absolute profligacy, which Ignatius seems to attribute to the appa-

the way indicated in the First Epistle of St John. The Christology of Cerinthus is Gnostic to its very root. The purpose of Christ's coming into the world is not the procuring of that redemption "which consists in the remission of sins[1]," but the illumination of the intellect by a lofty philosophy. He is not, indeed, a Redeemer, a *propitiation*[2] for the whole world, but the teacher of the enlightened and initiated few[3]; and a teacher not of righteousness, not of keeping God's plain undeniable commandments, but of speculative *knowledge*[4]. Cerinthus separated Jesus from Christ. He would not admit any real suffering of the higher being who was impassible, or of the lower who was indeed a phantom. Sin and atonement—the nature of the first, the necessity of the second—find no place in his philosophy[5]. St John therefore defines sin; asserts Christ to be a propitiation; and shews the reality of His Death and of the sacraments, which are the abiding witnesses of its existence as a fact and its continuance as a power[6].

(*c*) But heresy in Ephesus also clothed itself in the form of oriental *Magic*.

Ephesus had become a centre for magical practices, for incantations and evocations, for all which in our days might be called *spiritualism*. In the Acts of the Apostles "exorcists" and "practisers of curious arts" are connected with Ephesus[7]. Magicians came constantly from Asia and Persia with new enchantments, and with supplies of the strange herb *omomi*, which was supposed to produce a sacred delirium. Alexandria poured forth a crowd of Egyptian diviners. Chaldeans arrived for the purpose of selling their calculations. Cabalistic papers, called "Ephesian letters," were in repute throughout the Roman Empire, for the purposes of healing and divination. They were written upon the statue of Artemis, and carved and engraved upon gems in rings. Apollonius of Tyana, the Cagliostro of antiquity, was received with tumultuous welcome at Ephesus. "No artisan," writes Philostratus, "no man of such mean condition who did not quit his work to gaze upon Apollonius. Some marvelled at his knowledge, some at the majesty of his face; some at his austere way of living, others at his singular garb, most at these altogether." Remembering that the great diviners of antiquity—Calchas, Tiresias, Epimenides—had devoted a human victim, Apollonius hounded on the people to murder a poor old beggar, who lived by alms collected in the streets and upon the steps of the temple[1].

What is certain is that over all the gaiety and profligacy of Ephesus there hung an impression of some mysterious awe, of some strange communication with the powers of another world. In his Epistle to the Ephesians St Paul not only refers to the Temple of Artemis[2], his recognition of the mysteriousness of human life, of its perpetual conflict with evil intelligences—of the "prince of the power of the air, the spirit now inworking in the children of disobedience[3]"—is nowhere so awful or so ample. In his Gospel St John records no instance of our Lord's miraculous dispossessions of demoniacs, though he recognizes the idea of moral and spiritual possession[4]. The omission may have been partly determined by the false conception of the holy Redeemer as a spiritualist or mighty magician which might have arisen in Ephesus. But St Paul seems to recognize the atmosphere of Ephesus as one in which the Spirit of God[5] and the spirits

rently Doketic Cerinthian "heterodox" of the Church of Smyrna. "Concerning charity they care not—not for the widow—not for the orphan—not for the afflicted—not for bond or free—not for hungry or thirsty." ('Epist. ad Smyrn.' VI.)

[1] See note on Col. i. 14.

[2] 1 John ii. 2.

[3] *Ibid.* Cf. note on Col. i. 28.

[4] See the evident references to such a *gnosis* in 1 John ii. 3, 4, and to false teachers of the kind, iii. 7. St John, indeed, does not mention Cerinthus or the Nicolaitanes. Throughout the epistle he affirms, he never discusses. It is an *oracle*, not an *argument*.

[5] Dorner, 'Person of Christ,' I. 197.

[6] 1 John iii. 4, 5, ii. 1, 2, v. 8.

[7] Acts xix. 13—19.

[1] It would seem to be quite possible that the visit of Apollonius to Ephesus may have been during St John's residence there. If so, it would give a vivid meaning to 1 John ii. 9—11, iii. 10—15. *Contrast* with Apollonius Peter and John with the lame beggar at the "Beautiful gate," Acts iii. 1—8.

[2] Ephes. ii. 20—22.

[3] Ephes. vi. 12, ii. 2.

[4] John vi. 70, xiii. 2—27. It is recognized similarly in the Epistle, 1 John iii. 8.

[5] Ephes. i. 13, 14, iv. 30.

of evil[1] worked with a quickened energy. St John's tone is the exact counterpart of this. He does not, indeed, speak of supernatural gifts as continuing in the Churches of Asia Minor; but he does recognize with energy twice over their having chrism from Christ, unction from the Holy One[2], even as St Paul had twice referred to the "sealing" of the Ephesians—while his warning about the spirits contemplates an awful revelation of the world of evil intelligences around us identical with that which is conveyed in the language of the Epistle to the Ephesians about the powers of darkness[3].

Thus we recognize a distinct and important polemical element in St John's Epistle[4]. It is not, indeed, a personal element, for no one is named. In this the writer is only consistent with himself. A great Italian poet represents himself as rapt away into Paradise. He looks for the glorified spirit of St John, but can find no form or feature that answers to the Evangelist. And in gazing at the spot to which his eye was turned, he likens himself to one who, in an eclipse, looks at the sun, sees nothing with perfect distinctness, and is dazzled by the effulgence. Certainly St John's Epistle answers to this memorable passage—without address at the beginning; without benediction at the close; without mention of one human name among his contemporaries—all that is merely personal apparently lost in the glory of the Eternal Word, of the Divine Love[1].

4. But the very passages which the conviction of the Church has always associated with the local and temporary controversies of Ephesus and of the first century have within them the "semina æternitatis." Every Christian who is at once a thoughtful student of the Epistle, and a thoughtful observer of the times, must have felt that if these utterances were at first elicited by the spiritual needs of the Christians of Asia Minor, they have an unexhausted meaning for us also. Instances will readily occur.

Men are attempting to make a shadowy ideological Christ—a spiritualized Christ who is not True Man, a human Christ who is not True God. St John tells us how to deal with such figments. "Concerning the Word, Who is the Life, that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you. This is the True God and Eternal Life[2]."

A Philosophy, confident in its own strength, and arrogating to itself the title of spiritual, would give to a handful of haughty and self-sufficient thinkers, a God without a Christ, or it would offer to us the wretched and impossible compromise of retaining the ethical beauty of Jesus without bowing before the mystery of His Incarnation. Did the old man of Ephesus really see through the storm and mists of ages? Did he know the law by which Deism (so called) is perpetually sinking, first to pantheism, then to atheism? At least he wrote—"Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father[3]."

There are those who would gird in the love of Christ within the narrow rim of a human system, and limit the extent of the redeeming Passion. St John declares that "He is propitiation for our

[1] Ephes. ii. 2, iv. 27, vi. 12. Cf. the whole tone of Acts xix. 1—8, 11—19.

[2] 1 John ii. 20—27.

[3] 1 John iv. 1, 2, 3. Cf. Ephes. vi. 12.

[4] It is important to notice that the *polemical* elements in the Epistle and Gospel exist in precisely the tone and proportions which would naturally follow from the connection of *interpenetration*. The *historian* cannot enter upon the discussion of controverted principles without snapping the thread of his narrative, and more or less breaking the firm *objective* outline which is peculiar to the *history* as distinct from the *treatise*. At the same time he may select and arrange his materials so as to form an implicit polemic of great power. "The Word was made Flesh" (John i. 14), contains in germ the refutation of all errors, Cerinthian and Doketic (1 John iv. 2, 3). Without accepting questionable statements of the prolonged existence of a sect, which called itself by the name of John the Baptist and made him the Messiah, the Gospel evidently refers to some exaggerated feeling about the Baptist's office and ministry (John i. 6, 7, 8, 15, 20, 30, iii. 27—30, v. 33). This implicit polemic of the Gospel may well be one of the references of οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον, 1 John v. 6. See Godet's answer to Meyer, who denies all polemical intention in the Gospel, 'Comment sur l'Evang. de S. Jean,' II. 715. Meyer's view has been used by M. Astié and others as a proof that the *Gospel* was written at a period when the heresies referred to in the *Epistle* had ceased to exist, and therefore, many years later.

[1] Dante, 'Paradiso,' xxv. quoted by Dean Stanley, 'On the Apostolic Age,' p. 242.

[2] 1 John i. 1—3, v. 20.

[3] 1 John ii. 23.

sins, and not for ours only, but for those of the whole world[1]."

There are those who imagine in one quarter that an assumed favour of God does away with the eternal distinction of actions, and makes sin not perilous to believers; those in another who go perilously near to thinking that a man may be "a very good Catholic and a very bad Christian." The Church needs the sharp clear tone which tells us with its simple power that "whosoever committeth sin is of the devil. All unrighteousness is sin[2]."

There are times when the consciousness that sin is growing subdued within weakens the felt need of Redemption. Here is one who warns us that "the blood of Jesus keeps cleansing us from sin[3]."

There are times with individual souls, when the brooding consciousness of some particular transgression covers them with a horror of great darkness; or when the heart sinks down in utter prostration, as we look up at the unascended height of moral perfection. But it is written here, "if any man may have sinned, we have an Advocate with the Father[4]."

III.

1. The connection of the Epistle with the Gospel of St John is a subject of the first order of importance. In our discussion we shall endeavour to keep in view two ends—the establishment of resemblances in style and language of such a nature as could only be supposed to proceed from a single mind; and the precise relation which the writer intended the Epistle to bear to the Gospel.

We venture to sum up the phenomena presented by the Epistle when read side by side with the Gospel under three heads — *interpenetration, suggestion, circumscription.*

(*a*) By *interpenetration* it is not meant to lay exclusive stress upon such master-words as appear upon the very surface of the two documents (λόγος, φῶς, σκοτία, ζωή, ἀληθινός, κόσμος, μένειν, γινώσκειν, κ.τ.λ.); nor, again, upon passages which contain actually the same expressions (about *nineteen* in number)[1]. It is intended to indicate such identical expressions as proceed from an identical mould of thought and language. Identical words or phrases in *themselves* might come from two writers trained in the same school, or from a forger making up a cento for the purpose of deception. Identical moulds of language are something more, and indicate identity of mind and hand much more powerfully.

The following instances are offered rather as specimens than as an exhaustive list:—

(1) The particle δέ occurs in St John's Gospel less frequently than in any other part of the New Testament, except the Epistles of St John, and the Apocalypse.

(2) The *name* of Jesus is more frequently anarthrous in St John's Gospel than in the others[2]. In Tischendorf's text of that Gospel it appears 233 times, 83 times without the article. In the Epistles it is *always* anarthrous.

(3) ἵνα referring to a pronoun and used as its complement. Compare

Gospel.	*Epistle.*
iv. 34.	1 John iii. 8, 11, 23.
vi. 29.	„ iv. 21.
vi. 40.	„ v. 3.
xvii. 3.	2 John *v.* 6; 3 John *v.* 4.

(4) A peculiar use of the word λύειν as equivalent to "evacuating of authority, depriving of force and efficacy, destroying," is found in St John's Gospel alone (ii. 19, v. 18, vii. 23, x. 35). This use is found in the Epistle (1 John iii. 8).

(5) The Gospel and Epistle occasionally employ ποιεῖν in the unusual sense of "declaring a thing or person to be so and so by word or deed." Compare

Gospel.	*Epistle.*
v. 18.	1 John i. 10.
viii. 53.	„ v. 10.
x. 33.	
xix. 7, 12.	

(6) ἁμαρτίαν ἔχειν, in the sense of "contracting sin, having and holding it in its guilt and power."

[1] 1 John ii. 2.
[2] 1 John iii. 8, v. 17.
[3] 1 John i. 7.
[4] 1 John ii. 1.

[1] See Introd. to Gospel, LXI—LXIII.
[2] "Ἰησοῦς *absque articulo à Joanne maximè* poni certum est." Tischendorf, 'Nov. Test. Græc.' Edit. VII. Præf. xxxiv.

Gospel.	*Epistle.*
John ix. 41.	1 John i. 8.
„ xv. 22.	

(7) Sentences beginning with διὰ τοῦτο.

Gospel.	*Epistle.*
John v. 16, 18.	1 John iii. 1.
„ vi. 65.	„ iv. 5.
„ viii. 47.	

(8) τετελείωμαι, where we should expect the adjective.

Gospel.	*Epistle.*
John xvii. 23.	1 John ii. 5.
	„ iv. 12, 17, 18.

(9) ἐὰν for ὅταν.

Gospel.	*Epistle.*
John vi. 62.	1 John iii. 2.
„ xii. 32.	

(10) ἀκούειν for ἐξακούειν, in the sense of "hearing and *granting* prayer."

Gospel.	*Epistle.*
John ix. 31.	1 John v. 14, 15.
„ xi. 41, 42[1].	

To these peculiar uses of *single* words or phrases may be added certain *general forms of style* which argue an identical habit of thought.

(1) The generalizing use of the neuter, and especially of the article, to express a wider generality than the masculine.

Gospel.	*Epistle.*
John i. 3.	1 John i. 1—3.
„ iv. 22.	„ ii. 8.
„ vi. 39, 40.	„ iv. 3.
„ viii. 25[2].	„ v. 4.
„ x. 30.	
„ xvii. 2, 21, 22, 23[3].	

(2) *Antithetic parallelism, i.e.* repeating in a *negative* form for greater impressiveness propositions which, immediately before, had been enunciated *positively*—or inversely.

Gospel.	*Epistle.*
John i. 3, 20.	1 John i. 5, 6, 8.
„ iii. 16.	„ ii. 4, 7.
„ x. 1, 2; 4, 5.	„ iii. 6.
„ xviii. 20.	„ iv. 6.
„ xx. 27.	

[1] For the reason why the inferential οὖν, so frequent in St John's Gospel, is not found in the First Epistle (unless ii. 24, iv. 19 be exceptions), see note on 3 John *v.* 8.

[2] ὅ τι—well explained by "tout ce que," M. Godet, *in loc.*

[3] Note the interesting Sinaitic reading of John xii. 32: "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw *all* (πάντα) unto Me." "Non autem dicit *omnes* sed *omnia*." Augustin.

(3) *Accessional parallelism* is a form of parallelism, in which the second member is always in advance of the first, and the third is occasionally in advance of the second. Of such a parallelism we may say with the critic just quoted—"the *heart* has never said all; it has always something more to say." It is not all the truth to say of the eagle of God—"itque reditque per orbem." (Corn. a Lap. on 1 John iv. 16.) He circles, indeed, round his favourite thoughts; but there is progress, and not mere spiral revolution.

Let us see, in its best-marked instances, this *oppositio cum accessione*—this rhetorical habit of making the second, or following, member of an antithesis overpass and add emphasis to that which precedes it. It will explain many "expressions which may seem strange to those who have not observed the reason of them."

1 John ii. 4, 5. [To "keep *His word*" as one unbroken whole, goes far beyond "keeping *His commandments*" as isolated precepts.]

Ibid. *vv.* 4, 5, 6. ["*Know* Him"—"*are in* Him"—"*abideth* in Him"—form the successive points of a grand climax.]

Ibid. *vv.* 9, 10. ["*Abideth* in the light" is a step beyond "*is in* the light."]

Ibid. *v.* 11. [A long, dark progress is denoted, "*is* in darkness"—"*walketh* in darkness"—"*knoweth* not whither"—and "*darkness* hath *blinded*."

Ibid. *vv.* 13, 14. [*v.* 14 completes and amplifies the idea of victory in *v.* 13. In *v.* 13 we have *victory* briefly,—"Ye have overcome the wicked one"—in *v.* 14 the *source* of that victory—"ye are strong, and the Word of God abideth in you."

Ibid. *v.* 27. [This principle of advance in thought, conveyed by subtle variations of expression, tends to confirm the reading adopted by Tisch. and Reiche in the latter part of the verse. The authority of MSS. is almost equally balanced between "The same anointing," (τὸ αὐτὸ χρῖσμα) and "His anointing" (τὸ αὐτοῦ χρῖσμα). But the latter is confirmed by the marked advance of the thought conveyed by it. "The Anointing of HIM" shews the relation of Christ and the Spirit more dogmatically and essentially than the expression at the

beginning of the verse—"The anointing which *ye have received* from Him[1]."]

Ibid. *vv.* 27, 28. ["*Abide* in Him"—an advance upon "Ye *shall abide* in Him." Compare in the inverse order the first and last clauses of *v.* 24.]

See also i. 6, 7...7, 8, iv. 7, 8, v. 18, 19, and compare in the Gospel, *e.g.* iii. 17, 18, iv. 20, 21, vii. 37, 38, &c.

The *interpenetration*, then, of the Epistle by the Gospel is not merely a community of words and expressions. It is something much deeper. It is the proved existence of an identical mould of thought lying behind the words and expressions, and is often the strongest presumption in favour of the supposition that the two productions issue from one individual mind.

(*b*) The second term which we employ to express the relation of the First Epistle to the Gospel of St John is *suggestion*. This suggestion is twofold—of the Gospel as a whole, and of its separate portions.

The Epistle *suggests* the Gospel as a whole.

St John points in it to a certain type and historical representation of Jesus, which he assumes to be before the eyes of those to whom he writes. That type, however, is not within the compass of the Epistle itself, but lies somewhere outside it. The Epistle contains dogma and precept, and it contains nothing more. But it also implies that this historical representation had been published—so far at least as in some way to be perfectly known to them—and that it had been published by St John himself. And he states that the object of this representation is to bring out the things which he himself and others had seen and heard[2]. There is, moreover, a quiet undoubting reference, with perfect assurance of being understood, to a certain picture, mould, or type of the life and character of Jesus, existent and recognized—to a picture beside them, which they might gaze upon and consult.

[1] This (if there were no other reason) would cause us to reject the once famous conjecture of Michaëlis that χρῖσμα slipt into the text by an iotacism for χρῆσμα, *oracle*. He uses it as an illustration of his doctrine that the true reading might never have been written in any manuscript, not even in that which came from the sacred author's hand or dictation.

[2] 1 John i. 3.

It is not, indeed, satisfactory to refer, with one critic[1], the threefold γράφω to the *Epistle*, the threefold ἔγραψα to the *Gospel* (1 John ii. 12, 13, 14). It is still less satisfactory, with another critic[2], to apply all six to the *Gospel*. But we have no necessity for pressing questionable arguments into the service of the theory before us.

When the Apostle urges upon his children the moral duty of walking continuously, even as He made His one great life-walk, he points them to a *definite* representation of that Life[3].

Worthy of note is the way in which the present (ἐστι)—*is*—is applied to the *moral characteristics* of Jesus with what may be called an *idealizing* or *presentiating* shade of thought ("even as He *is* pure," 1 John iii. 2; "in Him *is* no sin," ibid. *v.* 5; "even as He *is* righteous," ibid. *v.* 7). Christ, as He is in the fourth Gospel, is ever present to the eye of the Church; and, in his Epistle, the Apostle points to the picture which he himself had drawn, and which abides engraven upon the plate of the Gospel.

The ideal of holiness is realized in the life of Jesus, and its realization necessarily implies a history and a historian. It, therefore, becomes in the highest degree probable, that the writer of the Epistle points to a Gospel written by himself—and the argument of *interpenetration* heightens the presumption.

But the phenomenon of *suggestion* as we lay the Epistle side by side with the Gospel carries us a great deal further. The Epistle is perpetually suggesting questions to the careful reader which he can answer from one book, and one book only, from one Gospel and one Gospel only. Each great leading word or idea in the Epistle is a latent reference, an *asterisk* pointing to the Gospel. Let us set down instances of this enough to leave no doubt upon the subject.

Epistle.	*Gospel.*
Concerning the Logos.	
1 Joh i. 1.	
Who is the Logos?	John i. 1.

[1] Hug.

[2] Ebrard.

[3] καθὼς ἐκεῖνος περιεπάτησεν καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως περιπατεῖν, 1 John ii. 6.

Epistle.	*Gospel.*
We have a Paraclete. ii. 1.	
What does that mean?	xiv. 16.
The word of God abideth in you. ii. 14, iv. 4.	
How can this be true? what warrants an assertion so amazing?	xiv. 18, 23.
Whosoever is born of God. iii. 9, v. 1, 4.	
What is that? how comes it?	iii. 3, 5, 6.
New commandment. ii. 7. 8.	
What is that?	xiii. 34, xv. 12.
The Saviour of the world. iv. 14.	
Why so called?	iv. 42.
This is He that came by water and blood. v. 6, 8.	
How so?	xix. 34.
We receive the witness of men. v. 9.	
Who are the men whose witness we receive?[1]	Baptist, i. 15—36, iii. 27—36; Andrew, i. 41; Philip, i. 45; Nathanael, i. 49; Nicodemus, iii. 2; Samaritan Woman, iv. 29; Samaritans, 42; Peter, vi. 68, 69; officers, vii. 46; blind man, ix. 38; Martha, xi. 27; Pilate, xviii. 38, xix. 5, 6; Thomas, xx. 28.
The Begotten of God keepeth him. 1 John v. 18.	
Why does St John promise this?	xvii. 12.

[1] A reference to the notes on v. 6—11, will shew that the section is nothing less than an exhaustive analysis of the Gospel of St John as the Gospel of *witness*.

Epistle.	*Gospel.*
Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things. ii. 20.	
How this?	xiv. 26.
The world lieth wholly in the wicked one. v. 19.	
How this?	xiv. 30.
This is the confidence...that if we ask anything...He heareth us. And if we know that He heareth us, &c. v. 14—16.	
How do we know and why have we confidence?	xvi. 23, 24.

(*c*) Finally we have used the word *circumscription* to express another phenomenon of the relation of St John's Epistle to his Gospel. While writing his Epistle, he purposely *circumscribes* his pen and thoughts within the circle of the Gospel. Few words indeed are found at all in the letter[1] which are not either in the history or in the discourses, and of these few none which are of capital importance in the vocabulary of Christians, with the solitary exception of ἱλασμός[2]. This explains to us the reason of the otherwise singular fact that the *four* great words—*gospel, church, grace, repentance*—are not found in St John's First Epistle. It did not suit the purpose of the Spirit that any of these words should be in the discourses of Jesus recorded in the fourth Gospel[3].

[1] *E.g.* ἀλαζονεία (1 John ii. 16), βίος (1 John ii. 16, iii. 17), εἴδωλον (1 John v. 21). Ἀντίχριστος (1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3) does not occur in the Gospel. But St John in his Epistle merely names him of whom Jesus had said with such emphasis ἐὰν ἄλλος ἔλθῃ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ ἰδίῳ (John v. 43. Observe the almost *technical* term ἔλθῃ. See on *Antichrist cometh*, note 1 John ii. 18). The *substantive* πίστις does not occur in the Gospel; it is found once in the Epistle (1 Joh. v. 4), but the *verb* (πιστεύειν) is in every page of the Gospel.

[2] 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10.

[3] χάρις is found in the *proœmium* of the Gospel three times, i. 14, 16, 17. It occurs in 2 John 3. See note.

St John scarcely takes a step outside the circle of the Gospel; he will hardly write down a word about the spiritual life, however precious in itself, which is not somewhere within its boundaries.

2. But while the First Epistle of St John is thus connected with the Gospel, interlaced through and through at every point—while the connection is not only superficial, but one of *interpenetration*, *suggestion*, and *circumscription*—there is no ground for supposing that the Epistle is a bit of theological *marqueterie*, cunningly fabricated by piecing together fragments of the Gospel. Such a mode of fabrication must have aimed at a purpose quite inconsistent with the *reticence* and *veiled personality* of the Epistle from beginning to end. For it omits precisely everything which such a forgery would be sure to have contained. It does not give us, like one of St Paul's Epistles, either the name of the Apostle, or the names of those to whom it is addressed. It has no salutation at the commencement or at the close. It does not expressly state a single circumstance of the writer, or designate by name any of the heretics whom it is written to refute.

The so-called Epistle to the Laodiceans enables us to estimate with exactitude the inevitable characteristics of such a *cento*. The lost Greek original of that document may be read in the substantially identical Greek translations of the Latin rendering, given by Elias Hutter[1] and quite recently by Bishop Lightfoot[2]. The most efficacious argument against the authenticity of the Epistle is, as Erasmus said, simply to read it. The words, indeed, are Pauline; for thirty-six verses, chiefly from Philippians, are quoted more or less in a piece which is itself divided into twenty verses. But this fortuitous concourse of Pauline atoms, brought into juxtaposition in space, is destitute of life and purpose. The image of St Paul conjured up for a moment has no heart beating within it. The voice is as the voice of an automaton[3]. But the Epistle of St John has its own life and characteristics, notwithstanding its intimacy of connection with the Gospel. It developes freely the central dogma and the central moral principle of the Gospel—the Word made Flesh for the love of man; men loving one another as Christ has loved them. The writer does not fear to be independent when necessary; to concentrate the whole work of Christ into a word of his own[1]; to designate the great human enemy of Christ and his Church by a name absolutely original[2]; to change the historical order of the blood and water upon the Cross into the mystical order of the water and blood in the sacraments[3]. Nay, above all, he does not shrink from giving to Jesus the highest and loftiest of all His titles, which yet our Lord does not ascribe to Himself in any of His recorded words[4]. The great dogmatic words of Christ with which he arms himself do not hang unnaturally about the Apostle in the battle of the faith. They are wings to lift him above the earth, not a burden to cumber him as he moves[5].

3. This seems to be the proper place for adverting to one often-repeated objection to the historical truth of the discourses of Jesus recorded in the Gospel, which has been derived from the Epistle. The teaching of St John in the Epistles, it is said, is not only the same in *substance* but in style, in turn of language down to the minutest particular, with the teaching of Jesus in the Gospel. It is evident, therefore, that the writer of the Epistle invented those discourses and placed

[1] See 'Codex Apoc. N. T.' by Fabricius. Tom. I. 873, 879.

[2] 'Colossians and Philemon,' pp. 293, 294.

[3] "Non est cujusvis hominis Paulinum pectus effingere. Tonat, fulgurat, meras flammas loquitur Paulus—at haec...quàm friget, quàm jacet!" Desid. Erasmus, 'ad Coloss.' IV. 16.

[1] The doctrine of propitiation and purification by the blood of Christ is stated with less reserve in the Epistle than in the Gospel. Cf. 1 John ii. 2, with Gospel iii. 16.

[2] Ἀντίχριστος, 1 John ii. 18, κ.τ.λ.

[3] 1 John v. 7, 8; Gospel, xix. 34.

[4] *The Logos*, Gospel, i. 1—14—also in Rev. xix. 13. Hengstenberg argues, with considerable force, that light and darkness are used with a different modification in the Epistle and Gospel—signifying in the second, the region of salvation, and the unlit tract beyond; in the first, moral good and evil.

[5] πειρήθη.....δίος Ἀχιλλεὺς,
εἰ οἱ ἐφαρμόσσειε, καὶ ἐντρέχοι ἀγλαὰ γυῖα·
τῷ δ' εὖτε πτερὰ γίγνετ', ἄειρε δὲ ποιμένα λαῶν.
'Iliad,' XIX. 384—386.

Cf. τὸ τῶν ὅπλων φόρημα πτεροῖς μᾶλλον ἐοικέναι ἢ φορτίῳ.
Xenoph. 'Cyrop.' II. 3. 14.

them in the lips of Jesus[1]. Considering the undeniable likeness between the language of our Lord in the Gospel and that of St John in his Epistle, are we forced to recognize "the monotonous tone" of St John's own style—its "obscure gnosis and contorted metaphor"—in the discourses, which can, therefore, lay no claim to historical accuracy? The following considerations enable us to answer this question in the negative.

(*a*) The opening words of the first Epistle shew us that St John would have found an insuperable moral objection to placing discourses in the mouth of Jesus. "That which was from the beginning—which we have *heard*[2]." This at once recalls to us the words of Jesus, more especially His discourses in St John's Gospel. The very place of this clause in the sentence, where *hearing* stands out above *sight* and *handling*, shews us the reverence with which he regarded the words of the Word. It indicates that he would have shrunk from the profanity of turning his Gospel into a fiction or a drama, and inventing language for the Incarnate Wisdom of God.

(*b*) But, if the similarity between the style of the discourses and that of the Epistle is *exaggerated* by many, it is, at least, after all deductions, very *remarkable*. And, if we reject with indignation on behalf of the lie-hating[3] Apostle, the supposition that he would invent language, and place it in the lips of his Master, can we find a satisfactory solution of the difficulty? Assuredly we can. Christ, in the days of His flesh, expressed His divine knowledge in words. In His teaching there were two elements, referred to by Himself in the antithesis—"if I have told you of *earthly things*... if I tell you of *heavenly things*[4]." The contrast between "*earthly* and *heavenly*" is not equivalent to that between "*easy* and *difficult*." But "heavenly" comprises dogmatic objective truths, connected with the nature of God, and the counsels of His grace. "Earthly," again, assuredly does not mean earth-born; for the original word is quite different[1]. To that Soul whose home was in the bosom of God, things which seem to us the most heavenly, are on *earth* after all[2]. They are of heaven indeed—from heaven—even now "*in 'margine cœli*," on the line which seems to blend with the heaven beyond. But they have for their subject-matter the teaching of truth, not as it is in itself, but as it meets with a creature like man, as it is capable of being morally tested and experienced by us. Others, then, recorded those words, which rather belonged to the circle of things on earth, or which made a greater impression at the time of their delivery. The Sermon on the Mount, spoken upon a height in Galilee to a great assemblage, sank into a thousand hearts, and found its way into the earliest memoirs. The conversation with Nicodemus by night, the dialogue with the Samaritan woman, the discourse in the Temple, the High Priest's prayer, would not lie so near the surface of Christian recollection.

Of these two elements, then, in the teaching of Christ, there was one with which the mind of St John had a constitutional affinity[3]. He appropriated "the things *in heaven*[4]." They sank into his soul. They were taken up into the substance of his intellectual and spiritual being. Those who have been much with the great masters of thought and language, though only through the medium of their books, shew by their words and ideas the high company which they have been keeping. Tenny-

[1] "Do not the Epistles of John, so entirely like the fourth Gospel, prove that this Gospel is full of discourses *invented by the same author?*" (Strauss, 'Leb. Jes.' 313.)

[2] 1 John i. 1.

[3] 1 John i. 6, ii. 22. Cf. Rev. xxi. 8, xxii. 15.

[4] John iii. 12.

[1] ἐπίγεια not γήινα.

[2] ἐπίγεια.

[3] "If we are surprised at these different ways of comprehending Christ on the part of His immediate disciples, we must not forget the considerable influence of *moral affinity in all forms of religious knowledge*." (Pressensé, 'Hist. des prem. siècles,' II. 385.) "There are different forms of the Word under which He manifests Himself in proportion to the degree of the individual understanding, and the progress of the soul in holiness. If He revealed Himself upon the holy mount in a form far more sublime than that which was seen by the disciples who remained below, the reason was that they had not yet their sight sufficiently strong to contemplate the glory and the divinity of the Word in His Transfiguration." (Origen 'c. Cels.' Lib. VI. quoted by Deramey, 'Défense du 4me Évangile,' 35, 36.)

[4] τὰ ἐπουράνια, John iii. 12.

son, Browning, Arnold, Carlyle, impose the very faults of their diction upon a generation of poetasters and sciolists. In truth, every founder of a school leaves a peculiar impress upon the style of his disciples. The generation in which we are living abounds in examples. A thoughtful theologian wrote not very many years since:—"I trace so distinctly to Bishop Butler the origin of the soundest and clearest views that I possess upon the human mind, that I could not write upon this, or any kindred subject, without a consciousness that I was directly or indirectly borrowing largely from him[1]." Common studies, and schools, and tutors. impress subtle similarities of literary form and colour. Modern Oxford men, for instance, are liable to sudden conversions, and are drifted to havens upon the most distant shores of thought. But there is the old trick of voice. "Cœlum non animum mutant." A curious family likeness may be traced where we should have least expected to find it. But much more is this the case, where the charm of personal influence is added. "I may be allowed," says an eloquent writer, "to take this opportunity of claiming, once for all, for the pupils of Arnold, the privilege and pleasure of using his words, and adopting his thoughts, without the necessity of specifying, in every instance, the source from which they have been derived[2]." Those who, now many years ago, on Sunday afternoons, used to listen with spell-bound interest to the calm, sweet voice of the remarkable man who was then Vicar of St Mary's —who told his hearers of

> "his misery's signs,
> And how the dying spark of hope was fed,
> And how the heart was soothed, and how the head,
> And all his hourly varied anodynes—"

will sometimes find a phrase, a word, a sentence coming to their lips, or hear them in the sermons and recognize them in the writings of others, which they can trace to a teacher, from whom they are now separated by the whole breadth of the spiritual world.

These analogies, drawn from our own days, and from men now or lately living, may enable us to feel more vividly how probable it is that the style of St John in his Epistle should be like that of the discourses in the Gospel. It is always to be remembered that the disciple was John, and the Master Jesus. Those favourite words—"light and darkness, life and death, love and hate, truth and witness, world, abiding"—were not terms which he had taught himself to apply to the designation of his own ideas. He had heard them in the long golden hush of the summer evenings by the shore of the lake of Galilee; in the sorrow of the guest-chamber; between the brook of Kedron and the garden of the Agony; during the days when the Risen Lord spoke to them "of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." He had not only enshrined them in his memory. He had made them so livingly as if his own, had appropriated them so profoundly, that he could use them with unerring precision and definiteness. Expressions which occur in the Gospel[1] historically and occasionally were taken into the Apostle's soul. Rounded and smoothed like stones by the continual friction of the water, they appear in the Epistle, in a sententious, aphoristic form. "The Jesus of the three Synoptics," it has been said, "is a hundred miles away from the metaphysical being described by the *Philonian* Gospel alone[2]." "Is it John, the son of Zebedee," it has further been asked, "who could write these lessons of abstract metaphysics, to which neither the Synoptics nor the Talmud present any analogy?" Certainly, for he had heard them from Christ. In one instance, at least, he shews that he knew

[1] Bishop O'Brien, Preface to 'Two Sermons upon the Human Nature of our Lord.'

[2] Dean Stanley, Preface to 'Essays on the Apostolic Age.'

[1] Two more instances may be given. (*a*) Consider how the grand note struck by our Lord in the phrase ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει, "abides in me" (Gospel, vi. 52, cf. xiv. 10, 17), is taken up and repeated again and again in the Epistle (1 John ii. 6 sqq., iii. 15, 17, iv. 12, 13, 15, 16); (*b*) Observe also the use of τεκνία, παιδία. The memory of the writer of the Epistle is haunted by those tender words in the Gospel (τεκνία, xiii. 33, παιδία, xxi. 5). Compare τεκνία, 'taken indiscriminately as a generally fatherly address to all' [so Lücke, De W., Düstd. Huther, Reiche], 1 John ii. 1, 12, 28, iii. 18, iv. 4, v. 21; and the simply endearing παιδία, 1 John ii. 13, 18, iii. 7.

[2] A. Réville, 'Rev. des deux Mondes,' Juin, 1866.

words previously recorded in the Synoptics[1]. Sometimes we can see that the thought latent in an expression in the Synoptics is present to him[2]. "He spake of the Temple of His Body"—"He dwelt among us[3]," is but the commentary upon the word in St Matthew—"there is something here greater than the Temple[4]." We conclude that John did not endow Christ with language, but learned it from Him[5].

IV.

We may now examine the more positive and essential characteristics of the style of St John's Epistle from a *literary* point of view.

Some critics accuse these simple, yet profound pages, of a lamentable want of eloquence[6]. Spirits, which have been quickened into earnestness, may be reminded by such complainers of one, who, when apparently dying, angrily pushed away from him an ordinary crucifix, and called for another which was superbly carved, exclaiming that "he should otherwise die in despair, abhorring, as he did, all ill-made works of art." Others, who can read between the lines, will remember that these solecisms[7]—if such there be—are among those "vulgarisms of the fishermen, which have overthrown the syllogisms of Athens."

The want of *variety* and of *connection* is another ground of objection.

1. The want of *variety*.

(*a*) To St Paul the Providence of God appears to have committed the task of defence and discussion. St John does not *discuss*, so much as *affirm*[1]. This feature in his writings has been shewn by Coleridge to arise at once from the oriental genius, and from the nature of the doctrines which he was inspired to enunciate. "St John's logic," said that great thinker, "is oriental, and consists chiefly in *position* and *parallel*, while St Paul displays all the intricacies of Greek system[2]." And elsewhere he has observed — "the imperative and oracular form of Scripture is the form of reason itself in all things purely rational and moral."

(*b*) To many these isolated and apparently disconnected propositions, with their almost lapidary brevity and incision, sound like mere moral and theological axioms. And thus they fall under the contempt which, since Locke's celebrated argument, has, more or less, attached itself to axioms, on the ground that they are frivolous, because they are identical propositions. But it was irre-

[1] John iv. 44. Cf. Matt. xiii. 57; Mark vi. 4; Luke iv. 24.

[2] Sentences are not wanting in the Synoptics which have quite the tone and structure of the words of Christ in St John; *e.g.* Matt. xi. 25, 27; Mark viii. 35; Luke x. 21, 22.

[3] ἐσκήνωσεν, John i. 14, ii. 21.

[4] τοῦ ἱεροῦ μείζων ἐστὶν ὧδε, Matt. xii. 6.

[5] The writer has ventured to make free use of some pages in a volume of Sermons preached by him before the University of Oxford in 1870—71. 'The Leading Ideas of the Gospels,' pp. 133—141 (Macmillan). The probable influence of the philosophical and religious language of Ephesian speculation upon St John's style is also to be taken into account. (For a similar influence exercised upon the style of St Paul, see Introd. to Colossians, Vol. IX. 649.) St John, very early in his apostolic career, was brought into contact with Gnosticism. (Acts viii. 9, 10, 14, 25.)

[6] Lange, on the contrary, sees in the First Epistle of St John "a suitable appendix to the Fourth Gospel, a disposition occasionally rising to lyric fervour, a penetration descending into the depths of speculative contemplation, united to the ardour, which naturally bursts forth at intervals in such a mind, and the acuteness which is peculiar to a sublime purity." 'Life of Christ,' I. 216.

[7] ὁ δὲ ἀγράμματος οὗτος, ὁ ἰδιώτης... κἂν μυριάκις καταγελῶσιν Ἕλληνες τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀγροικίας. Chrysost. 'in Joann. Homil.' II. 2. Cf. Acts iv. 13. "Quales ipsi fuere, tale et loquendi genus, ergo stylus eorum *idioticus*. Ἰδιωτικός sermo est idem cum κοινός et vulgaris. Nam ἰδιώται proprie dicuntur homines de plebe, indocti, et solo sermone utentes quo vulgus utitur, quemque pueri à nutricibus suis imbiberunt." (Salmas. 'De Hellenistic.' 260.)

[1] εἶδες παῤῥησίαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ῥημάτων πολλήν; πῶς οὐδὲν ἀμφιβάλλων οὐδὲ εἰκάζων, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀποφαινόμενος φθέγγεται; ..... πολλῶν γέμει δογμάτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐνδιατρίβει μᾶλλον ἢ ἑτέροις (S. Joann. Chrysost. 'in Joann. Homil.' II. 3—5. Opp. Tom. VIII. 30—36, edit. Migne). "Some of the greatest books in the world, as, for instance, Bacon's 'Novum Organum,' and, in the *highest sphere*, *St John's Epistles*, are not so much chains of reasoning as a succession of observations on facts, the connexion of which is supplied, not by the mind which observes them, but by the facts themselves. To understand such writings we must be at the point of view from which the observations were first made, or, in Dr Campbell's favourite language, we must be 'in the light' of the truths observed." 'Times' of May 17th, 1875, on Dr Campbell's writings.

[2] 'Table Talk,' p. 12.

sistibly proved against Locke that propositions which he derided as frivolous because "identical," deserved no such treatment. Thus, to take one of his own examples—"gold is fusible"—Cousin has observed that "the first who said—gold is fusible—far from being guilty of tautology, expressed the result of a discovery, and a discovery not without difficulty and importance." We may well apply this principle to such axioms as "God is Light," "God is Love[1]."

(*c*) Yet there are, after all, elements of quiet beauty and power in St John's Epistle which will "requite studious regard with opportune delight," and redeem it from the charge of "mere cycloidal composition, and monotonous movement of thought."

A kind of occasional *picturesqueness* is not utterly wanting in this Epistle. We should expect this from one so entirely taught by Him whose language shews that He answered the thoughts in the mute heart of nature[2]—from one whose record of the words of Jesus includes those which speak of the "leaping water[3]" and of the "whiteness[4]" of the Eastern harvest—whose picture of Judas "going out" expresses more than was, perhaps, ever expressed in words so few[5].

The force of *accessional parallelism* has already been discussed.

Let us observe another secret of this unearthly rhetoric—*preparatory allusion.*

St John frequently indicates with delicate touch some subject, transcendently sacred, or peculiarly dear to him. He passes by it tenderly and reverentially for a while; then, after a pause, takes it up again and exhausts it more fully.

So the birth from God first indicated ii. 29, is resumed and expanded, iii. 9, v. 4.

So the hallowed boldness of God's children in saying out all to Him (*παῤῥησία*), first mentioned in iii. 21, is taken up again and unfolded in v. 14.

But the most important and beautiful illustration remains. It would almost appear as if St John did not venture to introduce the Holy Spirit abruptly. So he writes allusively—"ye have an unction from the Holy One," chrism from the Christ[1]. Then, after an interval, the same chord is struck with a bolder hand —"we know that He abideth in us, by the Spirit which He hath given us[2]." And, finally, the notes are reiterated with added clearness, again and yet again—"we know that we dwell in Him, and He in us, because He hath given us of His Spirit."—"it is the Spirit that beareth witness."—"they who continue witnessing are three, the Spirit and the water and the blood[3]."

2. The kind of *connection* which may be traced in St John's Epistle is deserving of special notice.

At first sight, indeed, St John's Epistle is but a collection of isolated divine *γνῶμαι*, carved out in brief, oracular, sentences as if on stone. Yet a connection there is, though the commentator may easily overlook, and easily exaggerate it. The peculiar eloquence which it possesses is spiritual rather than logical, *real* rather than *verbal*[4]. It has been asserted by Coleridge that the connection between the different parts of a great lyrical ode is stronger and more real than that which subsists between the various portions of many treatises which profess to be written with perfect logical sequence. The same may be said of St John's Epistle. The reader must keep his mind intent, not only upon the words themselves, but upon that which precedes and follows, and the association which links one with the other. To take one instance of a principle illustrated in almost every section: "If we walk in the light...the blood of Jesus keeps cleansing us from all sin. If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves." What is the link

[1] See Locke, 'Essays,' Book IV. Chapter VII. of Maxims; Chapter VIII., of Trifling and Identical Propositions; Cousin, 'History of Modern Philosophy,' Lecture XXIV.

[2] *ἰδὼν συκῆν ... ἐλθὼν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ... ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῇ.* Mark xi. 13, 14.

[3] *πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου.* John iv. 14.

[4] *τὰς χώρας, ὅτι λευκαί εἰσι.* John iv. 35.

[5] *ἐξῆλθεν· ἦν δὲ νύξ.* John xiii. 30. See Notes on 1 John ii. 8, v. 19.

[1] 1 John ii. 20.

[2] Ibid. iii. 24.

[3] 1 John iv. 13, v. 6, 8.

[4] Every student and commentator on St John's Epistle should impress upon himself the remarks of Heumann. (1) "Animadvertendum —*realem* magis quam *verbalem* esse Ioan. eloquentiam. (2) Is qui legit non tam ad *ipsa verba* quam ad scopum ejus, ad *antecedentia* et *consequentia*, ad *rem ipsam quæ tractatur*, intentissimam tenere debet mentis suæ aciem." ('Nova Sylloge,' Pars 4.)

by which the last proposition is joined to the first? There was something in the first statement so humbling as to cause an abasement which is almost too intense, even for redeemed men. "What! those who have joined the glorious procession of the sons of Light! Must it be said of them that they are stained by a constant defilement which needs this perpetual cleansing?" Yes—for "if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves[1]."

If the style is the man, the style of St John is the express image of the unhesitating *assurance* of his belief. He writes with confidence like one who feels that his feet are on a rock. His language has the ring of the earnestness which speaks because it has believed, and the power which springs from unhesitating conviction. It has none of the hesitations—of the half apologies—of conjecture or of doubt. It asserts, because its writer is sure. It is dogmatic, because he is divinely sure. His belief is transparent. "With bared head he tells the bare truth[2]." He is the most *sublime* of writers. What Chrysostom has so grandly said of the first verse of his Gospel is almost equally true of the first verse of his Epistle. "See, therefore, how forthwith from the prelude having lent wings to the soul of his hearers, he has elevated their thought also. For having caused it to take its stand before all created things, he conducts it up above cherubim and seraphim, and over angels, and wins it to wing its way above every created thing. What then? After having exalted us to such a height, is he able to stay us there? Not so. But even as one taketh a man standing on the sea-beach, and gazing on towns, shores, ports—and hath brought him far out into mid-ocean; as such an one hath removed the voyager indeed from the former objects which he surveyed, yet hath he not stayed his eye from seeing, but led it on to a spectacle which is immense;—even so John, leading us above creation, and sending forth our thoughts to the ages beyond it, lifts the eye to illimitable heights, not causing it however to find any end—for end is none. For when the reason has ascended to the beginning, it asks—what beginning? Then finding that *was* ever outstripping its thought, it knows not where to stay its cogitation, but gazing intently and evermore unable to stop, it falleth wearied again to things below[1]."

With all its reticence and apparent impersonality, who can doubt, after all, that there is in this Epistle a picture of Christian perfection? It is a reproduction of the image of St John's soul. It does not tell us what he *did;* it *does* tell us what he *was*. In it he has left us an idea of the Christian life, believing, loving, beautiful, victorious, peaceful, perfected. Above all the degenerations of history, above all the bitter disappointments of experience, it hangs undimmed. And it stimulates souls within the Church to a summit of unattained perfection. St John, in this Epistle, thus performs a *third* work, not inferior in importance either to the *organization* of the Church, or to its *controversial defence* against error. The mere controversialist often draws so many lines and bastions round Jerusalem that the temple is hidden from view. This Epistle was, above all, intended to unfold the *inner life*, to help forward a growth in practical holiness[2]. No spiritual

[1] Chrysostom points out a beautiful association of this kind, a subtle connection in St John's Gospel, i. 14 with *vv.* 12, 13. "Having stated that they who received Him have become and are the sons of God, he lays down the *cause* and the foundation of this unspeakable honour. It is that the Word has become Flesh. *For* He who is God's very Son became Son of Man that He might make the sons of men children of God" ('in Joann. Homil.' XI. 1). So John iii. 14, 15 gives the *cause* of the new birth spoken of, *supra vv.* 3, 5. (Ibid. 'Homil.' XXVII.) For another remarkable instance of this *real* connection, latent in the *substance* of the thought, see note on 1 John v. 3, 4.

[2] γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ γυμνὴν ἀπαγγέλλειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. S. Joann. Chrysost. 'Homil. in Joann.' I. 1.

[1] S. Joann. Chrysost. 'Homil. in Joann.' II. 4.

[2] Ignatius, without speaking in so many words of St John's Epistle as he does of St Paul's to the Ephesians ('Epist. ad Ephes.' XII.), draws a picture of the Christian life which is conceived in the very spirit of St John, and represents the quiet, real, undemonstrative character which it was intended to form. "It is better to keep silent and yet *to be*, than to talk and not to be. Good is it to teach, if he that sayeth doeth. (ὁ λέγων, 1 John ii. 4, 6, 9.) For one Teacher there is who spake, and it came to pass (Gospel, *passim*). And what things He did in silence are

book can ever be greater than its author. And so this Epistle is the very reflection of the inner life of the ἐπιστήθιος. A great statesman (Prince Bismarck) has said of ambassadors that "they are vessels, which are only valuable so far as they are filled with the spirit and will of those who sent them, and should, like crystal, at once show, by their tinge and colour, what liquid is in them." And so St John constantly repeats and reproduces the very words of Jesus, and applies them to mould and develope the spiritual life of the Church[1].

V.

1. We pause here, and attempt to draw to a point the converging lines of evidence upon (*a*) the *authorship* of the Epistle, and (*b*) the *time* and *place* to which it belongs.

(*a*) We believe that the three phenomena presented by the Epistle when read side by side with the Gospel—*interpenetration, suggestion, circumscription*, amount to a practical demonstration of a common author. *Whoever wrote the Epistle wrote the Gospel also.* This connection has been differently expressed by modern critics.

The view that the *Gospel* is an *historical commentary* on the *Epistle* has found little favour. The very shorter and more succinct shape which the sentences assume in the Epistle, as if written by one who had fully expressed his thought elsewhere and was now disposed to contract it, makes a careful reader instinctively feel that the process must be reversed. By very many it has been looked upon as an *encyclical letter accompanying the Gospel.*

Whether we are to look upon it precisely as this, as a *postscript*, or as a *preface* to the Gospel, may be rather a question of words. Bishop Lightfoot, however, shews with unrivalled clearness the reasons for considering it practically a *postscript*[1].

It should be remembered that the Gospel was *dictated.* Hence the sudden transitions; the passages at the close where the narrator looks towards or round a group of gathered witnesses[2]. Immediately after the history itself, comes its *postscript*, in the form of this Epistle. The use of the plural links the close of the Gospel with the beginning of the Epistle. Thus, the first lines of the Epistle are in harmony with, and directly refer to, the first lines of the Gospel.

But this view, derived from a thorough and impartial comparison of the Epistle and Gospel by themselves is remarkably confirmed in the very ancient fragment on the Canon of the New Testament known as the *Canon Muratorianus.* The writer says, "Fourthly, the Gospel of John from among the disciples. His fellow disciples and Bishops exhorting him, he said: 'Fast with me from to-

worthy of His Father. He who hath got to himself the word of Jesus (1 John ii. 5) is also able to hear His very silence that he may be perfect, that he may act through his speech, and be known by his silence. Nothing is hid from the Lord, but even our secrets are near to Him. Let us, therefore, do all things, as in His presence who is dwelling in us, that we may be His temple, and He may be in us our God (1 Joh. ii. 14, iv. 4; cf. ἡ ἀγάπη μεθ' ἡμῶν, iv. 17; ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν, iv. 9), which He both is and will appear before our face" (1 John iii. 2). This is deeply interesting as coming from one who must have been at Ephesus with St John, and who wrote not very many years after the Apostle's death.

[1] For similarities in theological thought, feeling, and language, between the Apocalypse and the First Epistle of St John, see Notes on Revelation.

[1] Is not every *preface* really a *postscript* in everything but *position* in a volume?

[2] ὁ ἑωρακὼς μεμαρτύρηκεν...ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς πιστεύσητε (John xix. 35). Ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται, ἵνα πιστεύσητε...καὶ ἵνα πιστεύοντες ζωὴν ἔχητε (xx. 31). Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μαθητὴς ὁ μαρτυρῶν...καὶ οἴδαμεν κ. τ. λ. (xxi. 24). St John lays down his pen, or ceases to dictate. The Bishops or disciples who have heard or read, St Andrew probably (*revelatum est Andreæ ex Apostolis.* 'Canon Murator.'), and the rest, write these few words, this single formulated text of attestation. Then in *v.* 25 the amanuensis (or possibly the Apostle) returns to the singular—'I suppose.' An interesting illustration of this kind of testimony to a narrative may be found, in a somewhat similar form, in the singular book which for centuries was amongst the most popular in Europe. Marco Polo speaks throughout in the first person —*I.* But in the last sentence the secretary to whom he dictated gives his attestation to the truth of the whole narrative. Mr Murray—the translator and editor—remarks, "We may observe a curious change in the last sentence, from the first to the third person. This arises from Rustician's first writing as an amanuensis, then in his own person." ('Travels of Marco Polo,' Edinburgh Cabinet Library, p. 361.)

day for three days; and let us tell one another what shall have been revealed to each.' The same night it was revealed to Andrew from among the Apostles, that by consent of all John should narrate all things in their stead. And therefore though each Gospel has a different starting-point, there is no variation for the faith of believers, since by one overruling Spirit all things are told in all the Gospels concerning the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, the conversation of the Lord with His disciples, and concerning His twofold Advent—the first, as He is despised in His humiliation; the second, as He is conspicuous in royal glory which is future. What wonder is it, then, if John so constantly brings forward each of these things in his Epistles too, saying for himself also—'what we have seen with our eyes and heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, these things we have written unto you'? For thus he professes himself not only a beholder but a hearer also—nay, and further a writer of all the marvellous things of the Lord in order[1]." It will be best to let Bishop Lightfoot draw his own inference in his own words.

"I shall have something to say presently about the coincidences with Papias in this passage. For the moment I wish to call attention to the account which the writer gives of the origin of St John's Gospel. There may be some legendary matter mixed up with this account; the interposition of Andrew and the dream of John may or may not have been historical facts; but its general tenor agrees remarkably with the results yielded by an examination of the Gospel itself. Yet it must be regarded as altogether independent. To suppose otherwise would be to ascribe to the writer in the second century an amount of critical insight and investigation which would do no dishonour to the nineteenth. But there is also another point of importance to my immediate subject. *The writer detaches the First Epistle of St John from the Second and Third, and connects it with the Gospel. Either he himself, or some earlier authority whom he copied, would appear to have used a manuscript in which it occupied this position*[1]."

Thus internal and external evidence alike point to the thorough and immediate connection of the Epistle with the Gospel, and to the common authorship of the two documents.

(*b*) The connection of the Epistle and Gospel with Ephesus and Asia Minor, and with the close of the first century, has been attested by satisfactory arguments, which it is well to recapitulate. St John's relation to Ephesus is necessarily implied in the three opening chapters of the Apocalypse, whatever view is taken of the origin and character of that wonderful book. If it be St John's, the question is decided. If it be spurious, the forger knew that St John's prolonged residence in Asia Minor was an accredited and accepted fact in the Church. From St John to Irenæus, through Polycarp, Christian tradition goes on without a break. It is composed of two rings only, closely welded together, and of adamantine strength. Polycrates, Bishop of *Ephesus*, writing probably not much more than eighty years after the death of St John, speaks of his burial at Ephesus. Nor is this all. Special forms of error, foreseen by St Paul, floating in the very air of *Ephesus*[2], known, as certainly as anything of the kind can be known, to have acquired an enormous development in *Asia Minor* towards the close of the first century—the heresies of Cerinthus and others, doketic and dualistic; the Nicolaitan heresy; certain mystic forms of oriental magic—are, beyond all rational doubt, referred to in the First Epistle of St John. But the reference to local heresies in local shapes attests St John's local interest in Asia Minor. Further still, such few indications as appear clearly to the attentive eye coincide perfectly with an *Ephesian* atmosphere. The mystic awe, the quickening of spiritual life, the strangely opening glimpses into the spirit world, the communion with supernatural powers, which Scripture and history alike connect with

[1] 'Fragm. Anon. de Canone S. Scripturæ,' Routh, 'Reliquiæ Sac.' Tom. I. 394, 395, first edited by Muratori, 'Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi.' Tom. III. p. 854, Dissert. XLIII.

[1] Bishop Lightfoot on 'Supernatural Religion' in 'Contemporary Review' (1878, p. 837).

[2] Acts xx. 30; 1 Tim. i. 4, vi. 20.

Ephesus, are perceptible in the Epistle[1]. The glittering and magnificent worship of *Ephesus*—the fierce dogmatic and intolerant idolatry of the *cultus* of the image of Artemis[2], made of boxwood or vine, which was said to have fallen from heaven, to have lasted through seven restorations of the temple, and to be eternal—give force to the closing words of the First Epistle. Yet again. Those personal circumstances, which escape from the most reticent document —those traits of feeling and character which we divine as we hang in the silence of prolonged study upon the words we revere—perfectly fit into the traditions of the Church about St John's history, while they are too latent to have suggested them.

And here we enlarge the circle of witness so as to include the Second and Third Epistles. Every critic of note has *felt* that all three Epistles are the works of an old man[3]—above all those who accuse them of "senile iteration." The characteristics of old age are especially marked in the second and third Epistles. The frequent repetitions of the first Epistle, their pervasion by the same ideas and language, make us feel that we are listening to a very old man. The fires of youth and manhood have long passed, and burned away all in the soul that is not made of asbestos —all that cannot be reduced to the few ideas which have been the directors of the life. St John was, possibly, an exile in Patmos, and despatched the first of these two short letters from thence. While no ancient writer, as we have seen, ever placed the Gospel and First Epistle outside the circle of Ephesus and an intimate relation with it, opinion was divided as to the spot from which they issued. Ephesus was, indeed, generally accepted (as to the Gospel[1]), but Patmos was mentioned by others[2]. In the valuable synoptical epitome of the Old and New Testament (wrongly attributed to Athanasius) a statement is made which appears intended to reconcile the two accounts. "The Gospel according to John was dictated by him, St John the Apostle and the beloved, when he was an exile in the Isle of Patmos—and was published at Ephesus by the same through the agency of Gaius the beloved friend and hospitable receiver of the Apostles, concerning whom Paul also wrote to the Romans—"Gaius, mine host, and of the whole Church, saluteth you[3]." The character of the first Epistle would be consistent enough with this. It might well have been written, as the second Epistle must have been written, during some period of separation from the Churches over which the Apostle immediately presided. One expression in the third Epistle might certainly seem to give considerable support to the account of the author of the 'Synopsis.' The phrase—"and ye know that our record is true"—points evidently to the attesting appeal towards the close of the Gospel with which (if Gaius published it) he was so intimately connected[4]. The in-

[1] Ephes. ii. 20—22, vi. 20—22; Acts xix. 1—8, 11—19; Ephes. i. 13, 14, iv. 30; cf. 1 John ii. 20—27.

[2] Note the complacent and unquestioning bigotry of the secretary of the city-council of Ephesus —"seeing that these things cannot be spoken against" (Acts xix. 36). The τὸ διοπετές (sc. ἄγαλμα, *v.* 35) cannot, perhaps, with absolute certainty be identified with the image of Artemis, described by Pliny ('Nat. Hist.' XVI. LXXXIX.). Pliny says that the artificer of the image was named by some. (The various names given in different edd. seem to be mere guesses.) This, of course, would exclude, if locally believed, the idea of the image having "fallen from heaven." But Pliny *possibly* hints at the legend of a much greater antiquity. At all events Pliny's anecdote well illustrates the idolatry of Ephesus. (See the interesting discussion and notes, Pliny, 'Nat. Hist.' Vol. v. pp. 2604—2607, edit. G. Brotier. Cum Not. Var. 1826.)

[3] See Michaelis, 'Introd. N. T.' III. 394—396. May we not add the Apostle's love of the *perfect* tense in speaking of the regenerate life (1 John iii. 9, v. 1, 18) as another indication of an aged Christian? He looks to a present state as the result of a great act that is past—what has lasted long and wears well.

[1] So Irenæus, 'Hæres.' III. 1; so also the subscriptions to the Syriac and Arab translations, cited by Hug, 'Introd. N. T.' II. 69.

[2] The curious manuscript in the convent at Patmos, containing a narrative of the journeys of St John in the island (Αἱ περίοδοι τοῦ θεολόγου), and attributed to Prochorus, one of his disciples, has one section of some beauty and interest, which tells how the Apostle before leaving for Ephesus was miraculously led to dictate his Gospel. The extract is fully given in 'Description de l'île de Patmos,' par V. Guérin, pp. 27—31.

[3] Romans xvi. 23. 'Synop. S. S.' 76. [Ap. Athan. Opp. Tom. IV. 433, edit. Migne.]

[4] 3 John *v.* 12; cf. John xxi. 24.

veterate tradition of the Church was that St John was exiled in the later years of the reign of Domitian (A.D. 95—96)[1]. The short reign of Nerva promised better days for the Church. The tidings of this would make it natural for St John to express to Kyria the hope of a speedy meeting[2].

2. In this part of our task it only remains to shew the importance for the defence of St John's Gospel of grasping firmly the connection of the Epistle with it.

The Gospel of St John will be recognized by all competent judges as the centre of the Christian position; and indissolubly connected with it is the First Epistle of St John.

The latest accepted theory of unbelieving criticism at the present date is as follows:—

About A.D. 125 the Church first heard of a mysterious book, heralded by announcements well calculated to excite the curiosity of Christians. A forgery of unusual ability was launched as a precursor, the document known to us as the First Epistle of St John. This mysterious book was nothing less than a new Gospel, deeper and more spiritual than any of its predecessors, which was bold enough even to rectify the previous Evangelists in some not unimportant particulars, and which professed to be written by the beloved disciple of Jesus. This record affected a wider authority and a more spiritual texture than the humbler narratives, more on a level with ordinary humanity, which had up to this time converted, soothed, edified, contented, the souls of Christians.

It can scarcely be denied that the new book came from Asia Minor—from Ephesus—one of the pullulating hotbeds of the dogmatic vegetation of Christianity. The party-spirit, which is inseparable from earnest conviction in religion, had long divided Christians under the banners of various Apostles. A group of Churches, gathered in by the ardent missionary labours of St Paul, clung to the glory which they felt to be their right from their association with the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Other communities turned to St Peter in the West, to St James in Syria. There were not a few who were fiercely jealous of the movement of thought and feeling, not without some foundation in the synoptical Evangelists, which tended to make St Peter the Prince of the Apostles. The existing Gospels, as it seemed to them, afforded no counterpoise to the pretensions of this widely-diffused Petrine party. A pious fraud was therefore contemplated, of a character which would not shock the susceptibilities of the day. Thus from the obscurity which gathers round the Church at the close of the Apostolic age there issued a Gospel which was destined to obtain a pre-eminent place in the sacred Canon of the New Testament, and an Epistle which has influenced Christian thought and practice as the profoundest and gentlest delineation of Christian character sketched upon the lines of the great model in the Gospel. It is denied, peremptorily, that these two books were written either by St John himself, or by disciples informed and prompted by him during the closing years of his prolonged life. It is conjectured as probable, however, that they came from some disciple of the great master about twenty-five or thirty years after his death. For three or four decades there had been a peculiar tradition of the life of Christ floating through the Asiatic Churches, a Gospel according to the use of Ephesus. Two individuals had a very large part in this work: one, a homonym of the Apostle St John, the Presbyter John; the other, Aristion, who knew by heart many as yet unwritten discourses of Jesus. These two men were consulted by Papias as oracles upon the origin of Christianity and the life of its Founder.

The fourth Gospel, then, represents the traditions of this "Ephesian school."

[1] "Quarto decimo anno secundam post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano, in Patmon insulam relegatus scripsit Apocalypsin... Interfecto autem Domitiano sub Nerva principe rediit Ephesum." (S. Hieron. 'Cat.' IX.) This would make St John's exile to Patmos last 17 or 18 months.

[2] 2 John *v.* 12. See Wallon, 'De la Croyance due à l'Évangile,' pp. 211—213. Demetrius is (3 John *v.* 12) another link connecting these Epistles with *Ephesus*. It was certainly an *Ephesian* name, Acts xix. 24, 38. A famous architect of the name was honourably connected with the completion of the temple at Ephesus. By Vitruvius he is said to have been "servus Dianæ." He lived B.C. 340. See 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography,' s. v.

It boldly fixed and stereotyped in writing in a concrete shape, in a form which the world has never forgotten, the memories of the Presbyter John and of Aristion, which, no doubt, did go back to the Apostle St John. It was to prepare for this "pious fraud," and to accustom the ears of Asiatic Christendom to an entirely new cast of theological language, that a Catholic Epistle, attributed to St John, was spread about as a preparatory essay. The dexterous author very possibly imitated what he had heard or remembered of the tone and style of the Apostle's preaching and conversation. The writer, whoever he may be, has a feverish desire to obtain credence by repeated asseverations; an excited style, as if he expected angry contradiction or contemptuous incredulity. The name of St John, it will be remarked, is never unequivocally adopted, as if the writer did not wish to burn all his boats and to commit himself irrevocably.

The object of the new Gospel is twofold: to prove the mission of Jesus as Saviour to unbelievers; and still more, to endow Christendom with a new and higher conception of His Person. Thus we have in the Gospel fraudulently named from St John a life of Jesus, different from, nay contradictory to, that which is given by the three synoptical Evangelists[1].

It will be seen that in this important controversy it is felt to be absolutely necessary to get rid of the Epistle as an authentic document, and discredit it in every particular. For this purpose it is considered convenient to suggest that the First Epistle may have been an essay, thrown off in advance to prepare the Christian public for a new Gospel and for an audacious development of Christian dogma. How long this process would have required, within what compass of time this taste would have been created, we are not told. But a careful and constant comparison between the Epistle and Gospel shews that the Gospel must have been the avant-courier of the Epistle, not the Epistle of the Gospel. We see in every form and in every direction some indication of the *subjective*, assuming, pointing to, commenting upon the *objective*. It is so in *dogma*, in *polemics*, in *general application*. The *opening verses* of the Epistle are the opening verses of the *proœmium* of the Gospel in a subjective form. The *polemical* topics just indicated by a certain emphatic arrangement of subjects and choice of words in the Gospel are more broadly dealt with in the Epistle. The Gospel closes the proœmium with the "Word made Flesh" —and then, starting from the *humanity*, ascends step after step to the full *Godhead*. It asserts and makes permanent the cries of confession wrung from the hearts of men. It writes down the wonderful music, elicited by a hand that runs up the scales from its first notes expressive of recognition of human sanctity—"Thou art the King of Israel"—to the grandest and richest harmony which ascends to Jesus as God—"my Lord and my God[1]." Thus the Gospel proper starts from the Humanity, and ascends to the historical confession of the Divinity. The *Epistle*, on the contrary, with the objective historical order before it in the *Gospel*, starts from the true and proper *Divinity*[2], and descends to the dogmatic declaration of the true and proper Manhood[3]. It is impossible, from the nature of the case, to have any more complete proof that the Epistle *could* not have been launched as a separate venture, apart from the Gospel and preparatory to it.

VI.

The external testimony is considerable. All three Epistles are recognized in the 'Canon Muratorianus[4].' Eusebius says of Papias—"he used passages as

[1] See 'Church Quarterly Review,' January, 1880—'The Four Gospels and Modern Scepticism.' The theory here traced is a representation, which the writer has tried to make fair and candid, of the fourth chapter of M. Renan's 'L'Église Chrétienne.' *Les écrits Johanniques*, pp. 45—62.

[1] John xx. 28. [2] 1 John i. 1.

[3] 1 John iv. 2, 3, v. 6. Special attention should also be paid to 1 John v. 6—11, which is really an exhaustive analysis of the Gospel as an existing document from the special point of view of its being a gospel of witness.

[4] The passage in 'Can. Mur.' seems to treat 1 *John* as an appendix to the *Gospel*—and to mean 2 *and* 3 *John*, when it speaks of "*two Epistles*" farther on. (See Westcott, 'On the Canon,' p. 191.

witnesses from the First Epistle of John, and likewise of Peter." ('H. E.' III. 39.)

The quotations, or allusions, in the Apostolic Fathers are as follows:

1 John iv. 4, 5 (or John xvii. 11, 14, 16).	'Anon. Epist. ad Diogn.' VI. (The Logos).
1 John i. 1.	*Ibid.* VII. *Ibid.* XI. (five times).
1 John v. 15.	'Herm. Past.' Mandat. IX.
1 John v. 3—15. [These references are given by Huther, 'Krit.-exeg. Handbuch über die Briefe des Johannes,' pp. 17, 18, but the list is incomplete. Add]	*Ibid.*
1 John i. 4.	Barnab. 'Epist.' I.
1 John ii. 4.	Ignat. 'Epist. ad Ephes.' XV.
1 John iii. 24.	'Herm. Past.' Mandat. V.
,, v. 14.	
1 John iv. 2, 3.	Ignat. 'Epist. ad Smyrn.' V.
1 John iv. 3.	Polycarp, 'Epist. ad Philipp.' VII. Polycarp alone among the Apostolic Fathers mentions *Antichrist.*
1 John iv. 9.	Polycarp, 'Epist. ad Philipp.' VIII.

The quotations in Justin Martyr's writings are:

1 John v. 9.	(*θεοῦ μαρτυρία.* 'Dialog. c. Tryphon.' 123, n. 12).
1 John iii. 1—7.	*Ibid.* 123, n. 26.
,, iii. 8.	*Ibid.* 45, n. 13.
,, i. 1.	'Epist. ad Diognet.' XI. n. 7 (not Justin's, but probably very early).
,, iv. 9.	*Ibid.* X. n. 2.

To these may be added:

1 John v. 8.	The *mystical order* preserved in ὁ ἐκχέας ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα. S. Claud. Apollinaris Frag. apud Routh, 'Reliq. S.' I. 161. (A.D. 160—180.)
ii. 18—22.	
iv. 1, 2.	
1 John v. 1.	Iren. 'adv. Hæres.' III. 18.
1 John v. 16.	Clem. Alexand. 'Strom.' II. 14.

Origen complained of the abuse made of the text, 1 John v. 19. "Certain heretics," he says, "suppose that by *world* here John means to speak of things on earth and human affairs. From a mistaken notion that world, according to their reading of it, means the whole systen. consisting of heaven and earth and the things therein, they utter bold and impious things concerning God." He seems to say that they do so "from having no word to form an exact equivalent for κόσμος, and fall into impious thoughts concerning the *demiurgus*[2]." The First Epistle must have been well known at that time.

VII.

Analysis of the First Epistle of St John[3].

I.

I. 1—4.

Personal impression from the historical manifestation of the Word, Who is the Life. (*vv.* 1, 2.)

[1] See Hieron. 'de Vir. Illust.' IX.; Euseb. 'H. Eccles.' III. 24, for full testimony to the universal reception of the First Epistle of St John in the Church.

[2] Origen, Opp. Tom. II. 'Comment. in Gen.' p. 25.

[3] In the interesting 'Practical Exposition' dictated by Neander, when almost blind, the whole Epistle is divided into the following sections from a somewhat different point of view:

1. St John witness of Jesus, and announcer of the Gospel, i. 1—4.
2. The Nature of God—resulting consequences for us, i. 5—10.
3. The sinner's welcome, ii. 1, 2.
4. The knowledge of God, ii. 3—6.
5. The old and new commandments, ii. 7—11.
6. The unity and diversity of Gospel witness, ii. 12—14.
7. The love of the world, ii. 15—17.
8. The Antichrist, ii. 18—23.
9. The inner treasure, ii. 24—28.
10. The child of God:
   (*a*) His privileges, ii. 29—iii. 2.
   (*b*) His vocation, iii. 3—10.
11. Brotherly love, the summary of the Christian life, iii. 11—18.
12. The Christian's confidence before God, iii. 19—22.

Great practical objects of the declaration of St John in the Gospel and Epistle—

(*a*) *fellowship* with "us." (*v.* 3.)

(And that, too, a fellowship with the Father and with His Son.) (*Ibid.*)

(*b*) *joy fulfilled.* (*v.* 4.)

II.

I. 5—II. 2.

The Great ANNOUNCEMENT — God is Light. (*v.* 5.)

Practical character of the result of false profession. (*v.* 6.)

Result of walking in the light—

(*a*) true mental communion,

(*b*) constant purification by the blood of Jesus. (*v.* 7.)

Two warnings (*vv.* 8—10) with a promise enclosed. (*v.* 9.)

The whole object of this teaching—"that ye sin not." (ii. 1.)

Yet it includes a "comfortable word." (*Ibid.*)

A propitiation for us and the whole world. (*v.* 2.)

III.

(A) II. 3—6.

The test of knowledge of Christ. (*v.* 3.)

The test of vital communion with Him:

1. Observing His commandments severally. (*v.* 4.)

2. Observing His word as "one entire and perfect chrysolite." (*v.* 5.)

The Christian's objective standard—the one great life-walk traced in the Gospel of St John. (*v.* 6.)

(B) II. 7—11.

The commandment in a sense new, in a sense old— (*v.* 7.)

true and attested in the Christ of the Gospel and in their own experience. (*v.* 8.)

The darkness is passing away, and the Very light enlighteneth. (*Ibid.*)

"In light," "in darkness," contrasted. (*vv.* 9, 10, 11.)

(C) *vv.* 12—17.

Why he is writing and has written. (*vv.* 12, 13, 14.)

Warning against the love of the world. (*vv.* 15, 16, 17.)

IV.

II. 18—28.

The last hour—Antichrist. (*vv.* 18, 19.)

Their chrism from the Christ. (*v.* 20.)

The Antichrist, and the chrism which teaches and is permanent. (*vv.* 20—28.)

V.

II. 29—III. 10.

If we know *theoretically* that He is righteous, we know *practically* who continue to be His true children. (ii. 29.)

Our sonship:

in the present, (iii. 1.)

in the future, (*v.* 2.)

a very practical and purifying truth. (*v.* 3.)

Sin subjective is ever sin objective. (*v.* 4.)

The removal of sin the purpose of His manifestation. (*v.* 5.)

Test of being God's or Satan's. (*vv.* 6—10.)

VI.

III. 11—24.

The message of love announced to be fulfilled. (*vv.* 11, 12.)

Illustrated by its opposite—parenthetic and pathetic words. (*v.* 13.)

Translation from death to life attested by the existence of the love as an *effect*. (*v.* 14.)

The opposite of that blessed translation. (*vv.* 14, 15.)

Our love only measurable by the self-sacrifice of Christ. (*v.* 16.)

À fortiori is sacrifice of "this world's good" demanded. (*v.* 17.)

The test of solid spiritual comfort. (*vv.* 18, 19.)

Of true self-condemnation and self-acquittal. (*vv.* 20, 21.)

Relation between keeping His *commandments* (*v.* 22) and His great all-inclusive *commandment* (*v.* 23), and answer to our prayers. (*vv.* 22, 23.)

Knowledge of the fulfilment of Christ's promise in the Gospel (xiv. 23, xvii. 23) communicated by the Spirit (according to xiv. 20). (*v.* 24.)

VII.

IV. 1—6.

The spirits are to be tesfed. (*v.* 1.)

Test of Antichrist. (*vv.* 2, 3.)

Assurance of victory. (*vv.* 4, 5, 6.)

13. The Commandment of God, iii. 22—24.
14. The spirit of truth and error, iv. 1—6.
15. God is Love, iv. 7—18.
16. The love of God the basis of brotherly love, iv. 19—v. 1.
17. The victory over the world, v. 2—5.
18. The triple witness given to Jesus Christ, v. 6—10.
19. Christ the Life of the faithful, v. 11—13.
20. The efficacy of prayer, v. 14, 15.
21. The sin unto death, v. 16, 17.
22. Union with Christ, the source of sanctity, v. 18—21.

VIII.

IV. 7—V. 2.

Love—

(*a*) in its ideal essence (*vv.* 7, 8).

(*b*) in its Divine manifestation (*vv.* 9, 10).

(*c*) as our duty (*v.* 11).

(*d*) in God and His people (*vv.* 12—16).

(*e*) perfected (*v.* 17).

(*f*) love and fear (*v.* 18).

(*g*) of God and man inseparable (*vv.* 19, 20, 21).

He that loves the Father loves the Father's children. (v. 1, 2.)

IX.

V. 3—21.

The conquest which *has* conquered the world. (*vv.* 3, 4, 5.)

Results of the Incarnation. (*v.* 6.)

The idea of fivefold *witness* in the Gospel—

Witness of *Spirit*,

Witness of *water*,

Witness of *blood*,

a threefold witness— (*vv.* 6, 7, 8.)

Add the witness of *men* (*v.* 9),

the witness of *God* (*v.* 9).

This fivefold witness crowned and perfected by the *inner* witness (*v.* 10).

Summary of its purport. (*v.* 11.)

Warning. (*v.* 12.)

Object of his writing. (*v.* 13.)

Prayer; boundless confidence in it (*vv.* 14, 15), except in the case of sin unto death. (*vv.* 16, 17.)

Three primary points of Christian knowledge, which are also general principles of the Epistle. (*vv.* 18, 19, 20.)

Guard yourselves from the idols. (*v* 21.)

Such, then, the Epistle stands before us. It may originally have been communicated to the cycle of Johannic churches. But it was not intended to be restricted to their use. It is not merely the charge of a Bishop or Metropolitan, choked and cumbered with local and transitory details. It is the voice of an *Apostle*—calm, indeed, and simple, yet ringing on through the ages, and speaking to successive generations in a language that is for all time. It represents the *permanent* as opposed to the *transient* principles and feelings of the Church; because it represents more closely than even the writings of St Paul the very words and thoughts of Jesus. The Epistle is second in importance, we may almost say, only to the Gospel with which it is so inseparably connected. It is that Gospel's best exposition and invaluable defender. It is an arsenal in which weapons will be found against forms of error which are ever arising. It is also the loveliest image of a human existence, which we may well conceive to have been as truly conformed to the one perfect life as any which has ever been passed upon the earth. It has been said that the nearer the style is to the thought, and the thought to God, the better it will be. This highest merit St John's style possesses. Viewed in its external circumstances and earthly moulding it was influenced by two elements. For the language of the Galileans was Syro-Chaldaic. Greek was, however, much spoken in Galilee of the Gentiles. Not the exquisite Greek of Athens, or even of Alexandria, but "common," with a touch of barbarian and foreign forms, yet not quite without Hebraic force and Hellenic splendour[1]. Every fibre of language is a fibre of mind; every fibre of Greek of the finest and subtlest of minds. Some ancient Christian writers did not doubt that contact with the school of Ephesus and the Ionian reflection of Hellenic culture added something of grace to St John's style[2]. This may be an exaggeration[3], yet in truth there is in it something of both his countries—much of Galilee, a little perhaps of Ephesus. To Galilee and its influences belong the ineradicable Hebraic tinge, the alternate beat of the wings, the double, triple or quadruple advancing wave of parallelism[4]. To Greece may perhaps be attributed its elevation, its distinction,

[1] 'Sur le texte et le style du N. T.' M. Berger de Xivrey.

[2] ἀμφοτέρους αὐτῷ χαρισαμένου τοῦ Κυρίου, τόν τε τῆς γνώσεως, τόν τε τῆς φράσεως. Dionys. Alex. (ap. Euseb. 'Hist. Eccles.' VII. 25).

[3] Herder, however, is not afraid to say of the fourth Gospel, "an angel's hand has written it."

[4] M. Renan, indeed, says of St John's style that "it has nothing Hebrew, nothing Jewish, nothing Talmudic." Ewald, however, one of the most competent of later Hebraists, gives a very different judgment. "No language," he says, "as to its spirit and the whole feeling which animates it (*Geist und Anhauche*), can be more thoroughly Hebraic than that of our author." "The rabbinical style is the caricature of the Jewish," says M. Godet, "and the further we go back in Hebrew antiquity the more we meet the two phenomena—of *poverty* in forms and terms, and *plenitude of intuition*, which are the two characteristics of the style of St John." 'Commentaire sur l'Év. de S. Jean,' II. 713.

its incision[1]. We have all too little among modern scholars of that enthusiastic delight in Scripture which existed in their predecessors. If Sir Philip Sidney could say, "I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas that I found not my heart more moved than with a trumpet;" the great Archbishop of Constantinople exclaims over one of St Paul's Epistles, "I rejoice with joy exceeding in my delight at the sound of that trumpet of the Spirit." Such thrilling elevation is scarcely the effect to be expected from the letter of the Apostle of love[2]. But here, if anywhere, we may find the utterance of the Wisdom that is "suaviter fortis, et fortiter suavis[1]." One who has spent years in the study of these chapters, and with unwilling haste piles together in a few broken months the materials which he has long amassed, can humbly sympathize with the great Augustine, at least in one thing—the love with which he lingered over the Epistle of love, his unwillingness to have done with it—"quanto libentius de charitate loquor, tanto minus volo finiri Epistolam istam[2]."

[1] "In St John's style the vesture alone is *Greek*, the body is *Hebrew*." M. Godet, *ibid.*

[2] Yet of the beginning of St John's Gospel, Chrysostom also says—*ὁ τῆς βροντῆς υἱὸς Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἠχῶν τῆς πνευματικῆς τὸ, Ἦν.* ('In Joann. Homil.' VII.)

[1] "Plus une parole ressemble à une pensée, une pensée à une âme, une âme à Dieu, plus tout cela est beau." Pascal.

[2] S. Augustin. 'in Epistol. Joann. ad Parthos,' Tractatus VIII. 14. (Tom. III. Pt. 2. 2044, edit. Migne.)

THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF

JOHN.

CHAPTER I.

1 *He describeth the person of Christ, in whom we have eternal life, by a communion with God:* 5 *to which we must adjoin holiness of life, to testify the truth of that our communion and profession of faith, as also to assure us of the forgiveness of our sins by Christ's death.*

THAT which was from the beginning, which we have heard,

CHAP. I. 1—4. "That which was continually from the beginning, before the world was, from all eternity; that which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, and the impression of which is still present with us; that which during the time of Christ's walk upon earth we contemplated, and which our hands once handled—I speak concerning the Word whose Divine attribute is Life, Who is the Life—(and that Life was once manifested upon earth; and we have seen, and consequently are witnesses, and announce to you from Him who sent us that Life, that eternal Life whose peculiar attribute it is to have been with the Father and manifested to us)—that which we have seen and heard declare we from Him who sent us unto you, to the end that you too may have fellowship with us. And then that fellowship of ours is with the Father and His Son, Jesus Christ. And we are writing unto you these things that His words in the Gospel may be fulfilled, and that our joy may continue full." The peculiarity of St John's mode of expression here is well observed and accounted for by Neander. "It may seem surprising that, instead of clearly designating the Divine Person, who was from the beginning and was manifested to him in visible form, St John uses indeterminate expressions, such as—'that which was'—and—'that which we have heard,' &c. But this language is connected with the deepest part of the Apostle's method and doctrine. In fact, Christ is with Him the beginning and end of all Christian preaching. In his thoughts and in his life there is no other subject. The indeterminate expressions which he employs correspond, not to abstract ideas, but to this Living Person, the centre of his teaching and of his life. Hence it is that he uses indifferently to designate Him either personal pronouns ('He Who') or impersonal pronouns ('that which'). 'That which' St John announces is the coming in the flesh of 'Him who' was from the beginning. St John does not at once complete his thought. He interrupts himself to explain the subject which as yet he has only indicated in vague terms, but which fills his whole soul. It is the *Word of Life*." (Neander, 'Comment. on First Epist. of St John.')

1. *That which*] The neuter *which* for the masc. *He who*. St John frequently uses the neuter to express a collective whole. See in St John's Gospel i. 11, iv. 22, vi. 37, xvii. 2. "The neuter is naturally used, when the most comprehensive term is wanted." (Cf. Gal. iii. 22; 1 Cor. i. 27; Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 20.) Bp Lightfoot, 'Galatians,' p. 148.

was] The word shews that, before His manifestation, He existed with the Father.

from the beginning] It is not, perhaps, as decisively true here as in the Gospel (i. 1) that "no one who takes words in their natural sense can suppose that *the beginning* means the commencement of the Ministry of Christ." ('Essays and Reviews,' p. 355.) But the balance of argument certainly inclines to the higher interpretation of the words. So far, indeed, as the language alone is concerned, *from the beginning* may mean one of two things: either (1) *from eternity*, or, at least, *from the beginning of the world* (Matt. xix. 4, 8; John viii. 44; 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14; 1 John ii. 13, 14, iii. 8; cf. also in LXX., Micah v. 2; Prov. viii. 23; Ecclus. xxiv. 14); or (2) it may mean, from the beginning of the Ministry of Christ, the *initium rei Christianæ* (cf. John xv. 27; 1 John ii. 7, 24, iii. 11; 2 John *vv.* 5, 6). In favour of the first interpretation are the following:

(*a*) *The analogy of the prœmium of the Gospel.* "The Gospel and the Epistle of John," says Dionysius of Alexandria, "are in harmony and begin similarly. The former says, *In the beginning was the Word;* the latter, *That which was from the beginning.* These are the first notes of the strain." According to this interpretation, "all is perfectly balanced and self-consistent, and nothing wanders from the theme, in these preludes which he plays." (Ap. Euseb. 'Hist. Eccles.' VII. 25.) This view becomes certain, if, as we contend, this

which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life;

Epistle accompanied the Gospel and pointed to it throughout. It is an undeniable instance of the connection of *suggestion*. (See Introd. to this Epistle.)

(*b*) *The elevated tone of the whole context.* We have here a passage strangely unlike St John's general mould of composition. Least of all does the Apostle's structure of words generally resemble the description quaintly given of Hooker, that his style was "long and pithy, driving on a whole flock of several clauses before he comes to the close of a sentence." We have here a passage "prefaced and brought in with more magnificent ceremony than any one passage of Scripture" (Hammond). The very length of the sentence, so unusual with St John, testifies to the emotion with which it was written. The sublimity of the passage as a whole gives a proportional elevation to each single clause, and makes the highest sense also the most natura..

(*c*) *The context seems to be almost inconsistent with the second interpretation.* How could the Apostles be said, not only to have *heard*, but to have *seen* and *handled* the commencement of the Gospel message? (Bp Bull, 'Judic. Eccles. Cathol.' p. 43.)

We therefore conclude in favour of understanding *the beginning* here as in St John's Gospel, i. 1.

"It is to a *fact*, not to a *principle*, or a *sentiment*, that we are here directed as containing the ideal essence of the Gospel." (Dr Mill.) "Whilst the three other Evangelists begin the Life of Jesus from dates which belong to earth and time, St John, in the very first words of his Gospel, transports himself beyond the commencement of the earthly life of the Son of God; he elevates himself to the contemplation of the Divine type of which the visible life is but the earthly impress. He follows precisely the same process in his Epistle. St John could not proceed otherwise; he could not relate the Life of Christ without first ascending to His pre-existence; for the fulness of the Divine Nature which had gloriously appeared in Jesus was indissolubly linked in his mind with the human manifestation of that Nature. The Apostle ever sees in Christ the revelation of Him Who is elevated above time, Who had no beginning of days, Who was before creation, and Who dwells from eternity to eternity in sanctuaries impenetrable to mortal gaze. To shew that it is He Who has assumed a human form in the Person of Jesus of Nazareth whose history he is about to relate, he must commence his Gospel by establishing the connection between the prehistoric Christ, such as He was in the bosom of the Father, and the historical Christ, such as contemporaries had seen, known, heard Him. He begins his Epistle also by no abstractions, but by the assertion of the greatest fact in the history of humanity, 'That which was from the beginning,' &c." (Neander.)

which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we **gazed upon**, *and our hands* **handled**] In such a passage as this reverence will be slow to find mere pleonasms. Those only are "competent judges," we may safely say (with Bp. Butler of his own style), who are also "competent judges how far the same things, and not other things, could have been said in different words." The so-called pleonasms of Scripture generally render important services. They add colour and impressiveness to the style, and give it dignity or liveliness, even when they do not directly strengthen its logical skeleton. With the skilful rhetorician an *epithet* is often an *abridged argument* (Archbp. Whately, 'Rhet.' p. 213; Arist. 'Rhet.' III. 3). Much more do phrases in Scripture accused of being pleonastic often condense an argument, or embody an important reference (*e.g.* "Mine eyes have seen Thy salvation," Luke ii. 30, shews the exact fulfilment of *v.* 26), or add to ethical effect. ("The pleonasm of entire sentences is a thing not to be thought of." See the instructive pages, Winer, Pt. III. § LXV. 633, 634.) We may extend to St John Prof. Jowett's words, originally written of St Paul, that "tautology with him is often emphatic." For each of the phrases here has its own proper significance. Strange errors were abroad. Taking its starting-point from the necessary evil of matter, *Doketism* denied the Flesh of Christ. But, as the first words of the verse assured Christians that their Lord was no *common-place* Christ, so its close maintained by an emphatic appeal to human ears, eyes, hands, that he was no *shadowy* Christ. Such a "Christological image of mist" would have called into existence an evanescent Church. Ours is not a Christ such as we read of in Gnostic fragments, which strangely blend Oriental mysticism with Greek philosophy. The Christ here set forth by St John is not one who left no footprints upon the earth; who did not really eat and drink; who had a spectre nailed to the cross in His stead; whose body yielded to the touch; who melted away, like mist, in the pageant of an illusive ascension. He is One Who came, in the *likeness* of sinful flesh, in the *reality* of human flesh. It is also remarkable how these "pleonasms" serve to establish the *subject* of the verse If we had only the verb *heard*, Socinus might be right in inter-

2 (For the life was manifested, and we have seen *it*, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life, which was with the

preting the passage of *doctrine*; if we had only the verb *seen*, de Wette might be right in interpreting it of "the power of a new life." But neither a mere doctrine, nor a mere influence—nothing, indeed, but a real living person, could have been heard, seen, contemplated, handled. *Which our hands have handled* may possibly have an anti-Doketic tinge in a very special way.

which we have heard] This reminds us of the words of Jesus, with more especial reference to the discourses recorded in the fourth Gospel. Its *place* in the sentence—above *sight* and *handling*—shews the reverence with which St John regarded the *words* of Christ. It makes us feel how the Apostle would have shrunk from inventing language for Him, and putting it into His mouth.

which we have seen with our eyes] "It is not enough to say, *we have seen*. He adds, *with our eyes*. We believed with our own, not other men's eyes. So in Latin, *hisce oculis vidi*" (Grotius). Cf. for the emphatic use of "seeing with the eyes," Luke ii. 30. The tense here signifies "we have looked and see"—The impression of the sight still remains.

which we **gazed upon**] Between *seen* and *gazed upon* (ἐθεασάμεθα) a distinction is to be noticed: either (1) as between the external sight of miracles, and the more spiritual and internal beholding the moral glory of the only-Begotten (Baur, Ebrard); or (2) with much greater truth, as between the *sight* which has simply *knowledge* for its result and object, and that fuller and more entranced *gaze* which rejoices in the object contemplated (cf. St John's Gospel, vi. 36—40, where the *beholdeth* of *v.* 40 is an intentional advance upon the *have seen* of *v.* 36). He *contemplates* who is sufficiently struck to stop and gaze. The word used here by St John is the same as that applied by the angel to those who *gazed upon* the Ascension (Acts i. 11). This shade of meaning θεωρεῖν (John vi. 40) seems to have in common with θεᾶσθαι. In Ps. xxvii. 4 it is the word in the LXX. which renders נעם, —"clinging, eager, enchanted gaze." (Delitzsch.) "To contemplate with pleasure; delight in the sight of something." (Gesen. 'Lex.' *s. v.* Cf. the use of *suspicit* in 'Æneid' I. 442, VI. 667, and "Vis animum mirer *suspiciamque* tuum," Martial, II. 36.)

The Transfiguration is not mentioned in St John's Gospel. May it not be specially pointed at here, and in St John i. 14? It is also referred to by another of the three who witnessed it, in a tone which implies that it was a well-known part of Christian teaching. (2 Pet. i. 16—18.)

our hands **handled**] The expression would naturally refer to some great single occasion, perhaps to His bidding (Luke xxiv. 39), and to the finger and hand of Thomas in St John's Gospel (xx. 27). See the striking quotation from Bullinger in Ebrard, p. 47.

concerning] used, as it frequently is at the beginning of a sentence, to lead to the point to be discussed.

the Word (*who is also*) **the Life**] This certainly does not mean the word, written or preached, whose subject is the spiritual and eternal life; but the Personal Word, the Logos, whose attribute it is that He is the Life; who is at once both the Word and the Life (cf. Ephes. iv. 18). For the double gen. and the interpret. of it, cf. St John's Gospel, ii. 21 ("the Temple which is His Body"), xi. 13 ("that taking of rest which is sleep").

On the Logos see Introd. to Gospel and Notes, John i. 1. (One of Gibbon's bitterest sneers is conveyed in three adroitly italicized words upon the margin. "The Logos *taught* in the school of Alexandria *before* Christ 100—*revealed* to the Apostle St John, A.D. 97." ('Decline and Fall,' chap. XXI.) Those who believe with St Augustine that all truth, wherever found, belongs to Christ by right, will not be perplexed by the taunt.) Chrysostom would seem to refer to this place when he says: "If then the Word is the Life; and He who is at once the Word and the Life (ὁ δὲ Λόγος οὗτος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ) became flesh; then the Life became flesh." ('In Joann. Evangel.' v.) "Possibly some one might understand the Word of Life as some speech or teaching about Christ, not the very Body of Christ, which was handled. See what follows:—'And that Life was manifested.'"—St Aug. 'In Epist. Joann.' Prolog. Tract. I.

"The Word of Life"—does this only mean the preaching of eternal life? "The words which follow clearly refer, not to the *preaching* of life, but to the *manifestation* of the Life, which has taken place in the bosom of humanity." (Neander.)

2. A comparison of this verse with the Gospel, i. 14, is very suggestive. The Apostle in the Gospel naturally writes from an *objective* and *historical* point of view. He begins with the *historical fact* ("The Word was made Flesh"), and passes on to a statement of the *personal impression* made upon himself and others ("and we beheld with entranced gaze His glory"). But in the Epistle, which is *subjectively* related to the Gospel, the process is exactly reversed. St John begins with the *personal impression* made upon himself and others; pauses to affirm the *historical reality* of the object, which has produced this impression;

Father, and was manifested unto us;)

3 That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship *is* with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ.

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and then returns to the subjective impression. (See Godet, 'Sur l'Évangile de S. Jean,' I. 197.) It is one of those deep coincidences between the Epistle and Gospel, which witness not only to a common authorship, but also to an *interpenetration* of one document by the other.

was manifested] The aorist denoting that it was once for all historically manifested in the Incarnation and life of Jesus. Cf. for thought and expression 1 Tim. iii. 16.

and declare] The verb is the same with that which is so rendered at the commencement of v. 3. The word indicates properly the bearing of a message from *another*. The translation in the A. V. is an instance of "various renderings of the same words, by which artificial distinctions are introduced in the translation, which have no place in the original." (Bp Lightfoot, 'On Revision,' &c., p. 33.) Note that this word includes St John's Gospel with the present Epistle as part of the declaration or message which he bears to the Church from God.

the life, the eternal (life)] the adj. with art. placed after noun gives the strongest emphasis of which language is capable. *Eternal*, here an attribute of *Christ*, is also an attribute of *God*, in Rom. xvi. 26 (so in LXX.; Isai. xxvi. 4, xl. 28). Note that just this attribute of God and Christ is applied to future reward and *punishment*. 2 Thess. i. 9. (See Add. Note at end of the Ep. to Thess.) "As the Epistle opens, so it closes with the mention of eternal life," v. 20 (Bengel).

which] The Greek (ἥτις) is inadequately rendered by the simple relative. "It expresses an attribute belonging to the *nature* of the object, its *real* and *peculiar*, not like ὅς, its accidental property." (Jelf, 'Gr. Gr.' II. 425.) It amplifies, assigns the class to which an object essentially belongs, and has a *causative* tinge (cf. Matt. xxv. 1; Luke viii. 3, ix. 30, x. 42; John viii. 53; Acts xxiii. 21; Rom. iii. 2; 2 Thess. i. 3, &c.).

as being that which was *with the Father*] (See note at close of the Chapter.)

3. *that ye also*] "That you, no less than we, may derive fruit from it" (Grotius).

may have] "may proceed in having, and being confirmed in. He signifies increasing and continuous, not inchoate, action; for he addresses those who had already entered the communion of the Church." (à Lap.)

fellowship with] "*Fellowship* denotes commerce and society in the same faith, religion, and Church, where all partake of the same sacraments" (*ibid.*). The prep. (*with*) is used especially of intellectual, moral, and spiritual relation.

with us] One blessed result of the reception of the Incarnate God is fellowship, communion with the *Church*, as the *Apostolic Church*. It is to be noticed, however, that the word *Church* is never used by St John, either in his Gospel, or in the First and Second Epistle (in 3 John *vv.* 6, 9, 10. See Note on 3 John *v.* 6). The pronoun *we* is, in one sense, its equivalent. It is not so much the "plural of *majesty*;" or "the plural or *modesty*, when we share our honour with others" (Grot.); as the plural of *communion*—the spirit which leads men to speak kindly and lovingly of those who are intimately associated with them as "we"—the expression of the Apostle's intense conviction of his fellowship with all Christ's people, and theirs with him. As we have in this verse the *we* of a common Apostolic Church (defined by the prep.), so not unfrequently in St John we find the *we* of a common Apostolic witness, or of collective attestation of the Gospel: supra *v.* 1; Gospel, i. 14, xxi. 24.

and truly our fellowship is] "and truly the fellowship which I have called ours (*with us*) is something more than that. It is with the Father," &c. When καὶ...δὲ occur, as in this place, within a short space, they are intended to explain and amplify. The second part of the sentence is linked to the first by these particles, which thus indicate a *co-ordination* in the ideas but with a certain progress. (Godet, 'Sur l'É. de S. Jean,' II. 124; cf. John vi. 51, xv. 27. "καὶ...δὲ, in one and the same clause, as often in the best authors, signifies *et vero — atque etiam*." Winer, 'Gramm. of N. T.,' Part III. Sect. liii. p. 464.

with the Father, and with His Son] "He unfolds the grandeur and nobility of the society of the Church; it is a fellowship with the Father, and with His Son; cf. 1 Cor. i. 9" (à Lap.). "The fellowship of which St John speaks is not only that peace and concord, by which men are knit to their fellow-men, but that by which there is a vital, indissoluble union of men with God in soul and spirit by faith." (Zwingle, quoted by Ebrard *in loc.*) The idea of the double fellowship is profoundly given in John xv. 1 sqq.

Jesus Christ] Our Lord is called Jesus, i. 7, iv. 3, 15, v. 1, 5; Jesus Christ i. 3, iii. 23, iv. 2, v. 20. When there is a reference, direct or indirect, to heretics who denied the Incarnation, the name *Jesus* is specially used as ap-

4 And these things write we unto you, that your joy may be full.

5 This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare

propriate to the Human Nature. Jesus *Christ* implies peculiarly a recognition of His Messianic character (v. 6).

4. *And these things write we unto you*] Does the Apostle refer to the verses *which precede*, or (as Düsterd) not merely to *vv.* 1—3, but to the whole Epistle? (See Additional Note at close of the Chapter.).

On the whole, there is a presumption that, in *v.* 4, St John would have us understand by *these things*, not the entire Epistle or the subsequent portion of it, but either (1) solely the contents of *vv.* 1, 2, 3, or (2) with much greater probability the Gospel also.

your joy] Two important MSS. read "*our* joy." The internal evidence, however, seems to be in favour of the A. V. (1) It is infinitely more natural in a letter to wish joy—for practically what is said here is tantamount to a wish—to *others* than to *ourselves*. (2) 2 John *v.* 12 is not decisive, for (*a*) the reading is uncertain, (*b*) the anticipated pleasure of meeting "face to face" imparts a different colour to the word *our*, and makes it vivid and appropriate. (3) The phrase "that *your joy* may be fulfilled" (John xvi. 24) is in favour of the Text. Rec. (see Reiche, 'Comment. Crit.' *in loc.*).

your joy may be **fulfilled**] For the expression cf. Gospel, iii. 29, xv. 11, xvi. 24, xvii. 13. "The whole Epistle is a devotional and moral application of the main ideas, which are evolved historically in the sayings and doings of Christ recorded in the Gospel." (Bishop Lightfoot.)

fulfilled (perf. part.)] raised to the highest point. "It is but the beginning of joy when we begin to believe. When faith daily increases, joy increases in proportion" (Luther).

Note the coincidence in thought between 1 John i. 3, 4 and St John's Gospel, ch. xvii.

1 John i. 3, 4.

That ye also may have fellowship with us. *v.* 3.

And truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ. *Ibid.*

These things write we unto you, that your joy may be **fulfilled**. *Ibid. v.* 4.

John xvii.

That they all may be one. xvii. 21.

That they also may be one in us. *Ibid.*

These things I speak in the world, that they might have My joy fulfilled in themselves. *Ibid. v.* 13.

[The word should be translated in the *Epistle* exactly as in the *Gospel*. It is most important, as a great scholar remarks, that "the language of the Gospel be linked in the A. V., as it is in the original, with the language of the Epistle," thus bringing out "another of the many coincidences, tending to establish an identity of authorship in the Gospel and Epistle, and thus to make valid for the *former* all the evidences which may be adduced for the *latter*." Bishop Lightfoot, 'On Revision of N. T.' pp. 55, 56.]

SECTION II.

i. 5—ii. 2. "And the message which we have heard from Him, and of which we are consequently the authoritative announcers to you, is as follows:—'God is Light, and there is in Him no speck of darkness whatever.' If we say (I know not whether it be so—it may be) that we have moral and spiritual communion with Him, while yet we practically move in the sphere of darkness, we lie, and are no doers of the truth. But if we walk in the Light, as He is in the Light, we have communion with Him, with His Church, with all its faithful people, and they with us, and the blood of Jesus His Son continually purifies us from all sin. I say this, mention this purification continually effected, because if we say—as some of us perhaps do—that we have no sin as our own, no reality of guilt clinging to us and abiding, we deceive ourselves, and the truth, theoretical and practical, is not in us. If we confess our sins, He is faithful to His promises, and full of righteousness in order to remit our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If we say that we have not sinned and are not sinners, we are making Him a liar, and the substance of His teaching is not in us. My children! these things I am writing to you, in order that ye may not sin. Yet if any one may have committed some sin (it may be!) we—you and I—have an Advocate with the Father, a righteous One, Jesus Christ. And He is a Propitiation for our sins, nay, not for ours only, but for those of the whole world."

5. *This then is the message*] ℵ stands alone in reading here, "This, then, is the *love of the message*." But several MSS. read *promise* (ἐπαγγελία) instead of *message* (ἀγγελία). But the context evidently requires, not any Gospel *promise*, but a *message* as the object of "we announce." In the words that follow there is no promise, but there is an annunciation. The first of these words in the N. T. does not ever seem to signify *message*, but always *promise*, except in Acts xxii. 21, where it means *command*. (Bretschn. *s. v.*)

which we have heard **from Him**] In classical Greek the gen. without the prepos. would have been sufficient. (Winer.)

unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.

6 If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in

HIM] Christ is HE of whom St John's heart is so full that it seems as if all must understand of whom he speaks. It is like David, who begins a psalm, "I will praise *Thee*," without naming Him Whom he addresses. (Psalm cxxxviii. 1.) This trait seems to be beautifully illustrated by the delineation of Mary Magdalene in the Gospel, xx. 15. "Mary did not express by name Him Whom she sought, but only said 'Him' three times. (John xx. 15.) How *Him?* she does not disclose the name, because she instinctively supposes that the thought which is never for a moment absent from her own heart must be clear to all." (S. Bernard, 'Serm. in Cant.' VII.) "Believers easily supply the name, for their souls are full to overflowing with the memory of their Lord" (Bengel).

and **announce**] (ἀναγγέλλομεν). This is not the same compound of ἀγγέλλω which in *v.* 3 is translated *declare*. The prep. in composition has the sense of *increase* and *strengthening* as well as repetition. It is always used of solemn teaching with a certain character of authority about it: of the Messiah (John iv. 25), of the Holy Spirit (xvi. 13, 14, 15, three times over, like a refrain), of some one who has a message that must be announced, especially Apostles (John v. 15; Acts xiv. 27, xv. 4, xx. 20; Rom. xv. 21, of priests and Levites; 1 Pet. i. 12). In LXX. it is almost a *sacerdotal* word (cf. Deut. xxiv. 8; Isai. lii. 15). Bourdaloue instructively *contrasts* the more subjective and appealing tone of St Paul (2 Cor. xii. 11 sqq.) with the majestic tone which St John knew how to assume in his *adnuntiamus*.

Note the Apostle's intense conviction that the Message which he has to deliver is received from the lips of Christ; that it is not the conclusion of an argument, or the expression of the consciousness of the congregation, but a *revelation;* and that its delivery implies a *commission*. **We announce** implies *grandeur* and *importance* in the Message —*earnestness* and *commission* in the messenger.

that God is light] "It is difficult to open up sufficiently any of the highest and most transcendent subjects without using symbols," says Plato ('Polit.' 396). What is conveyed by the symbol of *light?* "Since light," says Grimm, "is the subtlest, the purest, the most glorious of things, God is called light, *i.e.* a Nature free from alien intermixture, most pure, and most holy." (Grimm, 'Clav. N. T.' *s. v.*, where the writer refers to Wisdom vii. 26, and Grimm's note.) Light, in the text, is not merely *intelligence* (Calv.), nor *sanctity* and *purity exclusively* (Luthardt), though the context makes the last idea prominent. "This profound term designates perfect moral goodness, combined with blissful consciousness of His own sanctity, in the sphere of the highest life, where the luminous clearness of the Divine Wisdom also rules as opposed to the world (αἰών)." (Godet, 'Comm. sur l'Év. de St Luc,' II. 199.) Cf. for the conjunction of *light* with *life*, Gospel i. 4, also Phil. ii. 15. The root of this is in Ps. xxxvi. 9.

and darkness in Him there is none] "No darkness, *i.e.* of sin or ignorance, of error or of death." ('Schol. Matt.' quoted by Lücke.) "All and every kind of darkness is excluded from the nature of God" (Ebrard). There is no speck in that perfect orb. Hengstenb. asserts that while *light* in St John's Gospel is nearly equivalent to *salvation*, in the Epistle it almost stands for *moral goodness*, while *darkness* is *moral evil*. The immoderate passion for discovering polemical allusions in every syllable of the Epistle, and (like Hammond) "seeing Gnostics where there are none," has led to an unreasonable reaction. Internal and external evidence alike attest the existence of a *polemical* purpose in the Epistle, subordinate to other and higher ends. There is a reference in the passage to Gnosticism, and the systems of Oriental dualism, with their eternal and necessary spheres of light and darkness. The verse seems to bear remarkably on Spinozism and Hegelianism, which teach that evil is only relative to the individual being —"good in making." St Augustine well traces the connection:—"John has said above *v.* 3—But if God is light, and darkness in Him is none, and we should have fellowship with Him; then the darkness is to be chased away by us that it may be light within us—for darkness cannot have fellowship with light. Therefore see what follows (*v.* 6), and compare 'what fellowship hath light with darkness?' (2 Cor. vi. 14). You say that you have fellowship with God, and walk in darkness. But 'God is light, and darkness in Him is none.' How then is fellowship between light and darkness? A man may say, 'What shall I do? How shall I, a sinner, be light?' A certain despairing sadness arises. There is no safety, but in the fellowship of God (*v.* 5). But sins are darkness. What then is to be done? Fellowship with God is to be held fast. Other hope of eternal life there is none." (St Aug., 'In Epist. Joann. ad Part. Tract.' I. 5. Opp. Tom. III. Pt. 2, 1981, edit. Migne.)

6. *If we say*] ἐὰν (*if*) with conj. expresse mere *supposition*, not *conviction*. It may happen. The writer feels no *certainty* that it will, yet has some expectation that his supposition may be realised (Kühner, 'Gr. Gr.' Jelf's ed. 467, 470). It will be seen from

darkness, we lie, and do not the truth:

7 But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.

this what subtle gentleness lies in the form of St John's expression.

and yet (καὶ). This use is specially, but not exclusively, Johannic. (See note on 1 John ii. 1.)

walk] make our continuous life-walk.

we lie] The grand Message, received from Christ, and announced in the Gospel, makes it evident that if any possibly claim communion with Him, and yet persistently have their life-walk in the sphere of moral darkness, their whole life becomes a lie in speculation and action.

and are not doing the truth] The realm of *truth*, in St John's conception, is not limited to speech, written or articulate. It extends to the thoughts, and indeed to the whole life. Right action is truth made objectively visible. See Additional Note, 3 John 3.

7. *he*] Christ. See note on *v.* 5. For "walking in light" cf. Ps. lxxxix. 15.

as he is in the light] The *as* here is, of course, of *similitude* not *equality*. Cf. Matt. v. 43, vi. 12; 1 John iii. 3.

fellowship one with another] Some of the ancient Greek writers explain this as "the mutual intercommunion of ourselves and of Him who is the Light" (Theophyl., Œcumen.). Much better Bengel—"It does not seem that the expression can be fitly used of God and man."

and the blood of Jesus His Son] This reading is to be preferred. The word *Christ* is omitted by ℵBC. Reiche argues for its retention. "St John in this Epistle *never certainly* (for iv. 15 is doubtful) calls the Saviour simply *Jesus*, with one exception, which has a singular significance, viz. in iv. 3. In that passage he opposes heresies which denied the Incarnation, and thus had a special reason for employing the name which peculiarly denoted the Human Nature. But St John generally and constantly joins 'Jesus Christ' (i. 3, iii. 23, iv. 2, v. 20). There is no reason why he should have omitted it here. But officious copyists might be influenced by dogmatic causes, because to them it might have seemed that the blood was suitable only to the Human Nature" ('Comment. Crit.' III. 312). This subtle critic, however, appears to write with less than his usual accuracy. *Jesus alone* occurs not only in iv. 3, but in ii. 22, iv. 15 (probably), v. 1—5.

"The blood of Jesus," sc. poured forth. The whole sacrifice, nay the whole obedience of Jesus, consisting in His perfect holiness, and consummated by His voluntary self-sacrifice. (Gomar, Neander, Bengel) Something more is meant than "natural faith in the moral purpose of the death of Jesus" (Paulus), or even than "faith in Christ's obedience unto death, or in His Passion." (Episcop., Grot.) For in this expression, endeared to every Christian heart, we have the central thought of the Gospel, under the most vivid and affecting of images. Scripture speaks the language of life and living emotion. It does not always define. It takes a striking characteristic, and puts it before the heart and eye as a summary representative of the whole. In ordinary language, an *abridged description*, when the part selected is vivid, picturesque, pregnant, gives force and colour to "the poetry of common speech." Thus we say, so many "souls" for persons, "sail" for ships, "hands" for effective individuals. Such a word in Christian theology is the *Blood*. It is dogma with pathos. But it is not only picturesque and pathetic. It implies, as no other word could do, (*a*) the reality of the Human Body of Jesus, (*b*) the reality of His sufferings, (*c*) the reality of His sacrifice. It is remembered in heaven as the source of redemption. Apoc. v. 9, vii. 14, xii. 11.—It points also to the fulfilment of all that was symbolized by blood in the earlier dispensation. (Hebrews ix. 11, 23.)

Thus "the blood of Jesus" is Johannic as well as Pauline. "Those who are truly of the family of God cannot and will not ignore the language of their Father's house." (Melancthon.)

is ever purifying] (Bp Wordsworth), keeps on purifying. The *contrast* between our natural fear of the rigidity of the moral government of the universe, with our consciousness that "its rules are such as not to admit of pardon by the sole efficacy of repentance," and "the particular manner in which Christ interfered in the redemption of the world, His office as Mediator" (Bp Butler, 'Analogy,' Part II. Chap. v.), may be drawn out by reading the verse before us with a memorable passage in modern poetry. The usurper Canute, who has had a share in his father's death, expiring after a virtuous and glorious reign, walks towards the light of heaven. But first he cuts with his sword a shroud of snow from the top of Mount Savo. As he advances towards heaven a cloud forms, and drop by drop his shroud is soaked with a rain of blood. So it is for ever.

"C'est pourquoi ce roi sombre est resté
dans la nuit,
Et, sans pouvoir rentrer dans sa blancheur
première,
Sentant, à chaque pas qu'il fait vers la
lumière,
Une goutte de sang sur sa tête pleuvoir
Rôde éternellement sous l'énorme ciel noir."
(V. Hugo, 'La Lég. des Siècles,'
'Le Parricide,' I. 77—83.)

8 If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

9 If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us *our* sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

10 If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.

Read beside this "The blood of Jesus is ever purifying." The blood of Jesus has not only a momentary efficacy. Its virtue extends to the whole Christian life continuously. The purification thus effected, and expressed by the word "**is purifying**," is twofold. It implies (1) justification, by which we are brought back into communion with God; (2) sanctification, by which the power of sin is gradually abolished. The red rose of pardon and the white rose of purity (if we may venture to use such language as mystics have loved) grow upon one stem and spring from one root. The remarkable reading in Apoc. xxii. 14 adopted by Tischend. (*μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν*) would singularly illustrate the notion of *continuous* purification in this verse. He who wrote this verse in the Epistle before us would naturally write Apoc. vii. 14 and xxii. 14 in the more imaginative elevation of poetry or prophecy.

8. Here we have one of those subtle lines of connection; those "roots at the bottom of the stream, hidden from casual observers" (Alford) so common in St John. "What! those who, according to *v.* 7, make their abiding life-walk in the light; who habitually 'form the glorious procession of the sons of light' (W. Archer Butler)—must it be said of them that they have a perpetual guilt, which needs the perpetual cleansing of a perpetual pity?" The answer to this implied objection is contained in this *v.* 8 ("yes! for) if we say," &c.

that we have not sin] There is often an emphatic force in the verb *have* in the New Testament for good and for bad. It signifies an abiding reality of guilt or grace which we *have* and *hold* ("This verb speaks of the state in which we habitually are; of the condition, external and internal, in which we abide; when a substant. in the accus. follows, the notion conveyed is that of keeping permanently in the condition. Cf. specially Matt. xvii. 20, where '*having* faith' is not simply *believing*, but *being constantly full of faith*—so Bretsch. 'Lex. Man.' *s.v.* See in St John's Gospel, viii. 12, ix. 41, xv. 22—24, xix. 11; 1 John v. 10 (cf. Heb. xii. 28. This pregnant use of *have* is also characteristic of the Apoc. See vi. 9, xii. 17, xix. 10).

If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves] "It is to be noted who speaks here—a faithful Apostle of Christ, and a veteran moreover." (Bengel.)

we deceive ourselves] or *mislead ourselves*. (Used by LXX. in Exod. xiv. 3 as translation of "they are *entangled* in the land.") Not only like "men whose life has gone astray" (Spenser, 'Faerie Queene,' Book 1. Cant. iv. 36), but like men who lead their own lives astray.

the truth is not in us] It may be round us, near us, acknowledged, contended for, but it has not penetrated the soul. It remains an external rule perhaps, but a dead letter. It is not *in us*.

8, 9, 10. Have we not the abiding reality of sin? If we say so we are but misleading ourselves, self-deceived and self-involved in our pride, and the truth is not in us. Have we only sin in the abstract, not definite, personal, actual sins to confess? Nay, we have such, though still with a blessed hope of pardon. Are we not sinful in our present condition, as the result of past sin? (note the perf. *v.* 10). Nay, if we say so, we are worse than liars. We make Him a liar. The whole substance of His word is absent from our inner being. Our life is a practical negation of that doctrine which is absolute truth; for "the imagination of our own sinlessness is an inward lie." (W. Archer Butler.)

9. *If we confess our sins*] The petition in the Lord's Prayer supposes the Christian *perpetually* penetrated with the sense of sin. It is implied in it that he prays *daily* for forgiveness. (Luke xi. 3.)

It has been urged by some that the prayer was given by our Lord to disciples who had not yet risen above the position of Judaism. But this verse beyond all question applies to Christian believers.

he is faithful and **righteous**] These two attributes are conjoined in Psalm cxliii. 1. *Faithful*, as abiding by His Promise. *Just* or *righteous*—there is some temptation here to conjecture that the word is used of goodness generally, with an under-meaning of *gentleness* and *benignity* (cf. Matt. i. 19—and the character of the true Christian *gentleman* in Ps. cxii. 9). But the slight allusive touch in the word *unrighteousness* at the close of the verse (which is lost by the *just* of the A. V. at the beginning of it) seems to fix the more usual meaning.

that He may forgive us our sins] *i.e.* in order to, or with a view to, "forgiving us." (See Winer, 'Gr. Gr.' p. 483.) The word can scarcely, however, be limited to bare forgiveness. Among its various senses, indeed, running as they do in Lexicons round the compounds of *missio* (*emissio*, *dimissio*, *omissio*, *permissio*) we must include

remissio. This is specially applied to *debt* (Deut. xv. 1, 2; LXX.) and to *sin*, looked upon as a debt incurred (Matt. vi. 12, xviii. 27). But in the Old Testament it is used by LXX. as the translation of verbs signifying *expiation* (Isai. xxii. 14), *ablation* (Ps. xxv. 18), *pardon* and *indulgence* (Num. xiv. 19). "We cannot argue from the word alone that God in forgiving sin doth only and barely release the debt." (Bp Pearson on Creed, Art. x.)

our sins...all unrighteousness] There are in Exodus xxxiv. 7 three words for *sin* under different aspects, "iniquity, transgression, sin" (A. V.)—sin as *vanity, nothingness;* sin as *separation* from God; sin as *mistake* and *error* —*ἀνομία, ἀδικία, ἁμαρτία* (LXX.). If we may be guided by the Hebrew words of which they appear as the translation, we should say that *sin* is transgression as a terrible mistake, *unrighteousness* as a separation from God. See also the important note on Ps. li. 3.

10. *we make him*] A peculiar Johannic phrase, "to declare one to be such by word and deed" (1 John v. 10; cf. Gospel, v. 18, viii. 53, x. 33, xix. 7—12).

his word is not in us] "The Divine word is regarded as a thing which may pass over into subjectivity" (Düsterd), cf. "Ye have not His word abiding in you," Gospel v. 38. The expression is parallel with, and an advance upon, "the truth is not in us," supra *v.* 8.

As this Epistle alone in the N.T. is addressed to a generation which had grown up in the midst of Christian tradition, and surrounded by Christian influences, it would quite naturally (as it does here) give prominence to the Christians' perpetual need of pardon. In dwelling upon pardon once obtained, and sanctification once begun, Christians sometimes forget that pardon is to be always sought, purification to be always going on. We are perpetually to pass through new pardons and new purifications, coming from new surrenders of self to Christ. This passage (esp. *v.* 9) certainly does not speak of "one pardon of all sins, past, present, and future," but of continuing sinfulness and ever-renewed pardon. The appointment of the general confession and absolution in the Prayer-Book for *every day in the year* is perhaps the best practical commentary upon the spirit of these verses. Cf. also St Paul's exhortation, "be ye reconciled to God," with his magnificent recognition of a great change which had taken place once for all, and remained in its consequences. 2 Cor. v. 20; cf. *v.* 17.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. I. 2, 4, 5.

2. "By the prep. *πρός* in this place is meant the utmost possible *proximity* without *confusion*, and *likeness* without *sameness*" (Coleridge, 'Table Talk,' p. 13), "*with* signifies both *propinquity* and *difference*" (Grotius). The prep. of motion with the verb of repose involves eternity of relation with activity and life (Coleridge, *ibid.*), cf. Gospel, i. 1, with Luther's pregnant Commentary. "The *with* sounds as if the Word were different from God; therefore he takes it up again, and *closes the ring*—"and the Word was God." (Cf. Proverbs viii. 30—where, however, אצל is translated by a different prep. in LXX.)

4. An exhaustive consideration of the passages in St John in which *οὗτος* occurs leads to the following conclusions.

(*a*) That *οὗτος* with *ἵνα, ἐάν, ὅτι always* points to that which *follows* (Gospel, iii. 19, v. 18, vi. 29, xv. 12, xvii. 3; 1 John ii. 3, iii. 11, 23, v. 3).

(*b*) That *οὗτος alone generally* refers to that which *precedes*. Thus in 1 John v. 13, 14, the *ταῦτα, these things*, in *v.* 13 must refer to that which *goes before*—the *αὕτη...ὅτι* in *v.* 14 to that which is just coming (see Gospel, ii. 22, xiv. 25, xv. 11, 21, xvi. 1, 3, 4, 25, 33, xvii. 1, xx. 31, xxi. 24).

Still there remain several exceptions to conclusion (*b*): in Gospel, i. 19, v. 3; in First Epistle, ii. 25, 26, *v.* 25, "*this* is the promise," *i.e. that which follows; v.* 26, "*these things* have I written unto you," *i.e. that which goes before.* [It has been suggested that the solution is to be found in the use of the *singular* and the *plural*—the *singular* always referring to that which precedes. (Lücke.) But this is very precarious.]

5. We are not merely to look upon this use of *αὐτός* as a Christian equivalent of the way in which the Pythagoreans used to speak of their master. (Compare for this—"And him—O wondrous him! O miracle of men!" 'Henry IV.' Act II. Scene 3.) There is a higher consciousness pervading the use of it by St John and St Paul. Among the Hebrews הוּא (hū), He, He Himself, like *hu* among the Persians, *αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος* among the Greeks (Simon. 'Onom.' 549), denotes God in the religious *usus loquendi*, and therefore אביהוא (Ăbhīyhū, *αὐτόθεος*) with אביה אביאל (Ăbhīyāh, Ăbhīyēl). [Fuerst, 'Heb. and Chaldee Lexicon,' p. 10. Cf. Mark xii. 32, where the true reading is—"for there is *One*" (*God* being incorrectly supplied in T. R.), "and there is none other but HE." "The practice of denoting God by the pronoun of the third person was common among the Hebrews. The name Elihu ('He is my God') is one example." (Renan, 'Job,' p. 153.) God and Christ run so completely into one subject that the subtlest criticism often seeks in vain to sever them (1 John ii. 5, 12, 25, 28, 29, iii. 1, 2; 2 John *v.* 6. See

Tholuck 'On Hebrews,' Vol. II. 63). For this solemn and reverential use of αὐτός, see besides the passages just cited, Luke i. 17, v. 16, 17, ix. 51; the αὐτός, *twelve* times repeated of *Christ* in Col. i. 16—20; finally the probably true reading of Hebr. x. 12 (αὐτὸς δέ, "but HE"). Contrast, as significant of subtle differences of character, St Paul's effusion and expansiveness in again and again reiterating our Lord's names (*e.g.* 1 Cor. i. 4—9; 2 Cor. iv. 10, 11, 14) with St John's general love of tender periphrases. (Very striking is the passage ending with the words referring to *Christ*—τοῦ Θεοῦ...ἐπαγγελλομένου, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτός. S. Ignat. 'Epist. ad Trall.' XI.)

God is Light] In all languages at all stages of culture, light has been used as the most appropriate representation of God's holiness, bliss, and goodness. Light has been, not unsuccessfully, appealed to as the first real educer of the religious instinct of the idiot. (Mentioned in a Report of the Earlswood Asylum a few years ago.) To the Arabs it is so potently suggestive, that by one well versed in their modes of thought, they have been supposed to lose the object of their worship in His own glorious emblem, and thus to practise in a peculiar form the idolatry which their creed abhors. (Palgrave's 'Travels.') Of the effect of light upon a scientific man of the highest eminence the following interesting record has been preserved. "The predominance of light as a figure and a symbol in Clifford's writings will be remarked: he associates it with the right and all things good so constantly and naturally that it is one of the marks of his style. He had physically a great love of light, and chose to write when he could in a clear and spacious room, with the windows quite free from curtains." (W. Kingdon Clifford, by Frederick Pollock, 'Fortnightly Review,' May 1, 1879, pp. 686, 676.) The same passion for light may be traced constantly in St Augustine. (See especially 'Confess.' X. 34.) Poetry connects light instinctively with our highest ideas. Cowley apostrophizes it,

"Swiftness and Power by birth are thine!"

The exquisite beauty of Dante's allusions to light is admirably drawn out in Dean Church's Essay.

But "there is no poetry" (says Herder) "which on the subject of *light* can be compared with Hebrew. The very word (אוֹר, *or*) has a lofty sound, and is the special symbol of joy." ('Geist v. Heb. Poes.' p. 55.)

CHAPTER II.

1 *He comforteth them against the sins of infirmity.* 3 *Rightly to know God is to keep his commandments,* 9 *to love our brethren,* 15 *and not to love the world.* 18 *We must beware of seducers:* 20 *from whose deceits the godly are safe, preserved by perseverance in faith, and holiness of life.*

MY little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not. And if any man sin, we have an

CHAP. II. **1, 2.** The object of this teaching is holiness. "My children, these things I am writing to you, in order that ye may not continue sinning. Yet, if any one may have committed some act of sin (it may be!) you and I have an Advocate."

1. My children!] There are two different words in this Epistle alike rendered "little children" in A. V., τεκνία and παιδία, the first in ii. 12, 28. iii. 18, iv. 4; the second in ii. 13, 18. Both seem to have been caught from the lips of Him who speaks in the Gospel (the first, xiii. 33; cf. Mark x. 24; the second, xxi. 5). There seems to be some distinction between the two; St Paul's use of τεκνία (in Gal. iv. 19 alone in his Epp.—possibly, however, τέκνα) appears to shew that it signifies the spiritual relation of children in the faith to a spiritual father. It will be seen (inf. *v.* 12) that the first of these two words is used generally of all sons in the faith, and includes adults; while the second designates properly the age or characteristics of childhood (Luke i. 80, ii. 40; 1 Cor. xiv. 20), as a *class*, with special reference to the earliest period of human life (inf. *vv.* 12, 13). Thus the first is a more definite and technical term, and has a specific reference to spiritual fatherhood, and may be translated *my sons* or *my children;* while the second is the gentle and benevolent address of "age in admonishing youth, of authority in charging subordinates, of wisdom in instructing ignorance and inexperience." (Reiche 'Comment. Crit.') It will be best to translate this last by the more endearing word, **Little children!**

That ye may not sin. And yet if any may have sinned. [ἁμάρτῃ, *past isolated single action*, not *present continuous* or *future action.*] **And yet.** This rhetorical use of καί—the καὶ of paradox—in connecting two propositions, of which the last *seems* contradictory to the first, is noted by Stallbaum ('Plat. Apol.' 29 b). It is rather frequent in N. T. (Matt. vi. 26; 2 Thess. iii. 15; Apoc. iii. 1 are good instances). Two remarks may be made: (1) On the Gospel mode of *making men virtuous.* Not by an appeal to interest or happiness, or even to the eternal fitness of things and to the will of God. These answers to the question "why should we be virtuous?" are all true in some measure, some very nobly true. But practically they meet with little success. But the appeal "Be virtuous, because i. 7—9 is true" *has* succeeded, and will succeed as nothing

advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous:

2 And he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but

else can. (2) To the general end and principle "that ye may not sin," there is here an apparent exception, "if any man may have sinned," &c. One illustrative passage may be cited. "Although the design of the Gospel be that we should erect a throne for Christ to reign in our spirits, and this doctrine be therefore preached 'that we sin not;' yet, *if one be overtaken in a fault*, despair not. Christ is our Advocate, and He is the Propitiation; He did propitiate the Father by His death, and the benefit of that we receive at our first access to Him. But then He is our Advocate too, and prays perpetually for our perseverance or restitution respectively." (Bp Taylor 'Of Repentance.') It is peculiarly necessary here to preserve the exquisitely adjusted balance in the divine original of invigorating effort for the Christian's strength and comfortable promise for the Christian's weakness. No encouragement is given to those who continue in present, or to those who meditate future sin.

we have] The Apostle tenderly and humbly includes himself among them who have and need an Advocate.

we have an advocate] παράκλητον ἔχομεν. On the pregnant sense of *have* see note supra on i. 8.

Paraclete, "one who is called in by his good word or countenance to aid him whose cause is to be examined, or whose petition is to be considered." The word occurs five times in the New Testament; four times (in St John's Gospel) of the Holy Ghost; once (in this verse) of Christ. It will be best here simply to refer to the exhaustive note on St John xiv. 16.

an advocate] "Christ is our Advocate: (1) *interpretatively*, by pleading before the Father His merits or blood; (2) *formally and properly* by pleading for us—not by prostration as a suppliant, but by expressing His desire for the salvation of His people, in such wise as may beseem Him" (Est.). "Christ pleads the cause of His Church with the Father; the Holy Spirit with men" (Grotius).

with the Father] Christians have never adopted the formula "Christe! ora pro nobis." For His intercession is not verbal and temporary. It is interpretative and continuous. He pleads with His Father—not at particular seasons, like the Jewish High Priests—but perpetually by His very Being and Presence. (Voss. 'Harmon. Evang.' p. 423)

Two remarks remain to be made: (1) The intense conviction of Christ's *living Personality* in St John's heart. He is for St John not merely a memory, but the living Advocate. He continues the same work which the Apostle saw Him begin upon earth, only elevated above the condition of time and space. The "way" for us through the veil is a "living way" (Heb. x. 20). Earth's great men live on in their work, or in the principles which they have embodied and represented. The work of Luther or Napoleon is linked to their *history*; the work of Jesus is linked to His *Person*. (2) Some modern critics have asserted a dogmatic difference between this passage and St John's Gospel (xiv. 16), which speaks of *another Comforter*. This is so far from being the case that this very passage in the Epistle is, so to speak, one of the asterisks which point its readers back to the Gospel; one of the *suggestions* implying a question which only the Gospel can answer. When Jesus speaks of "*another* Comforter." He implicitly gives this very title to Himself.

Jesus Christ **who is righteous**] "Our version, Jesus Christ the righteous, is rather beyond the original. As it is, St John has said only, 'Jesus Christ, a righteous Person'" (Bp Middleton). Note, however, that this apparently casual epithet fits into one great leading idea of the Epistle, because it points gently to the picture in the Gospel. Jesus Christ is not only a sage teaching a system of beautiful ideas to a school. He is not only the Word who is the Life. He is *Righteous* (observe the position of the word closing the verse). What stress is practically laid upon this may be seen further on, where the Christian's life is declared to be an imitation of His *righteousness*, 1 John iii. 7—10.

2. *And he is*] The present of "to be" is used by St John especially, with a presentiating shade of thought and meaning when He speaks of our Lord. It is thus used of His life on earth (1 John iii. 3, 5, 7), of His life in heaven (iii. 2, iv. 17). So here of His propitiation. It is not merely an isolated act of history. It is abiding and present. Cf. the old Collect for 15th Sunday after Trinity, "Keep Thy Church by Thy perpetual *propitiation*" (*propitiatione perpetuâ*).

propitiation. "Ps. cxxx. 4; LXX. ἱλασμός, only there and in Dan. ix. 9; Neh. ix. 17 (The *verb* in 2 Chro. vi. 21, 25, 27, 30, 39); Vulg. *propitiatio*, 1 John ii. 2" (see Kay, 'The Psalms,' p. 418). 'Ιλασμός, ἱλαστής, after Hebrew usage, are from ἱλάσκεσθαι, "to cause sins to cease." Thus "He is a propitiation, *either* (1) by means of the *effect* produced by His obedience, as Rom. iii. 25 (ἱλαστήριον), *i.e.* one who renders God propitious (Gom., Vorst.), *or* (2) as an expiatory Victim, offered upon the Cross, by which God was rendered propitious (August., Piscat., Est.). The advocacy of Christ is here based upon His offering; and we have

also for *the sins of* the whole world.
3 And hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments.

three characteristics of it: (*a*) It is *present* and *abiding* ("He is"); (*b*) it is *propitiatory*; (*c*) it is *universal*.

The doctrine of the Atonement is not dependent for its life upon any one phrase or figure—therefore, not upon this of propitiation. Yet it is useless to attempt to evade its force. "Was it," it has been asked, "that God needed to be *propitiated*? Such a thought refutes itself by the indignation which it awakens. From the *Epistle to the Hebrews* it has passed into modern theology. We can live and die in the language of *St Paul* and *St John*." (Prof. Jowett.) Yet *English-speaking* Christians, at least, have not learnt to apply the idea of propitiation to Christ's work from the Epistle to the Hebrews. (In the *original*, indeed, of Heb. ii. 17, it does occur, but in our A. V. neither there nor elsewhere in that Epistle.) To *them* it comes exclusively from Rom. iii. 15, and from St John's Epistle, who does not shrink from repeating the word, *infra* iv. 10. So completely at one in this matter are St Paul, St John, and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

for our sins] The technical *sacrificial* prepos. used with verbs signifying expiate, offering for.

for those of the whole world] whole (ὅλον) signifies fulness of *quantity*; *all* (πᾶν) completeness of *number*.

world] In St John "the *world*" denotes either (1) creation, the universe (xvi. 24), or (2) "the sphere of mingled good and evil, receiving many Satanic influences, and also capable of certain germs of good," or (3) men universally (iii. 16, vi. 51), as in this place, or (4) that element in the material and human world, in the sphere of mingled good and evil, which is external to God, His Spirit, and His Church. [The signif. of the word is well traced by Dean Vaughan, 'St Paul's Epistle to the Romans,' p. 15.] The sense of the love of God sometimes falls upon narrow hearts. There is a self-righteousness from the sense of *special favour*, no less than from that of *special merit*. None ever drew the line between the Church and the world more distinctly than St John (see *infra*, v. 19). Yet now that "the barriers of a nation had been broken down, the boundless perspective of the Christian horizon broadens on his view." (De Broglie, 'Hist. de l'Empire et l'Église,' I. 99.) This universal statement does not really contradict, but rather explains, our Lord's statement in St John's Gospel (x. 15), even if we decide that "for the *sheep*" there includes *believers alone*. In the Divine idea and purpose Christ laid down His life for *all*. In historical reality and fact it will profit those only who receive it. "He knows that it will only take effect for the last, and therefore He says, 'I lay down My life in favour, on behalf of the sheep'" (Godet, 'S. Jean,' II. 291). The connection, i. 8—ii. 2, is admirably traced by St Augustine: "i. 8—If you confess yourself a sinner, the truth is in you; for that truth is light. Your life is not yet a perfect splendour, for sins are in it; but you have begun to be enlightened, because you confess your sins. For see what follows (i. 9): not only *past sins*, but those which we happen to contract from the present life; for men in this life cannot but have sins, though they be not of the graver kind. And lest he should seem to give impunity to sins in i. 9, and men should say 'Let us sin securely, for Christ cleanses us'... note what follows (ii. 2): 'Yes; but sin perhaps creeps in from human life. What then? Shall we despair? Nay, listen (*v.* 1, ad fin.): He then is the Advocate. Take heed not to sin. If sin shall have crept in from human frailty, at once see and condemn it. And when you have condemned it, come without fear to the Judge. There you have the Advocate. Fear not to lose the cause. If a man in a worldly cause commits himself to an eloquent pleader, and is safe, shall you trust yourself to the Advocate and perish? No! '*We have an Advocate*.' Mark St John's humility. He says not '*ye* have'; nor 'ye have *me*'; nor even '*ye* have *Christ*.' But he puts forward Christ, not himself; and he says '*we* have,' not '*ye* have,' placing himself in the rank of sinners." ('In Epist. Joann.' Tract. I.)

SECTION III. (*a*). ii. 3—6.

3—6. "And we know that we have made ourselves acquainted with, and at present continue to know Him by this simple fact, if we carefully and thoughtfully keep Christ's commandments. Some man perhaps vaunts, 'I have made myself acquainted with, and continue to know Christ.' Suppose that such an one keep not Christ's commandments. Christ's word which is the truth dwells not in his inner being. But if a man not only keeps the commandments one by one, but observes that word as a whole, truly such a man not only knows God, but his love to God reaches towards the standard of ideal perfection. By this we test our communion with Him. He that vaunts a vital abiding with Christ, ought himself to walk continuously, to make his walk of life such as Christ made His one great Life-walk here upon earth." (Gospel, viii. 29, vi. 57, "As He hath sent Me, so I live for Him—to manifest His Life and Majesty.")

3. *hereby*] In this that follows, namely, *if*... See note on i. 4.

4 He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.

5 But whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected: hereby know we that we are in him.

6 He that saith he abideth in him

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we do know that we have the knowledge of Him (Alford)]. A gentle parody of the ambitious gnosis of the Gnostics (Hengst.). It is denied by some critics (Lücke) that to *know* signifies the experimental knowledge of love. But the Hebrew word, of which it is the transl., is lit. to *perceive* or *understand*, hence in a secondary sense to have *intimate acquaintance*, and corresponding love. (On יָדַע, *γινώσκειν*, LXX. see Fuerst, 'Heb. and Chald. Lexicon,' p. 543.) Hence in LXX. the word is used to denote man's loving knowledge of God (Ps. ix. 10; 1 S. ii. 12; Job xviii. 21; Hosea viii. 2) as well as God's loving knowledge of man. In the text the word is not merely the "knowledge of Him as Advocate, as Propitiation" (Hammond), but *loving knowledge*. "*Knowledge* is placed in these Epistles twenty-seven times as the fundamental ethical and spiritual principle, *faith* only seven times" (Rev. C. A. Row).

if we observe His commandments.] The verb (*τηρῶμεν*) signifies to keep the eye fixed upon an object; hence to keep the eye of the soul fixed upon the commandments, in our desire to perform them thoughtfully and conscientiously. (Cf. "deditæque eò *mentes cum oculis* erant." T. Liv. 'Hist.' I. 9, quoted by Bretsch. 'L. M.' *s. v.*)

his] of *Him*, sc. Christ. See note on i. 5. This practical teaching is unlike mere mysticism, in which there is generally a tendency, more or less, to a sort of pantheistic absorption of morality in the spiritual element. In all parts of the Christian Church, perhaps, immorality has from time to time co-existed with some degree of capacity for emotional religionism or of zeal for assumed orthodoxy. The Apostle meets this plainly and decidedly. Here is the test by which to distinguish morbid religionism, or ostentatious orthodoxy, from true religion.

4. *He that saith*, **I have knowledge of Him**] "A prosopopœia of one vaunting his knowledge of Christ."

observeth not His commandments] The negative here has an emotional and subjective tinge, quite in accordance with St John's character. He does not assert it as a fact that there is such a person actually; but given the existence of such—"he is a liar," &c. "Some Gnostics, who professed to be perfect, said that they were no more polluted by sins than gold by mire, or sunbeam by the dunghill." (Hammond.)

the truth is not in him] The Cod. Sinait. strikingly adds, "the truth *of God*."

5. In *vv.* 5, 6 we have an instance of one of St John's most beautiful peculiarities. We find frequently a parallelism in his writings; but not the mere monotonous parallelism, the cycloidal composition, the eternal tautology, with which that favourite mould of Hebrew thought has so often been charged. (See a beautiful defence in Herder, 'Geist von Hebr. Poes.' Part I. 1.) Thus here—"to observe His commandments" (*v.* 4) is much; "to observe His word" (*v.* 5) as one great whole is more, *i.e.* not merely keeping the commandments in act, but the word of Christ, one and indivisible. Again, the "love" in this verse is, in expression, an advance upon the "knowledge" in the last. Well and briefly Grotius—"He who not only observes the *commandments* but the *word* not only *knows* God, but perfectly *loves* Him. Love presupposes knowledge." For marked examples of this "accessional parallelism" in which each successive member of an antithesis is made to go beyond that which precedes, and the last ripple of thought always breaks highest up on the beach, cf. i. 6, 7, ii. 4, 5, 6—9, 10, 11, 13, 14—20, 27, 28, v. 18, 19. (See Introd. to the Epistle.)

verily in this man his love of God is perfected] "The love of God," *i.e.* his love toward God. This is the general sense of the phrase in St John (see Gospel, v. 42; cf. xv. 10; 1 John ii. 15, iii. 17, v. 3). When *God's* love towards man is spoken of, *either* the context is different (1 John iv. 9), *or* some periphrastic expression is thrown in which determines the meaning (cf. "the love that *God hath*," 1 John iv. 16). The verse has been explained away (mainly for the dogmatic purpose of opposing *perfectionism*) in two ways; either (1) by maintaining that "the love of God" here is *God's love to us*; or (2) by joining the adv. "truly" immediately with the verb "perfected"—"In such a man love is truly perfected, in deed and truth, not in mere name." The question must be decided by St John's use of the word "to perfect." See Gospel, iv. 34, v. 36, xvii. 4, 23, xix. 28; 1 John iv. 12, 17, 18. In speaking of "perfection" the Apostle here, as often elsewhere, expresses an ideal standard. In proportion as we advance towards this ideal of a perfected, finished love towards God, "we know that we are in Him."

in him] *in*—study this little word which is so great. The force of *in* (*ἐν*), applied to separate, yet intimately connected personal existences, is strikingly illustrated by St Luke, xi. 19, "if I *in* (*ἐν*) *Beelzebub*." "It has an

ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked.

7 Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment which ye had from the beginning. The old commandment is the word which ye have heard from the beginning.

8 Again, a new commandment I write unto you, which thing is true

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energetic sense. It signifies not only *by authority* of Beelzebub, but by Beelzebub *dwelling personally* in Him," by a mutual inter-existence, so to speak, of one with the other. (Godet, 'Comm. sur l'Év. de S. Luc,' II. 74.)

6. *he that saith*] as in *v.* 4, a notion of vaunting implied—"giving out." Cf. Luke xxiii. 2 ad fin.; Acts v. 36, viii. 9.

he abideth in him] One of those truly Johannic words, which he had caught from the lips of Christ. It signifies not only "abiding patiently," or "moral perseverance," (Lücke), but vitally and mystically. It is the compression of John xv. 1—5 into a single word, and implies spiritual immanence, interpenetration of life and spirit. "No words (it has been truly said) expressive of the soul's union with God, can be pantheistic, unless they imply that the soul ceases to be, and becomes essentially one with God."

ought] **is bound**, lit. "is in debt" (ὀφείλει), is morally bound.

is bound, even as He walked, so also himself to be walking.

even as he] The pronoun here (ἐκεῖνος) is constantly used by St John in an exclusive sense, with a sort of tacit antithesis. "**He**, and He alone." It will be seen what meaning this gives to many passages in the Gospels (i. 18, 33, ii. 21—He who had the true secret; xiv. 26, *i.e.* He shall teach you, in antithesis to Me who leave you; ix. 9, *i.e.* others said so-and-so, but he who knew best said, "I am he." Here it signifies—"as He walked, and He alone." The pronoun is *reverential* and *reserved*. Observe in *v.* 6, the contrast of *tense* in speaking of Christ's walk, and the Christian's—"is morally bound, as **He** made His one great life-walk, so also himself to walk continuously." The **walk** denotes the action of life, external and internal, wherever we are or turn on the path by which we must go. The word was used by our Lord metaphorically (John viii. 12, xii. 35), and from thence passed into the vocabulary of Christians (Acts xxi. 21; Eph. ii. 10; Col. iii. 7; Rom. vi. 4). May not St John with his subtle delicacy—in keeping with his constant practice throughout the Epistle—refer to the very word which he had used (with touching allusion to the homelessness of Jesus) historically in the Gospel—(1) of the Lord's life in Galilee ("Jesus walked in Galilee," vi. 7) and in Judæa (xi. 54), and (2) of His disciples' communion with Him (vi. 65)? (Bretschn. well says of the word "to walk"—"After the Hebraistic usage it denotes, *habitually being* or *dwelling in* a particular place or way of life. St John vii. 1, xi. 54, in which passages there is also a reference to the fact that Jesus taught as He went itinerating—*ambulando docebat.*") (See 'Lex. M. N. T.' *s. v.*) The walk of Christ is the Christian's highest and only standard, and St John refers to that description of it, which he had traced for them. The verse is another finger-post, pointing to St John's Gospel—another *suggestion* of a question which that Gospel only can answer.—"Even as He walked." How did He walk? The answer is written at large in the Gospel. The Christian life, as conceived by St John, is at once a continued humiliation (1 John i. 9), and a continued aspiration (ii. 4). It utters itself in a long *miserere* (i. 8—10)—for "true repentance must run through the state of holy living" (Bp Taylor)—and in a long *excelsior* (ii. 6). The first is embodied in the daily General Confession, the second in the order of the Christian seasons.

SECTION III. (*b*). *vv.* 7—11.

7. **Beloved**] Cf. iii. 21, iv. 1, 7, 11. "Brethren" only occurs in this Epistle in iii. 13.

I am writing *no* **fresh** *commandment*] There are two words alike translated *new* in the A. V. (καινός, the word in this verse, and νέος). Of these, the first (*novus, nouveau*) expresses that which is *new* in relation to *quality*, set over against and occupying the place of the outworn or effete (Heb. viii. 8—13); the second (*recens, neuf*) expresses that which is new in relation to *time*. The first denotes novelty, intellectual, ethical, spiritual, and may sometimes be rendered *fresh;* the second, novelty temporal and chronological. (See note Col. iii. 10.) St John is speaking of no *single* commandment, but of the one entire Gospel commandment. The commandment was in a sense old to those who had it so long; in a sense fresh and new, because it superseded and took the place of an older one.

8. *which thing is true in him and in you*] These difficult words are variously understood. (1) Some refer the relative "which" to the idea contained in the word *new*. "I am writing a new commandment unto you, *which thing* (*i. e. new*) it *truly* is" (ἀληθές used adverbially), or "which quality of newness it truly possesses in Christ and in you." But

in him and in you: because the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth.

9 He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now.

10 He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none †occasion of stumbling in him.

†Gr. *scandal.*

11 But he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he

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this is harsh, and opposed to St John's use of words. (2) Harsher still is another view, "Again, I am writing to you *as* (sub. ὡς) a new commandment, *this thing* (τοῦτο) which is true," κ.τ.λ. (Knapp). (3) Rather *vv.* 7, 8 may be thus explained naturally—"Beloved (in bidding you walk as Christ walked, *v.* 6), I am writing to you not a fresh commandment, but an old commandment which ye have always had and held fast from the beginning of the Gospel. The commandment, that old commandment, is no isolated one, but the entire word which ye heard once for all. Again, a fresh commandment I am writing unto you, *which taken as a whole in its universality* (ὅ) is true, and of which you have attestation, partly in the example of Christ in the Gospel, partly in your own experience."

because] Some explain the connection—"which thing is true, is realized in this, that the darkness," &c.

is passing by] (Alford); "is drifting by" (παράγεται). Two uncials (ℵ A), possibly by a slip of the scribe, read "shadow" (σκία). "The shadow passeth." (Hammond.)

the light, the very light] Not the *true* as opposed to the *false*, but as opposed to the *imperfect*—not *veracity* but *realization*—not harmony between word and thought, but embodiment of essential idea. The "very light," then, is that which corresponds absolutely with the highest idea of light—which is all that light can be. It should be especially noted in St John that when a *natural* and a *spiritual* object are designated by one word, the last is always called *very*, while the material is considered but as the shadow and image. (i. 9, vi. 32, xv. 1.)

enlighteneth, or **is enlightening**] St John does not use the middle, as generally in classical Greek, but the active—not *shining* so as to be recognized, but *enlightening* so as to dispel darkness; as in the Collect, "Lighten our darkness." Note the *present*, in act yet in continual progress. Cf. Gospel, i. 5.

9. **in the darkness**] as his proper element, in exile from the light of God. His state is the contradiction of that mentioned in St John's Gospel, iii. 21. When we consider the impression made upon the Apostle by the life of our Lord, and the tone in which he speaks of Judas staggering out into the darkness of night ("and it was night," xiii. 30), it would seem as if then he fully realized the symbolical significance of darkness.

hitherto] (ἕως ἄρτι) used by St John only here, and Gospel, v. 17.

10. *there is none occasion of stumbling in him*] Lit. **scandal in him there is not.** Scandal (from a word meaning to halt) is used by LXX. for the wood in a trap (Ps. cxl. 5; cf. Rom. xiv. 13; Rev. ii. 14); then a stumbling-block upon which one strikes his foot (Rom. ix. 33; 1 Peter ii. 7, 8); thence, sin which entices our fellow-men to destruction. (Bretschn. See Additional Note at the end of the Chapter.) The root of St John's idea is in the Psalmist's words:

"Great peace have they who love thy law,
And no stumbling have they."
(Ps. cxix. 165.)

(1) They walk firmly and *safely* in the clear path of duty. (2) They are not *scandalized*, driven into scepticism, by the iniquity of the world or the defects of men professedly religious. Their soul is rooted and grounded in love, and while they desire to reform all faults, yet hoping all things, enduring all things, they retain peace, inward and outward. (Estius.) The God of peace is with them, and does not allow their strength to stumble beneath the burden. (Neh. iv. 10.) (3) They are free from the "stumbling of heart" (1 S. xxv. 31), the paralysing weakness which follows on the consciousness of having wronged, or of bearing ill-will to a brother." (Kay, 'The Psalms,' pp. 399, 400.) Neander well grasps the force of the passage. "Whilst walking in the dark, we are in danger of stumbling at every step. When the road is lighted, we walk with confidence. So with the spiritual walk. Without light, we are always exposed to the danger of stumbling. But the guiding light of the Christian walk is Love. Love communicates an exquisite tact which knows how to profit by every circumstance of life, and to distinguish the right from wrong in every action and event. Love then gives security and withdraws us from the empire of passion and hatred, which darkens the judgment."

11. Note the solemn and picturesque eloquence of the *accessional parallelism* in this verse. The inner condition of him who hates his brother—"is in darkness" ("the night has crept into his heart." See quotation from Tennyson just below)—the outward life—"walketh in darkness." (Cf. ἐν σκότει διαπορεύονται, Ps. lxxxii. 5, ὁ ἄφρων ἐν σκότει πορεύεται, Eccles. ii. 14, with ἐν σκοτίᾳ περι-

goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes.

12 I write unto you, little children, because your sins are forgiven you for his name's sake.

13 I write unto you, fathers, be-

πατεῖ in this verse.) He has lost his point of orientation—*he knoweth not whither he goeth*, to what unsurmised guilt and punishment. Something follows, worse than darkness above—the darkness has not only blinded him, but *blinded his very eyes* once for all. He has lost the very faculty of sight! (Could the Apostle have thought of creatures who, in dark caverns, not only lose the faculty of sight, but have the visive organs *atrophied?*) A great living poet has presented the same image, applying it however not to *sin* but to sorrow:

"But the night has crept into my heart,
and begun to darken my eyes."
Tennyson, 'Ballads and other Poems. Rizpah.'

See remarks upon the occasional *picturesqueness* of St John's style in the Introduction. For his feeling of the symbolism of night and darkness, cf. Gospel xiii. 30. The fall of Judas lies in the background of the terrible picture. See note, *supra*, *v.* 9. Cf. also Matt. vi. 23.

SECTION III. (*c*). *vv.* 12—17.

"All that I write to you is intelligible to you and will be realized only under certain conditions which are fulfilled in your case. I write this epistle to you, dear children in the faith, because your sins having been blotted out are forgiven for His Name's sake. I write it to you, fathers—because ye have known Him, the Eternal Word, who was from the beginning. I write it to you, youths—because ye have won a triumph and are victorious over the evil one. As with the whole epistle, so with what is written. I have written it to you, little children! because ye have known the Father; to you, fathers—because ye have known Him who was known to you from the beginning; to you, youths—because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you as the source of strength, and ye are victors over the evil one. Now here is my solemn warning: 'Love not the world.' If any man love the world, &c. For all that is in the world—I speak not physically, but morally—I mean, the lust whose seat is in the lower nature, the lust which is fed through the eyes, and the vaunting arrogance of life—has not its origin from the Father, but from the world. And the world is shifting and passing away, and the lust which it excited; but the doer of the will of God abideth for ever."

12—14. These verses will be made clearer by two remarks: (1) According to the reading commended by the *majority* of best MSS. and by the *symmetry* of the periods we have *six* clauses, divided by the different tenses of γράφω —*I am writing* (γράφω), *I have written* (ἔγραψα). Thus:

i. I *am writing* unto you.
  (A) Children (τεκνία).
    1. Fathers.
    2. Young men.
ii. I *have written* unto you.
  (B) Little children (παιδία).
    1. Fathers.
    2. Young men.

The thrice-repeated "I am writing" refers to the whole Epistle; the thrice-repeated "I have written" points to the portion of it which was already written.

(2) The temptation of dividing the spiritual life into three ages, corresponding to childhood, youth, old age, has led many preachers and expositors into inaccuracy. (After St Augustine. "Children, fathers, youth are here. In children, we regard their *birth*—in fathers, their *age*—in young men, their *strength*.") The first clause of each series is marked by a general address, which includes the old and the young—"children" (*v.* 12), "little children" (*v.* 13). In each case, those who are universally called "children" in the first set of clauses, "little children" in the second, are divided into *two* classes, "Fathers" and "Young men." The verses might gain in impressiveness and clearness of representation by standing thus:

12. I am **writing** unto you, **children!** because your sins are forgiven for His name's sake. (13) I am **writing** unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning. I am **writing** unto you, young men, because ye have overcome the wicked one.

I have written unto you, **little children!** because ye have known the Father. (14) I have written unto you, fathers, because ye have known Him that is from the beginning. I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the Word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one.

It certainly seems, at first sight, somewhat difficult to understand this importunate prolixity of affection. But the unusual form gives an emphasis of its own. All that he was about to write, or had written, would be practically meaningless unless they had received forgiveness and grace, and the faculty to embrace and understand it. All his spiritual children on entering into covenant with God had had their sins forgiven, and been brought into "a state of salvation," a permanent condition of acceptance. The elder, as life

cause ye have known him *that is* from the beginning. I write unto you, young men, because ye have overcome the wicked one. I write unto you, little children, because ye have known the Father.

14 I have written unto you, fathers, because ye have known him *that is* from the beginning. I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one.

15 Love not the world, neither

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went on, learned to know no theological novelty—no new ideological Christ—no temporary juxtaposition of an Æon with a man of exceptional holiness—but the Everlasting which was from the beginning. The young, confirmed in the faith, had within them a fountain of perennial youth and energy through the personal Word abiding in them. Here is another *suggestion* of a question only to be answered by the Gospel—"The Word of God abideth in you." How so? St John xiv. 23.

12. *are forgiven*] The verb is in the perfect (Winer, p. 294), expressing a permanent state as the result of a past condition. In reference to the Christian life, and its general history, St Paul habitually uses the *aorist*, St John the *perfect*. (In one magnificent passage, St Paul combines his habitual baptismal aorist of the one great change with the Johannic perfect of the intended abiding result. "The old things *passed away*, all things have become and consequently are new." 2 Cor. v. 17.) St Paul employs the aorist in its *strictest aoristic sense* of the great spiritual change as summed up in *one* act—"*potentially* to all men in our Lord's Passion and Resurrection; *actually* to each individual man when he accepts Christ, is baptized into Christ" (Bishop Lightfoot, 'Revision,' pp. 84, 85). St John by the perf. binds the present with the past, and speaks of the abiding result of the past in the present.

for His name's sake] His—see on i. 5. On "the name" see on 3 John 7. "Note that confidence in remission of sins is a help, not an impediment, to piety and the fear of God." (Calv.)

13. **have knowledge of Him that is from the Beginning**] The "have knowledge" is not an allusion to a personal knowledge of Christ on earth among the aged believers. "He that is from the beginning" is not here the Ancient of days, the eternal Father. (This interpretation arose from a sentimental concinnity between the "fathers" and the Fatherhood of God.) It must mean, therefore, one of two things: *either*, (1) "ye have knowledge of the old Christ, whom ye have known from the beginning of your Christian experience" (the somewhat superficial interpretation of Macknight and others); *or* (2) most probably—"the eternal Pre-existent Christ, who was from the beginning"—"Christ, new in His Flesh, ancient in His Divinity—Begotten by the Eternal Father, from eternity, in eternity. Exod. iii. 14; Psal. lx. 3; St John i. 5." (St August. 'In Epist. Joann.' Tract. II. Cap. ii. 5. Opp. Tom. III. Pro. 1992.) Cf. 1 John i. 1, and note on "from the beginning." "Ye have known the Person who was from the beginning, who has existed from eternity. The text is another of those which affirm the eternal pre-existence of Christ, and harmonizes exactly with the language of St John in the exordium of his Gospel." (Bp Middleton, 'Greek Article,' p. 440.)

14. Note again the addition, the *accessional parallelism* in—"ye are strong, and the Word of God abideth in you" (*v.* 14)—compared with the simple "have overcome the wicked one" (*v.* 13). For the Word of God here being the living Personal Lord, cf. *infra* iv. 4; John xiv. 18, 23, xv. 5. Consider the advance upon Ps. cxix. 9. The thought of the indwelling of *Christ* in the heart is also the ground of the exhortation in 1 Pet. iii. 14. Some modern writers represent the Holy Trinity as simply three manifestations of God—the Father God in nature, the Son God in history, the Holy Ghost God in conscience. But Scripture does not represent the Father *exclusively* as God in nature. (Ps. civ. 3; Col. i. 16.) Nor again (as we see in this verse), the heart or conscience as the sole and exclusive domain of the Holy Spirit.

15, 16, 17. A warning against the love of the world. (For *the world*, see above on *v.* 2. The *world* here is used in the *second* of the senses there indicated.) "That sinfulness which is dominant in the whole race of man; that collective common life of sin, depending on spiritual contagion and example, which then ruled supreme in the earthly order, and corrupted it to the heart's core—that Jesus summed up under the name of the *world*." (Döllinger, 'First Age of the Church,' I. 28.) St John in his strongest prohibitions never runs into fanatical excess. "All that is in the world" without the appositional qualification ("the lust of the flesh") might justify the extremest spirit of monasticism. It is not of *material things*, but of *worldly lusts* that St John affirms that they are not *from the Father*. There is deep truth in Augustine's remark—"By the world is signified not only the fabric which God hath made of heaven and earth and

the things *that are* in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.

16 For all that *is* in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world.

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sea; but the dwellers in the world are called the world, as both the walls and their inhabitants are called the house. Sometimes we praise the house, and censure its inhabitants. All lovers of the world, because they inhabit the world by their love of it, are called the world."

There are *two* reasons given by St John for this admonition.

i. "If any love the world, the **love towards the Father** (see on *v.* 5, *supra*) is not in him."

This is the application of the law of human nature that two master-passions cannot co-exist in one man (cf. Chalmers' Sermon, with the profound and suggestive title 'On the expulsive power of a new affection'). "Shut out the evil love of the world, that thou mayest be filled with the love of God. Thou art a vessel, but so far thou art filled—Pour out that which thou hast, that thou mayest receive that which thou hast not." (St. August. *ut supra*, 1994.)

ii. The fleeting character of the world, its irremediable transitoriness. **The world is passing away**, drifting by in ceaseless change (*v.* 17).

No Christian teacher has more deeply understood these words than St Augustine. "Let us not love those things which are in the world." St John adds this to "Love not the world," lest any should reason in this way: "Heaven, earth, ocean, moon and stars, the ornaments of the sky, are in the world. God made them, why should I not love that which God hath made?" Well, God forbids not that thou shouldest love them, but that thou shouldest love them so as to find thy bliss in them. It is as if a spouse should give his betrothed a fair and precious ring. And if she should love the gift more than the *giver*, would not her heart be convicted of unfaithfulness, even though that which she loved were her lover's gift? If she said—"his fair gifts are enough for me, I care not to see his face"—where were her love? The spouse bestows the gift to this end, that *he* may be loved *in it*." ('In Epist. Joann.' Tom. III. P. 2. 1995.)

16. *the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life*] Not merely *voluptuousness*, *covetousness*, *ambition*, as in old systems of moral theology. We cannot always fit the language of St John more especially into the pigeon-holes of modern terminology. We lose more in truth and depth than we gain in deceptive clearness, by translating language which is spiritual and mystical into the apparently more precise and definite language of modern moral philosophy.

the lust of the flesh] The act of desiring, and that which is desired, run up into one. (For *lust of flesh*, cf. Gal. v. 16—24; Ephes. ii. 3; 2 Pet. ii. 18.) It is a general term for all the propensities which objects presented to our senses have a tendency to awaken. In St Paul, St John, and St Peter, it generally signifies the *animality* of man, as the natural "fountain," or "hearth," or "seat," of appetites in the bad sense—(*fomes*)—human nature so far as it is animal and instinctive, unrenewed by the gift of the indwelling Spirit, unregulated by the Divine law, and lusting against that law. To this is constantly opposed the nature of man, transformed and *instrengthened* by the Holy Spirit, and thus elevated into the wider sphere of true reason (Rom. vi. 19, vii. 18, 25, viii. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 13; Gal. v. 8, 16, 17; Ephes. ii. 3; Col. ii. 18; 2 Pet. ii. 18). See dissertation in Introd. to Romans.

flesh] Note the careful distinction between *flesh* and *body* in Scriptural language. See notes on Rom. vii. and viii. and on Col. ii. 18.

of the eyes] desire so far as it is conveyed by the movement of the eyes. The sins of *envy* and *voluptuousness* are connected with the eye in the New Testament (Mark vii. 22; 2 Pet. ii. 14). It may well be that St John was thinking, in part at least, of the sanguinary and voluptuous fascination of the circus and theatre, of which the history of the Church contains a striking example in Alypius (St August. 'Confess.').

arrogancy *of* **living**] The word here translated *life* is not that which almost universally in Scripture denotes *higher life*, but a different word (*βίος*), which means the organic life; the period of time during which we preserve it; and that which belongs to its prolongation of pleasurable enjoyment. (See *infra*, iii. 17.) Sometimes all this is summed up in *riches*. *Pride* (*ἀλαζονεία*, lit. *the character of an ἀλαζών*)—a word which in classical Greek has almost a notion of gasconade and imposture (Arist. 'Ethic. Nic.' IV. 7, 11); *twice* used in New Testament (James iv. 16, and here). The phrase is variously translated and understood. ("Secular ambition," St Aug.; "arrogant and self-assuming pomp," Beng.; "swelling pride and phantasy of life," Chrysost.; "desire of boastful display in the conduct of life," Ebrard; "vanity, love of display, deliberate self-seeking," Neand.) It has been remarked that "the pride of life" is, as it were, projected outward, and set in a

17 And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.

18 Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there

material framework in the gorgeous description of the "merchandise" of Babylon in Apoc. xviii. 11—14—On these three antispiritual principles. "The lust of the flesh has the lust of the eyes as a subtle form of itself, and attains its culmination in the pride of life" (Düsterd). "St John indicates three special forms, under which the worldly spirit which he attacks is revealed: (1) carnal desires, (2) desires awakened in the soul by the objects of sight, (3) vanity, love of *éclat*, deliberate self-seeking. Thus, satisfaction of sensual desires, love of pleasures, and pride, are the three principal forms of the worldly spirit, here signalized by St John" (Neander). Of all that has been written on this verse, three passages may be selected for reference: one, among the most vivid and interesting of ancient theology, almost a treatise on the whole subject, and specially on the lust of the eyes, in St August. ('Confess.' x. 35); another, valuable for its application to our Lord's threefold Temptation, in Dr Mill 'On the Temptation,' pp. 60—85, 86; the third, Bossuet, 'Traité de la Concupiscence—Expos. de 1 Joann. ii. 15, 17.'

is not from the Father, but from the world it is. [See Additional Note.]

17. And the world is passing by, and the lust of it. For *passing by*, see on *v.* 8 *supra*. The thought of the *passing by* of the world's shifting scene lay very deep in the heart of primitive Christianity (cf. 1 Cor. vii. 31). All higher spirits, indeed, recur to this in their truest moments. Even Goethe, that "pagan in Christendom," cried, "*Die Gestalt dieser Welt vergeht;* und ich möchte mich nun mit dem beschäftigen, was bleibende Verhältnisse sind." "The *fashion of the world passeth away;* and I would fain occupy myself only with the abiding" ('A French Critic on Goethe.' 'Quarterly Review,' Jan. 1878, p. 163). "The current of things temporal sweeps along; but like a tree over that stream has arisen our Lord Jesus Christ. He willed to plant Himself, as it were, over the river. Are you whirled along by the current? Lay hold upon the wood. Does the love of the world roll you along in its course? Lay hold upon Christ. For you He became temporal, that you might become eternal; for He was so made temporal as to remain eternal." (St August. *ut supra.*)

but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever] There is slight authority for the very striking addition in some Fathers of the Latin Church, "even as God also abideth for ever." The world passeth away, and the pleasure which has the world for its object is as evanescent as that object. But "he who continues doing the will of God" is "not accessible to earthly vicissitudes; for him death does not exist. He is partaker of a life of unchanging happiness, which will only attain its complete development when earth, with its life and riches, shall have passed away" (Neander). "Join thy heart to the eternity of God, and thou shalt be eternal with Him" (St Aug.).

SECTION IV. ii. 18—28.

"Dear children! I have spoken of the world's unabiding character. Well, its last fixed period now is, and as ye have heard of Antichrist's solemn predestinated entrance upon the stage of history, so, as it is, many Antichrists have come into existence, and are now. From whence we practically know that it is the last period. They went out from us, but they were not of us. Had they been of us, which they were not, they would certainly have remained continuously with us. They went out that they might shew once for all that they are not all of us. Ye on the other hand have nothing from Antichrist; ye really have and hold a chrism from Christ the Holy One of God, and consequently know all that ye need know on this. Why then, it may be said, do you write? I have not written to you because ye have not learned and do not know the truth, but because ye know it, and that no lie is of the Truth. Who is the liar, unless we conceive it to be he who denies that Jesus is the Christ? The Antichrist is this, the denier of the Father and the Son. And remember every denier of the Son hath not the Father, while he who confesses the Son hath the Father also. Ye then—that which ye once heard from the beginning, let it abide in you—if that which ye heard, and nothing else, abide in you, ye too shall abide in the Son and in the Father. And to encourage you to remain—this is the promise which He promised, eternal life. These things that precede I have written to you, concerning those who would deceive you. And ye—the chrism which ye have once received abides in you, and ye have no lack to need that any such as I should be teaching you, but as *His* chrism is your teacher and is true, and is not a lie, and as it once taught you, so shall ye abide in it. And now, dear ones, abide in Him, that when He be manifested we may have boldness, and not be ashamed before Him when He comes."

18. *Little children, it is the last* **hour** (ὥρα)] **Period** (χρόνος, time in reference to *duration*, or *chronological succession*; καιρός, time in

many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time.

19 They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would *no doubt* have continued with us: but *they went out*, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us.

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reference to *events*, or *historical adaptation*; ὥρα, time (generally brief) in reference to *fixed date*, chronologically assigned limit of human or Divine purpose). It will be observed here, again, that we have "a root below the stream." The connection lies in the substance of the thought. St John has been speaking of the drifting by of the world. Hence he proceeds to speak of "the last hour." "That last hour is long; yet it is the last." The "root below the stream" is keenly seen by St Augustine: "Some might probably say—how is it the last time, the last hour? Certainly Antichrist must first come, and then the day of Judgment. John saw their thoughts: lest they should become secure, and suppose that it was not the last hour, because Antichrist was to come, he adds, *v.* 18—Could that hour have many Antichrists, if it were not the last?" (St August. *ut supra*, 1998.)

heard] A lesson taught by Christ Himself (Matt. xxiv. 24; John v. 43, "another" who "shall come in his own name") and by His Apostles (Acts xx. 29, 30; 2 Thess. ii. 3 (see note there); 2 Cor. xi. 4; 1 Tim. iv 1).

antichrist] This word is absolutely peculiar to St John. The general use of ἀντί (*contra*) and the meaning of the similarly formed word ἀντίθεος (St Just. M. 'Quæst. et Resp.' q. 103, p. 463) lead to the conclusion that the term means "adversary of Messiah." The Jews derived their conception from Daniel vii. 25, viii. 25, xi. 36; Ezek. xxxviii.—ix. The *name* was probably formed by St John. It was believed by the Jews that Antichrist would appear immediately before the advent of Christ. (See references in Grimm and Bretschn. *s. v.*) Cf. inf. *v.* 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7. Our Lord mentioned "pseudo-Christs" as a sign (Matt. xxiv. 24). St Paul gave a solemn warning to the very Churches which St John now specially addressed (Acts xx. 29). St John saw these principles and the men who embodied them in full action, and it was an indication for him of "the last period." So far Christians had only learnt in general to expect the personal appearance of one great enemy of Christ, the Antichrist (*ye have heard that Antichrist cometh*). In his Epistle St John gives solemn warning that those heretics who denied the God-Man were not merely precursors of Antichrist, but impersonations of the Antichristian principle—each of them in a true sense an Antichrist. The term is used by no other sacred writer, by St John himself only five times (1 John ii. 18, twice; ii. 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7), and that specifically to characterize heresy denying the Incarnation, Person, and dignity of Christ as God-Man. Antichrist is "the liar;" his spirit and teaching is a lie pure and simple. The *one* Antichrist, whose coming was stamped into the living tradition of the early Church, and of whom believers had necessarily "heard," is clearly distinguished from many who were already in existence, and were closely connected with him in spirit (1 John ii. 18, 22, 26, iv. 3, 6; 2 John *v.* 7). Probably St John expected the chief Antichrist, the "theological antagonist of Christ," before the Personal Advent. In 2 Thess. ii. we find the same idea of a singular *individual* of pre-eminent wickedness, while St Paul does not call the "Man of Sin" Antichrist. [See note on 2 Thess. ii. 3.] In the Apoc. we have a delineation of an *Antichristian power* (xiii.—xvii.); in St Paul and in St John's Epp. of the "eximious *Antichristian person*." (H. More, 'Theol. Works,' 552.)

cometh] There is solemnity and elevation in the word. It denotes a solemn predestined entrance of any great messenger of God, or representative of an idea, upon the stage of history. It is the almost *technical* term for Christ's appearing (Gospel, iv. 25, xii. 27. Cf. Matt. x. 34, 35, xi. 3; Luke vii. 20, xvii. 20, of the Kingdom of God). Hence, it is applied to the Man of Sin or Antichrist, and well brings out the *parody* of Christ. Cf. John v. 43, x. 8; 2 Cor. xi. 4; 2 Thess. ii. 3. See more especially notes on the elaborate parody of Christ by the Man of Sin.

so now] corresponding to *as* in *as ye have heard.*

many antichrists are in existence] they have come into existence, and are. See Additional Note. [1 John iv. 3.] Cf. for the thought, and that with special reference to Ephesus and the other Churches of Asia Minor, Acts xx. 29, 30 (Matt. xxiv. 24). Note that St John speaks of Antichrists newly risen up; for the importance of this as bearing upon the polemical object of the Epistle, see Introd. on the polemical aspects of St John's first Epistle.

19. *They went out from us*] Cf. "certain which *went out from us*," Acts xv. 24.

But they were not of us, for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us. On ἐξ, denoting emphatically origin from the very centre and essence of anything, see note on 1 Thess. ii. 6. The *no doubt* of the A.V. is better omitted. The meaning is, "had they been

20 But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things.

21 I have not written unto you because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it, and that no lie is of the truth.

22 Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son.

23 Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father: [*but*] *he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also.*

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from us, *which they were not*, they would have continued with us, *which they did not.*" "They would certainly have continued communion with us" (Hammond). "See from this that many who are not from us receive Sacraments with us...they receive Baptism with us; they receive in common of the very altar, and are not from us" (*ut supra*, 1699). See Additional Note.

that all are not of us (Alford).

20. *ye have...from*] Signifies having something received from another, as its author and giver (Bretschn.).

unction or chrism] (χρῖσμα), allusively to *Christ* and *Antichrist*. "Ye are not of Antichrist! ye have chrism from the Christ, the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Holy One." "This spiritual unction is the Holy Spirit Himself" (St August.). "The Holy Spirit is called and is unction and seal" (St Athan. 'Epist. III. ad Serap.' 'Opp. Dogmat. Select.' Edd. Thilo, 768). For "the oil of holy ointment" (χρῖσμα ἅγιον) see Exod. xxx. 25 LXX.; cf. Ps. cxxxiii. 2 sqq. *Oil* denotes the Holy Spirit in Scripture. Remark the *prohibition* of *oil* and *frankincense* with *sin-offering* (Levit. v. 11)—the *frankincense* as symbolising acceptable prayer (Levit. vi. 13; John ix. 31), *oil* as denoting the *Spirit* of joy and freedom (Ps. li. 12)—to indicate that sin and the Holy Ghost are mutually exclusive. (See Hengst. on 'Sacrifices,' p. 385.) We are Christians as anointed by the Holy Spirit (2 Cor. i. 21; cf. 1 Chro. xvi. 22). It should be noticed that while St John does not here mention the Holy Ghost directly, he begins the subject in a form peculiarly his own. For it is common with him, before introducing some great topics, to prepare the way by allusive hints, delicately playing round a subject which is to be more fully handled presently. *E.g.* "the birth from God," *introduced* 1 John ii. 29, is *expanded* iii. 9; "confidence" *introduced* iii. 21 is *expanded* v. 14. The symbolical *unction* in this place is a prelude to the fuller music of the *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, infra iii. 24, iv. 13, v. 6. "Antichrist shall not lay his disanointing hand upon you. You have and hold chrism from Christ, the gift of the Holy Ghost." [Hence chrism was used at a very early period in connection with baptism and confirmation. Bingham, 'Antiquities,' I. 462, 514, 565.]

the Holy One] i.e. *Christ*, according to New Testament usage. Cf. Mark i. 24; Luke i. 35, iv. 34; Acts iii. 14; Rev. iii. 7.

ye know all things] Reference of *suggestion* to John xiv. 26. It must be remembered that *science* and *revelation* are two different spheres. The Apostle's assertion points to the Saviour's promise, and, like it, is limited to the last. For St John, in his inspired writings, there is nothing in the way of "work, device, knowledge, or wisdom" outside the margin of God's kingdom.

21. The connection here is supplied by an objection, which occurs to St John's mind as likely to be felt by those to whom he wrote. "If we thus realize our Lord's promise, recorded in the Gospel, and know all things, why do you write? Not because you have not learned, or do not know the truth, but just because you know it!"

that every lie is not of the Truth. It has been suggested that the ὅτι, thrice repeated in this short verse, is that of quotation. (The quotational ὅτι (*ὅτι recitativum*) is frequent in St Mark. See iii. 21, xvi. 11.) "I have not written *this*—'ye know not the truth'—but *this*—'ye know it'—and *this* finally—'every lie is not from the truth.'" It may be noted that St John's sternly severe view of truth makes it certain that he would have shrunk with horror from the manufacture of discourses dramatically put in the mouth of our Lord, or from any false or highly-coloured representation of His work. Cf. Apoc. xxii. 15.

of the Truth. Cf. iii. 19 with Gospel, xviii. 37.

22. **Who is the liar, but** &c.

The Antichrist is this, he that denieth the Father and the Son.

the liar. "Something more is meant than 'a liar.' The context leaves no doubt that 'the liar' is the same with the Antichrist following" (Bp Middleton, p. 440).

that Jesus is the Christ] "Jesus has one signification, Christ another: though Jesus Christ our Saviour is one, Jesus is His proper name. As Moses, Elias, Abraham, is called each by his own name, so our Lord Jesus has that as His own proper name; but Christ is the name of His offices." (St August. *ut supra*, 2002.)

23. The words bracketed in A. V. should be retained here for two reasons. (1) The

24 Let that therefore abide in you, which ye have heard from the beginning. If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son, and in the Father.

25 And this is the promise that he hath promised us, *even* eternal life.

26 These *things* have I written unto you concerning them that seduce you.

27 But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in [1] him.

[1] Or, *it.*

preponderance of witnesses, uncials and other MSS. (A, B, C, ℵ, Cod. Amiat.). (2) The accordance with St John's style, who delights in repeating his weightiest thoughts in one peculiar form, *i.e.* first *positively*, then *negatively* (i. 5, 8, ii. 4, iii, 6, iv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, v. 12).

he that confesseth the Son, &c.] Modern Rationalism and the so-called 'spiritual philosophy' of Deism are proofs not less truly than Judaism of the truth of this oracle. These systems, expounded with touching eloquence and consummate ability, desire to give up the historical Christ, and to cling to the idea of *the Father*. In common with Judaism, they reject the worship of Christ, professedly out of reverence for the Father. But, by a necessary process of thought, the rationalist and spiritual Schools are constantly being absorbed in atheism or pantheism. God, opposed to Christ, is not the Father, the living God; He becomes a metaphysical abstraction, alternately expanded into the monstrous God who is all, or diluted into the shadowy God who is nothing. When Voltaire, rapt into momentary enthusiasm by a sunset upon the Alps, exclaimed "God the Father! I adore Thee," and then, as if ashamed, added a disclaimer of worship of the Son, he furnished, however unwillingly, one other exemplification to this text. It is the expression of true Christian Theism against Judaism, Deism, and Mahommedanism. Cf. especially the thought in 1 Pet. i. 21.

24. That which ye heard from the beginning let it abide in you; if that which ye heard from the beginning abide in you, ye also shall abide in the Son and in the Father.

In the A. V. we have three different words (*abide*, *remain*, *continue*) for the same Greek word. On "abide" see note *supra*, *v.* 6. **abide in the Son.** The truly *Johannic* idea —in the Son (xiv. 19, 20, xv. 4, 7; 1 John ii. 5, 6, 24, 28, iii. 24, v. 20), is also truly *Pauline*. See on the *mystical* meaning of ἐν, note on 1 Thess. i. 1, and Rom. viii. 1 (III. 146 and 707). Cf. also 1 Pet. v. 14.

25. And (to encourage) **this is the promise that He promised us, even the eternal life.**

he] See on i. 5.

the promise] See on i. 4 (the word ἐπαγγέλιον occurs nowhere in St John).

the eternal life. For the accus. here as "an apposition comprehended in a relative clause," see Winer, p. 552.

26. *These things*] *i.e.* those which go before. See note on i. 4.

them that seduce you] **are for misleading you.** Cf. i. 8.

27. And ye—the unction which ye received from Him abideth in you, and ye have no need that any man be teaching you; but as His unction is teaching you concerning all things, and is true, and is not a lie, and as it taught you, so shall ye abide in Him.

His unction or *chrism*, *i.e.* the Holy Spirit (Athanas.). For the strength and joy of this cf. Ps. xcii. 10, "The same anointing" (A. V.) (τὸ αὐτὸ χρῖσμα) (A, B, approved by Bengel, Lücke, Huther, Lachmann, Bp Wordsworth). So quoted by St Athanas. ('Epist. I. ad Serap.' 23). **His unction** (τὸ αὐτοῦ χρῖσμα) (C, ℵ, Cod. Amiat. (*unctio ejus*), approved by Tisch. and Reiche. The latter critic gives the following reasons in its favour.

i. The word *His* is of importance in the argument. It brings out the efficacy of the unction as *Divine*.

ii. The marked advance of thought in St John's usual manner. The expression shews the relation of the Holy Spirit to Christ as *His* Spirit more essentially and *dogmatically* than "ye have an unction from the Holy One" (*v.* 20), or "the anointing which ye have received of Him" in the earlier part of the present verse. The copyists might not have thought "His unction" a very intelligible or even reverent expression.

all things] See note on *v.* 20.

and is true] "That is, the Spirit of God Himself who teaches men cannot lie." (St August.)

as it hath taught] **taught** once for all.

ye shall abide] The imp. *abide ye* has very considerable support (A, B, C, ℵ, Cod. Amiat., *manete in Eo*—approved by Düst., Huth., Lach., Bengel, Lücke, Tisch.). Reiche prefers the fut., (1) from *v.* 25, where the language is not of *command* but of *hope* and blessed

28 And now, little children, abide in him; that, when he shall appear, we may have confidence, and not be ashamed before him at his coming.

augury; (2) there is a subtle beauty in the change from *v.* 27 to *v.* 28—"ye shall abide in Him" (*v.* 27)—"well, then, children! do abide in Him" (*v.* 28). So, in the inverse order in *v.* 24, "let that which ye have heard abide in you...ye also shall abide" &c.

as His unction is teaching you concerning all things... and as it taught you. "As the Spirit excites the whole spiritual life, so He exercises an influence upon the power of spiritual knowledge" (Olsh.). These words have an important *controversial* and *practical* bearing. (1) Development through a continuous revelation by an infallible organization, or by an individual human being, is, to say the least, ignored. The language is such as surely could not have been used by any one who held that view even implicitly. (2) We may cite two passages from two spiritual teachers in different ages. (*a*) "The sound of our words strikes on the ear; the Teacher is within. I, for my part, have spoken to all of you:—but they to whom the unction within speaketh not—whom the Spirit within teacheth not, go away untaught. There are certain appointed outward offices and administrations for our behoof. The Teacher in the heart hath His chair in Heaven" (St Aug.). (*b*) "Persons deprived of all human aid often advance the work of sanctification more by continually renouncing themselves in order to follow the impulse of the Holy Ghost than by all the precepts and methods of masters of the spiritual life. The Holy Spirit, who dwells in a justified soul, is a great director, when we are willing to listen and know how to hear Him. *His anointing teacheth you of all things*" (Lombez, 'Paix Int.').

28. *little children*] **children.** See note, *supra*, ii. 1.

confidence...ashamed] Opposed, as in Phil. i. 20. (See Prov. xiii. 5, LXX.) Παῤῥησία is literally "liberty of speech to speak out all we think." It was the almost technical word used by Athenians of their privilege as citizens. Eurip. 'Hipp.' 442; Plat. 'Rep.' 557. ["Right of free speech is the badge, the privilege, of the servant of Christ. See especially 2 Cor. iii. 12." Bishop Lightfoot, 'Philippians,' p. 89.] "Confidence in the original denotes the entire freedom with which we unburden, in presence of an intimate friend, all which can weigh upon our heart" (Neander).

not be ashamed at his coming] *In* (ἐν) with a subst. after defines a term of time. Here, **when He shall have come**—"when the last trump shall sound" (1 Cor. xv. 52)—"*in them* is filled up the wrath of God," *i.e.* when they (the plagues) shall have finished (Rev. xv. 1).

coming] The technical term for the coming of Christ, 2 Thess. ii. 8 (and of the Man of Sin as His unholy caricature and counterpart). This verse and the following are of very high dogmatic importance, because they prove the unity of Apostolic teaching upon *eschatology*, and shew that the notion of a visible, exterior, historical advent is *not* "foreign from and unknown to St John," or inconsistent with his idealizing mould of thought. (See Meyer on St John's Gospel, xxi. 22, 23.)

not be ashamed before him] (αἰσχυνθῶμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.) A Hebraism. The verb "to be ashamed" (בּוֹשׁ, to grow pale, to change colour for shame) is translated by LXX. as in the text (Jer. ii. 36, xlviii. 13).

SECTION V. ii. 29—iii. 9.

"If ye know (*theoretically* or *scientifically*) that He is righteous, ye know (*practically*) that every one who doeth righteousness has been born of Him, and continues to be His child. We may well dwell upon this Sonship as regards the present and the future.

"As regards the present. Behold! of what marvellous love the Father is a giver to us, that we should be, and be owned to be, the children of God. For the very reason that we are such, the world has no real knowledge of us, because it has not taken knowledge of Him.

"As regards the future. As it is, we are children of God, and what we shall be is not yet manifested once for all. We know that when *that* (*i.e.* 'what we shall be') may have been manifested we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is. And this is a very practical truth. Every one who holds and cleaves to this hope reposed in God is perpetually purifying himself even as He, Christ, is pure.

"This is no unnecessary teaching. There is no charm by which *subjective* sin ceases to be *sin objective*, by which the intrinsic character of actions is transformed in virtue of those who perform them. Every doer of sin is a doer of transgression. There may be a formal difference, there is an essential identity between them. Ye know that He has been once manifested for the very purpose of removing the guilt and power of sin, and speck or stain of sin in Him there is not. Every one vitally abiding in Him is therefore no habitual sinner. Every such habitual sinner has no true historical knowledge and insight into His character, much less has he inner knowledge and love of Him.

"Dear sons, there are deceivers abroad.

"Let no man deceive you. He that doeth righteousness is righteous even as He is righteous. The sin-doer is of the devil, for

29 If ye know that he is righteous, [1]ye know that every one that doeth righteousness is born of him.

[1] Or, *know ye.*

the devil from the beginning of the world keeps on sinning; he does the devil's works. And how can he be on Christ's side, who does the very works which He has become incarnate for the purpose of destroying? No, he who having been born of God continues such, is no doer and worker of sin; because God's holy seed (*i.e.* His children) continues in abiding vital union with Him (*v.* 6), and it cannot continue in sin, because having been born of God it continues in that blessed condition."

29. **If ye know that he is righteous, ye are aware that every one doing righteousness is born from him.**

If ye know] *theoretically.*

ye are aware, *practically.*

doing righteousness. The part. pres. denotes the course, or tendency, in which a man continuously and determinately perseveres. Of the two verbs translated *do* in A. V. that which is here used (ποιῶν) is most appropriate to *doing good*, *i.e.* effective realization, abiding product.

righteousness] *Righteous, righteousness*, with St John denotes moral rectitude in some aspect of it. He calls Christ "righteous" with special significance in this Epistle (1 John ii. 1, iii. 7). "In St John's Gospel our Lord attributes *righteousness* to Himself (xvi. 10). The Holy Ghost will convince the world, not here of a righteousness to be found in Christ, but of a purer and more perfect type of *moral righteousness* than it had known or conceived, and that in one done to death by it, but taken up from its sight to God's Right Hand." (See Olshausen, 'Gospels,' IV. 92.) With St John the word is essentially *ethical*, with St Paul essentially *doctrinal*. Yet, even in St Paul, when it stands alone, it is *ethical*, not *dogmatic*. Note the strikingly *Johannic* phrase in Rev. xxii. 11.

is born of him] **is born from him**, *is born* (perfect, a present state as the result of a past action. See below on iii. 9). **From him** (ἐξ αὐτοῦ). [This addition (preserved with slight variation, *infra* iii. 9, iv. 7, v. 1, 4, 18) might be cited with some force in favour of translating the word rendered *again* in St John's Gospel (iii. 3) as *from above*. (ἄνωθεν, cf. also iii. 31, xix. 11. Ibid. *v.* 23, it is *local*, "from the *top*.") For (1) in the Gospel this word never denotes *again*. (2) The new birth is only directly mentioned *in this form* outside St John's Gospel in the present Epistle. It is one of the *loops* which specially fasten the two books to the same cover. Consequently the *birth from God* in the Epistle, so emphatically repeated, would seem to be the exponent of ἄνωθεν. (See, however, the note on St John iii. 3.) It may be noted that here, as so often, the Hebraic idea of the new birth of God, in connection with the registration and entrance of the citizens of the New City, is found in its first sense in the Psalter. (Ps. lxxxvii. 4, 5, 6.)] See Additional Note.

Justus justum gignit. (Beng.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. II. 10, 16, 18, 19, 29.

10. Two words in Hebrew are rendered by σκάνδαλον; (1) מכשל from root כשל to totter in the ankles, *i.e.* that against which any one stumbles, a stumbling-block—hence (*a*) *cause* of falling, (*b*) *incitement* to fall, (*c*) offence or scruple of conscience (1 S. xxv. 31, Gesen. *s. v.*), (2) מוקש from יקש, a hook or snare.

In LXX. οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς σκάνδαλον (Ps. cxix. 165), here καὶ σκάνδαλον ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν (1 St John ii. 10).

16. ἐκ "*figuratively* signifies every *source* and *cause*, *out of* which something flows." Winer, 'Gramm. of G. T. D.,' Pt. III., Sect. xlvii., p. 385.—"εἶναι, γενέσθαι ἐκ, *oriundum esse ex*; hinc, *de quâvis aliâ* origine. εἶναι ἔκ τινος, *ab aliquo proficisci* auctore" (Grimm, 'Clav. N. T.,' p. 129).

18. On "the last period" the following extracts will be of interest, as representing the opinions of two great scriptural students, and of the very different schools to which they belong. "1 John ii. 18, Grotius and Mede understand these Antichrists of the pseudo-Christs (ψευδόχριστοι, Matt. xxiv. 24) that our Saviour foretells of, which should start up before "the last time" of the Jewish Commonwealth, the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the ἐσχάτη ὥρα of Judaism. But ἐσχ. ὡ. signifies καιρὸς ἔσχατος (for עת is indifferently rendered ὥρα or καιρός), and the fourth kingdom in Daniel being the last. the time of that kingdom may be alsoi ntimated by it. Whence that in St John (1 John ii. 18) may signify this, viz. that the last time in Daniel's kalendar of his four kingdoms, *i.e.* the last kingdom, was then a running on, which is the Roman, during which kingdom the Little Horn, here called Antichrist, shall come upon the stage. This is ὁ Ἀντ., that famous Antichrist which ye have heard from *Daniel*, but this is a greater distance off. Wherefore (to speak what more nearly concerns you) "even now are there many Antichrists which not Daniel, but our Saviour

foretold of, whereby again we know it is the last hour; but I mean not of Daniel's four kingdoms, but of the Jewish Commonwealth, as our Lord predicted." Or briefly, "It is the last hour, *i.e.* last kingdom of the four, viz. the Roman; and as you have heard that Antichrist will then come, so also now, in the last time of the Jewish polity are many Antichrists; whence we may assuredly gather it is the last hour thereof—these many Antichrists, according to prediction, attending *this* last hour, as that one famous Antichrist *that*." Henry More, 'Theological Works,' p. 521. Again—"And the sense of both 1 John ii. 18—iv. 2, 3, may be this, namely, that whereas those to whom St John wrote had received a rumour or fame of that eximious Antichrist that was to come into the world in the last time, occasioned (I doubt not) from Daniel's prophecies of the Little Horn and of that King of Pride that would exalt himself above all; the event of these prophecies being further off, though at last certainly to come, he fixes their minds upon such Antichrists as were nearer at hand; and who, though but the types and figures of that great Antichrist to come some ages after, were yet of more concernment to them to take notice of: but in the interim describes Antichrist so, that though it does more palpably point at these types of the future Antichrist, yet the description, more narrowly searched into, takes fast hold also on that great Antichrist himself; forasmuch as it is implied, that it is one who by way of imposture puts himself into the place of Jesus, who is the true Christ, that King, Priest, and Prophet appointed by God, to whom all must submit. Which not only Barchocab and such false Messiahs in the Jewish Commonwealth have done, but he that has so made himself the Head of the Church as to null the laws and doctrines of Christ is deprehended to do the like also." (Ibid. p. 522.)

"The Apostle shews Christians that they should not be inattentive to the signs of the times. In fact, events do not succeed without order or reason. They make part of a vast plan, directed by God, and in which each event has its place. Speaking of the epoch in which he lived, St John calls it 'the last time,' *i.e.* '*the Christian period.*' It is so called because that period is the end and accomplishment of all previous periods; all which precedes it has only been the gradual preparation for it. The coming of Jesus Christ is the centre and corner-stone of the whole history of the kingdom of God. Starting from that moment, we assist at the development and application of this great fact; such is the substance of history since Christ. All which has followed forms one sole period, designated in its entirety—whatever its duration is to be—as 'the *last time;*' it extends to the final crisis of God's kingdom, which will commence with Christ's Personal coming." (Neander.)

18. γεγόνασι, perfect middle of γίγνομαι, "come into being:" γέγονα and ἐγενόμην supply the perfect and aor. of εἰμί, *I am;* γέγονα frequently has a present sense, "I *have been* born, and therefore am in existence," πέφυκα, Donaldson, 'Gr. G.' pp. 266, 286 (cf. Matth., Jelf, 'Gr. Gr.' I. 236).

19. εἰ γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἦσαν, μεμενήκεισαν ἄν, εἰ with indicative of historical tenses, when the truth of the antecedent is denied—"had they been, what *they were not*." The consequent is then generally expressed by a corresponding tense of indicative with ἄν, whereby *the truth of the consequence also is denied.* The pluperfect is used in such cases, to express the continued action of the consequent. See Jelf, Matth., 'Gr. G.' p. 474.

29. The most important objection to this view is that alleged by Tholuck. Nicodemus appears to understand ἄνωθεν as δεύτερον (St John iii. 4, "can he enter the *second time*, &c."). Tholuck also appeals to the *re*generative idea in Titus iii. 5 (παλιγγενεσία), 1 Peter i. 3 (ἀναγεννήσας), ibid. 23 (ἀναγεγεννημένοι). See Lange, 'Life of Christ,' II. 31; cf. also Bp Wordsworth, 'New Testament,' II. 162, Bretschn., 'Lex. Man. N. T.' *s.v.* γεννάω, and the important Additional Note on St John's Gospel, p. 63.

CHAPTER III.

1 *He declareth the singular love of God towards us, in making us his sons:* 3 *who therefore ought obediently to keep his commandments,* 11 *as also brotherly to love one another.*

BEHOLD, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God: therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not.

CHAP. III. 1. *what manner of love*] how great and marvellous. Cf. Matt. viii. 27; Mark xiii. 1; 2 Peter iii. 11.

that] "with the intention that we should be" (Winer, p. 481).

be called] "be, and be owned to be." (See Luke i. 32—35.) After *be called*, some read *and we are*, A, B, C, ℵ (*et sumus*, Cod. Amiat.). This reading is approved by Düsterd, Lachm., Huther, Tischend. (in his 8th edit.).

sons of God] St John *never* uses the word υἱός of any human child of God (xii. 36 is the nearest approach to an exception). He employs a different word (τέκνον) here

2 Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is.

3 And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure.

4 Whosoever committeth sin transgresseth also the law: for sin is the transgression of the law.

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and *v.* 2, iii. 10, v. 2; cf. Gospel i. 12, xi. 52. St Paul uses the latter rarely (Rom. viii. 16, 17, 21, ix. 8; Philipp. ii. 15) the former more frequently (Rom. viii. 14, 19, ix. 26; 2 Cor. vi. 18; Gal. iii. 26, iv. 6, 7. So Heb. ii. 10, xii. 5, 6, 7, 8; cf. Ps. lxxiii. 15). The first, probably, rather contemplates the *adoptive* act, by which one who does not belong to the family is adopted and brought into the relation of a son; the second the *nature* imparted to those who are born and produced by actual birth.

2. *now*] *as it is.*

it doth not yet appear] **it never yet was manifested.** (Alford.)

if it (*sc.* what we shall be) **shall be manifested.** Additional Note at end of these Epistles, p. 382.

like him] 2 Cor. iii. 13. "As the whole body, face, and above all eyes, of those who look at the sun become bathed in light (*insolantur*)." (Beng.)

"So clouds themselves like suns appear,
When the sun pierces them with light."
Cowley.

"The last words with which Arnold closed his last lecture on the N.T. were in commenting on 1 John iii. 2. 'Yes,' he added with marked fervency, 'the mere contemplation of Christ shall transform us into His likeness.'" (Stanley's 'Life of Dr Arnold,' II. 331, 332.)

"When some heathen converts to Christianity were translating a Catechism into their own language, they happened to come upon 1 John iii. 2; they stopped—"No! it is too much," they said, "let us write that we shall be permitted to kiss His feet." "The whole life of a good Christian is one act of holy desire for this." (St August. *ut supra*, 2008.)

3. *every man that hath*] Holds and cleaves to.

this hope in Him] **Him** should be so printed as to shew that *God* is the object on whom this hope reposes (ἔχων τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην ἐπ' αὐτῷ). Cf. ἐπὶ σοὶ, Κύριε, ἤλπισα, Ps. xxx. 1 (LXX.), and the subtly varied form of expressing hope's mode of resting upon God or Christ (1 Cor. xv. 19; 1 Tim. v. 5; 1 Peter iii. 5). The hope of poetry is *hopefulness*. "Hope delighted smiled, and waved her golden hair." (Collins' Ode on the Passions.) The hope of the New Testament is patient, comfortable expectation of the promises of God, built upon the sure foundation of God's word. But hope, like our strongest affections (anger, fear, love), is *personal* in its highest form; and so God Himself is the highest object of hope. "Hope in Him, or rather on Him (1 John iii. 3). And this is a special act of Christian hope to be thus unfastened from ourselves and fastened upon God." See the wise remarks of Hammond, 'Practical Catechism,' Lib. I., Sect. iii. and the note in this volume on 1 Pet. i. 3.

purifieth] is continually purifying himself. "The very hope of it now, if it be *fastened on God*, hath the power of making us pure" (Hammond). See South's Sermon on this text, and Paley's on Purity of heart and affection (Sermon XLII.). Augustine well notes —"See how he does not do away with free-will; for he says, '*purifies himself*—Who purifies us but God?' Yet God does not purify you when you are unwilling. Therefore, in joining your will to God, you purify yourself."

even as he] Here no longer αὐτός, but ἐκεῖνος (see on the antithetic use of this pronoun above on ii. 6), "as Christ, and Christ alone," &c.

is] *Presentiating* tinge of thought. The sinlessness of Jesus is still considered as present to faith.

4. **Every one that is doing sin is also doing lawlessness, for sin is lawlessness.** Every sin-doer also doeth lawlessness. (See Additional Note.) St Paul's idea is the same in 2 Thess. ii. 3—8. The "Man of *sin*" is also "the *lawless* one." St John's object is to state that there is no personal favour which charms away the intrinsic sinfulness of sins, and gives a dispensation to privileged individuals, by which *sin subjective* (ἁμαρτία) ceases to be *sin objective* (ἀνομία), by which the intrinsic character of actions is changed out of consideration for those who perform them. Every doer of sin is a doer of lawlessness, every sin-maker a law-breaker. "It is one of those exactly convertible or reciprocal propositions which are very rare" (Rose on Bp Middleton, 'Doctrine of Greek Article,' p. 55 note). The connection has been thus traced. "If we would not lose that hope, we shall aim at a universal and pervasive holiness. We shall refrain not only from palpable violation of the law, but from all sin, for it is false to suppose that the former can ever be separated from the latter. There may be a formal difference, there is an essential identity between them" (Storr and Michael. 'Einleitung,' 1520).

5 And ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins; and in him is no sin.

6 Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not: whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him.

7 Little children, let no man deceive you: he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous.

8 He that committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.

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5. *to take away our sins*] *Our* is omitted by some MSS. and editors (Lachm., Tischend.). It is not in A, B, *apparuit ut peccata tolleret* (Cod. Amiat.). It is, however, retained by C, ℵ, and others. Internal arguments tend to turn the balance in its favour. (1) Throughout the Epistle it is *we* who are spoken of as forgiven (i. 7, 10, ii. 1, iv. 10). (2) In *v.* 4 *supra*, sin has been spoken of generally. Here it is made special by including the Apostle and his readers. (See Reiche, 'Comment. Crit.' *in loc.*)

to take away] **that He should take away** by one act. Dogmatic disputes have arisen as to the exact meaning of the verb rendered "take away." In John i. 29 (cf. Isai. liii. 4, 6, 11) the context would certainly seem to lay more stress on the Lamb of God *bearing* sin by way of *expiation*, than lifting it from the sinner by way of *sanctification*. But "the act designated by αἴρειν being that which consists in lifting a burden, in order that it may not crush him upon whom it weighs, it is employed as the emblem of deliverance from *sin in general*, which includes both expiation and sanctification" (Godet, 'Sur l'Év. de S. Jean,' I. 292). The context here would seem to require us to think still more of lifting away the *power* than the *guilt* of sin.

And sin in Him is not.

6. *whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither* **knoweth** *him*] No *habitual* sinner (the present part. denoting *continuance in*) has attained a true historical knowledge of, and insight into, His character, much less has he gained inner knowledge and love of Him. *To see* in the New Testament often denotes clear religious knowledge (John i. 18, vi. 46; Heb. ii. 8). See the interesting note of Apollinaris on our Lord's words—"I speak that which I have seen with my Father: and ye do that which ye have seen with your father," John viii. 38—in Cramer, 'Catena,' II. 280. "In saying that He had *seen*, and with *His Father*, He indicated not seeing with the eyes, but the knowledge and insight which was in accordance with His nature; since in asserting that they also had seen *with their father*, He by no means signifies that they had been ocular spectators, but that by the wickedness which dwelt in their souls, they were familiar with the counsels and character of the evil one."

7. This verse is addressed by anticipation, not only to Gnostics, but to all in the Christian Church who "fashion out such a God as will, in Christ at least, in those that be once His own, by one knows not what fond affection appropriated to Himself, connive at their very sins, so that they shall not make the least breach between Himself and them." (Cudworth, 'Sermon before the House of Commons.')

is righteous, even as he is righteous] "*Even as* does not always or necessarily imply parity or equality. For instance, what a difference there is between the face of a man, and its reflection in the mirror! And yet we say *even as* there are ears or eyes in the one case, so in the other....He purifies us even as He is pure; but He is pure eternally, we pure by faith—we are righteous and He is righteous; but He immortally and for ever, we by believing in Him whom we see not." (St Augustine, *ut supra*, 2010.)

8. *the devil*] (ὁ διάβολος). See for this word note on John vi. 70. The interpretation of "accuser," "calumniator," appears to be fixed, both by the derivation and by Apoc. xii. 10; cf. 9. [The curious Hebraized word קָטֵיגוֹר, the transliteration of κατήγωρ, is used by the Rabbis. Buxtorf, 'Lex. Rabbin. Talm.' 2009*. Schoettgen, 'Hor. Hebr.' 1121 sqq.]

the devil sinneth from the beginning] Cf. John viii. 44. Genesis is recognized as worthy of credit. For arguments against the Manichean notion of an eternal personal principle of evil, see St Aug. 'De Civ. D.' XI. 13.

that he might destroy the works of the devil] *destroy* (λύσῃ), to weaken, deprive of power, abolish in principle; a word in this sense peculiar to St John (unless Matt. v. 19 be an exception). See Gospel, ii. 19, v. 18 ("was **destroying** the Sabbath"), vii. 23.

the works of the devil] Among the miracles recorded in the Gospels, a whole class, those of dispossession, peculiar to the synoptical evangelists, and especially to St Mark, are nowhere recorded by St John. But the evangelistic silence is no objection (John xx. 30, 31). We certainly read in him of no particular victories over Satan in the recovery of demoniacs. But it should be observed that they are here included, and referred to. It is false to say that possession was quite alien to St John's life or even knowledge. Moral

9 Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.

10 In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother.

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and spiritual possession is very strongly indicated by him (vi. 70, viii. 44, xiii. 27). As to the *knowledge* of the writer of the Gospel of the *idea of possession*, see John viii. 48, x. 20.

9. *Whosoever is born of God* **is not doing sin**...*because he is born of God*] (γεγεννημένος ...γεγέννηται, pft.). The tense shews that St John is speaking not of those who have been once regenerate, but of those who retain and develop the new life and continue in it; who having been born from God remain in a condition correspondent to the supernatural life which they have received in the birth of water and of the spirit; who persevere in "an *untirable* and *continuate* goodness." (Shakespeare, 'Timon of Athens.') Is this consistent (cf. also *infra* v. 1—4) with our Lord's words to Nicodemus (John iii. 3—5, 6, 7)? Perfectly. The natural difference between the *Epistle* and *Gospel* is that the Epistle gives the subjective version, so to speak, of the objective elements presented in the Gospel—a fact which accounts for apparently slight but most significant variations of expression. (Cf. i. 1 with 1 John i. 1, 2; xix. 34 with 1 John v. 6.) Our Lord, speaking to Nicodemus, contemplates the germ and first principle of the new life, which he had yet to receive. St John, writing to those who had long entered the kingdom, contemplates not the germ but the fruit, not the tendency but the realization, not the impulse towards and capacity of renovation, but the renovation itself. To Nicodemus our Lord declares how a man must enter into the kingdom, and be provided with spiritual faculties fitting him for it. St John in his Epistle speaks of the *ideal new life issuing from the new birth*. The fourth Gospel refers principally to the new birth, to the shower of grace; the Epistle of St John refers principally to the new life—to the growing of the grass long after the rain has fallen. (See Bp Browne 'on the XXXIX. Articles,' p. 636.)

for **His** *seed* **continues** *in* **Him.** The **His** ...**Him** refer to *God*, not to "whosoever is born of God." "Seed" (σπέρμα) is used as in Isai. liii. 10, lxvi. 22, for the holy stock of God's children. His holy seed **continues** in *abiding vital union* with Him. (The LXX. translate זרע by σπέρμα in these passages in the sense of *posterity*, *stock*, *race*.) This is the essential cause that "whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin." [The view which understands the "seed" of the Holy Spirit as the germ and principle of a new life, intended to spring up into holiness, has gained much acceptance (Bishop Taylor, 'Life of our Blessed Lord. Of Baptism.' Lect. IX. 23), but is not so consonant with the general usage of the word in Scripture.]

and he cannot sin] The pronoun understood may be a resumption of the first part of the verse, *he;* or (somewhat less probably) a further development of the spirjtual strength of the seed of God, *it*. **And he is not able to continue in sin** (*οὐ δύναται ἁμαρτάνειν*). *He is not able*. The word is one of those which it is quite incorrect to treat as pleonastic or nearly so, and which should be fully rendered. (See Winer, Part III. § lxv. 635, 637.) Note the vitally important distinction between the present here, and the aor. of the same verb, *supra* ii. 1. ["The infinit. aorist is generally used...either of a thing occurring only once, which does not admit, or at least does not require, the notion of continuance and perpetuity, or of something which is brief and as it were only momentary in duration." (Stallbaum, 'Plat. Euthyd.' p. 140.) "The inf. pres. is generally employed to express an action now in course of performance, or *continued* in itself or its results, or *frequently repeated*." Winer, Pt. III. § xliv. 348. An excellent illustration will be found in Matt. xiv. 22.] "As when we say, 'an honest man cannot do this or that,' our meaning is not to assign any natural impossibility, that he is not *able*, but that he cannot think fit [or bring himself] to do it, the principle of honesty within him [as here the principle of the new life] will resist it; or, if he do not, he is no longer to be called an honest man" (Hammond). "A man, if you speak naturally, *can* masticate gums, and he can sip up, by little draughts, mixture of aloes or of the deadly night-shade; but he *cannot* do this naturally and willingly, cheerfully and with delight. Every sin is against a good man's nature." (Bishop Taylor, Sermon I, "Of the Spirit of Grace," 'Works,' I. 763.)

SECTION VI. iii. 10—24.

10. One of the fruits of *the Gospel*, pointed to in the Epistle, is love of man. The Gospel, as exhibited by St John, is not only the *spiritual* law which directs souls, and the *moral* law which regulates consciences; it is also the *social* law, which should govern the earth, and the love of man for man is inseparably linked with his love for God (Baunard, 'L'Apôtre S. Jean,' p. 342).

[1] Or, *commandment.*

11 For this is the [1]message that ye heard from the beginning, that we should love one another.

12 Not as Cain, *who* was of that wicked one, and slew his brother. And wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous.

13 Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you.

14 We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not *his* brother abideth in death.

15 Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer: and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.

16 Hereby perceive we the love *of God*, because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down *our* lives for the brethren.

17 But whoso hath this world's

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11. *this is the message*] *message* in New Testament signifies *things announced that they may be done.* "He loves to call it the *message* rather than the law" (Beng.). Here, as in i. 5, ℵ and others read ἀ word, which is always *promise*, exc. Acts xviii. 21. But *promise* would be almost unmeaning here. Here again the Epistle points to, and is supported by, the Gospel of St John. Our Lord's urgent "command" to His disciples (John xv. 12, 17), the emphasis which in the High Priestly Prayer is laid upon the unity of believers (xvii. 21, 22, 23), receive their most instructive practical development, and their most beautiful historical development, in the Epistles of St John.

12. Not as Cain was of the evil one! The comparison is not expressed with full technical precision; yet the reader can conceive the meaning vividly:—*This is the message ... that we should love one another* (*v.* 11). *Not as Cain was of the wicked one*, sc. shall it be with us. Abel is mentioned by our Lord as the proto-martyr, and viewed in contrast with Cain, as the representative of the whole generation of saints over against the whole seed of the evil one. Note a second recognition of the Book of Genesis within a few lines (cf. *supra*, *v.* 8). See Additional Note.

13. *Marvel not...if*] "εἰ is used after verbs of *emotion*, when the objective ὅτι, *that*, might have been expected" (Winer, p. 564). Cf. Mark xv. 44.

brethren] **brothers!** Here alone are Christians thus addressed in the Epistle. That address is suitable to the context.

14. *that we have passed* **over**] Cf. John v. 24. "That passage contains no reference to a future event, but to something that has really commenced. Cf. 1 John iii. 14; Lücke, Comment." (Winer, pt. III. § XL. p. 289.) The condition of man without the Son of God is a condition in which he is in wrath (Gospel, iii. 36). The correlative of the condition, severed from the life of God and pervaded by an ever-deepening misery, is *death.* (Gospel, v. 25.) The love of the brethren is not the *cause* but the *effect* of this blessed translation.

16. *Hereby* **know** *we*] have studied and consequently know.

the love] that love which is above all love (Luth., Beng.). (Cf. Philemon, *v.* 9, note.) We have come to know what *that love* is.

we ought] are morally bound.

to lay down our lives for the brethren] Note the exact echo in these words and in those in the last clause, of the Good Shepherd's declaration, John x. 15. "The measure of love is to have no measure. The model of love is the love of Jesus giving His life for the life of the world." (Baunard, 'L'Apôtre S. Jean,' p. 344.) In the touching tradition of the young robber, won back by St John, the Apostle is represented as saying, "If needs be, I would willingly die for thee, as He died for us." (Euseb. 'H. E.' III. 42.)

for the brethren] on their behalf (ὑπέρ). This moral obligation extends as far as the propitiation, which is the great proof of **the love.** It is, no doubt, true that *brother* here, and in *vv.* 10, 13, 14, 15, denotes every fellow-man and fellow-sinner; that the limit of the word is not the *fellow-regenerate*, but the *fellow-redeemed.* Still it is well to weigh Augustine's explanation of St John's silence upon love of our *enemies* in this Epistle. "It is necessary that love like fire should first seize upon that which is near, then extend itself to that which is more remote. Extend your love to those who are nearest; yet you can scarcely call that *extension*, where the objects are so close. Extend it to those unknown to you, who have done you no evil. Pass over them also; arrive at the point of loving your enemies." (St August. *ut supra*, 2438.) The complete Christian teaching is given by St Peter. Philosophers have said, "Honour all men;" sectarians and schools have said, "Love the brotherhood." Christianity alone has said "Honour all men—love the brotherhood." (1 Peter ii. 17.)

17. An argument from the greater to the less. The sacrifice of a portion of worldly

good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels *of compassion* from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?

18 My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth.

19 And hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall † assure our hearts before him. † Gr. *persuade.*

20 For if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things.

21 Beloved, if our heart condemn

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goods is small compared with the sacrifice of life itself, which is our bounden duty.

hath this world's good] **the living of the world.** *Life* (βίος, here), not the *higher life* (ζωή), but the organic life, and so that sustenance which belongs to its prolongation or enjoyment. The word is well translated "living" in A.V. Mark xii. 44; Luke xxi. 4. See *supra* on ii. 16. ("βίος (1) period of life, (2) hence means by which it is sustained, means of life." Archbp Trench.)

gazeth on] The word implies looking on quietly, gazing at it as a sight (θεωρῇ).

bowels] **heart**, sympathy.

how abideth love towards God in him? On "the love of God" as *love towards God*, see *supra*, ii. 5.

18, 19. children, let us not love... nor with the tongue, but in truth... in this] *i.e.* that which just *precedes*, supra, i. 4. This will remind most readers of the beautiful story told by St Jerome. "When St John was lingering at Ephesus, even to extreme old age, and was with difficulty carried to church by the disciples, and could not sustain his voice for many words, he used to say nothing at each service but *Little children! love one another.* At length the disciples and brethren somewhat wearied, said, 'Master, why are you always saying this?' He answered in a sentence worthy of John, 'Because it is the precept of the Lord, and sufficient, if it only be done.'" St Hieron. 'Comment. in Epist. ad Galat.' Lib. III. Cap. V. (Tom. VII. 529).

that we are of (**from**) *the truth*] Our Lord's phrase before Pilate, John xviii. 37, "every one that is *from the truth.*"

shall assure] or *persuade, still, pacify, placare* (Düsterd). (The fut. of *expectation;* that which issues so directly from the nature of the case that we must anticipate it.—*before him.* Not in the distance of the Great Judgment. (Cf. ἔπεισε Δαυὶδ τοὺς ἄνδρας, κ.τ.λ., 1 S. xxiv. 8, LXX.) The word is used Matt. xxviii. 14.

our hearts] St Paul and St Peter alone in Scripture use *conscience* (συνείδησις). (See Additional Note.) It is never used by St John. "Convicted by *conscience*" (viii. 9) is of doubtful authorship. (It is the honour of Grecian thought to have first found a special word to designate conscience.) Hebrew uses the same term which designates *heart.* "Hebrew has no term which peculiarly and exclusively signifies that which we understand by *conscience;* and two words, *heart* or *spirit*, are used instead. Prov. iv. 23, xviii. 14; Eccles. vii. 22; 1 John iii. 21" (Bp Sanderson, 'De Oblig. Consc. Prælect.' I. 3; Riggenbach, 'Lieb. Jes.' p. 121). See Additional Note.

him] God. See note, *supra*, i. 5, and cf. *v.* 21 ("if our heart condemn us not, we have confidence toward *God*").

20. *For if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things*] Many interpretations have been proposed of these difficult words; but they may be considered as falling under *two* general divisions, as they are supposed to aim at *quieting* or *awakening* conscience: (i.) Those who think that St John's object is to *soothe* the conscience, naturally reject all in the interpretation which would create a feeling of alarm. It is, they think, a gracious pardoning omniscience which we are to keep in view "And hereby we shall persuade our hearts before Him, in whatever matter our conscience may accuse us (ὅτι ἐὰν, cf. ὃ ἐὰν ποιῆτε, Coloss. iii. 23...ὃ ἐὰν αἰτῶμεν, *infra*, *v.* 22, *quand même*), because God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things," *i.e.* The Christian, who is conscious of true love in word and deed, though vexed by a morbid and scrupulous, or even a restless and lacerated conscience, may yet lull it, and persuade it to be calm, by the sweet spell of one consolatory thought. He who is Love is greater than our fallible conscience with its tormenting misgivings. His tender omniscience knows us through and through better than we know ourselves, and in that knowledge we may rest. (See Additional Note.) The whole sentiment, then, would be in accordance with St Peter's words in John xxi. 15, 16, 17 ("Thou knowest all things. Thou knowest that I love Thee"), and a fulfilment of the promise of forgiveness in Matt. vi. 14. (ii.) St John's object, however, is to *appeal to*, and *awaken conscience;* and his words fall into this view with a natural and unforced emphasis which goes far to prove the truth of the interpretation. "By true love in word and deed (*v.* 18) we know that we are children born from the Truth, and attain to the blessedness of silencing the accusing echoes of the voice of conscience (*v.* 19). It is so—for if we cannot honestly and as in God's sight "persuade" our conscience; if we are forced to admit

us not, *then* have we confidence toward God.

22 And whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight.

23 And this is his commandment, That we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he gave us commandment.

24 And he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him. And hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us.

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to ourselves that there is a disaccordance between our profession and our conscience; if, in spite of all opiates administered, and illusions attempted, conscience still wakes, and pierces through the plausibilities, and cries "guilty;" how can we succeed in deceiving God, who is omniscient, and therefore greater than conscience itself (*v.* 21)? Nothing can escape that piercing eye; the accusation of our heart is the *avant-courier* of the judgment of God. "Thus," adds Neander, "the means of knowing ourselves thoroughly is to recollect ourselves, and hear in silence the voice of the incorruptible judge whom each of us carries in the depth of himself. If, in the examination, our conscience bears us witness that we sincerely desire to put our practice in unison with our profession, then we are in peace. 'Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God' (*v.* 21). Our works do not *justify* us; but they are witnesses that we are really in communion with Him who justifies; they seal our Christian life with the signet of sincerity. Thus they become for us a subject of confidence."

22. The same boundlessness of promise as in the Gospel (xv. 7), and the same condition. "A prayer thus formed is the child of heaven, and its return to its home is natural. It is God's promise transformed into supplication" (Godet). "Love itself prayeth. Against this, He who gave it knoweth not how to close His ears." (St August. *in loc.*)

because] **for**—not the reason why, not the meritorious cause of our being heard.

keep] **observe.** See note *supra*, ii. 3.

commandments.....things that are (**well**) *pleasing in his sight*] Two aspects of God's law. Assuredly not that the things well-pleasing are over and above the commandments, and so counsels of perfection.

23. The "commandments" of *v.* 22 summed up in *one* (cf. ii. 3—5, where "word" in *v.* 5 is an advance upon "commandments" in *v.* 3). The two that follow (that "we should *believe* and *love*") are not *two* but *one*. Faith and piety, dogma and duty, run into one.

believe on the name] Cf. v. 13 (where the constr. is different); here it is **believe the Name.**

24. Said to have been Spinoza's favourite verse.

This is the first *direct* mention of the Holy Spirit in St John's Epistle, cf. ii. 20, note. The direct mention is purposely deferred, just as St Paul does in Rom. v. 5 compared with viii. 1 sqq. The whole structure of St John's Epistle is thus *Trinitarian* (see W. Archer Butler's Sermons, pp. 92—94). He has mentioned the Father and the Son (i. 3), now the Spirit. So in the Gospel, we find the section of the Spirit, chapters xiv. to xvii.

And hereby we know that he abideth in us, **from** *the Spirit which he* **gave** *us*] **from**—ἐκ, when it has a partitive signification, indicates the abundance out of which something is given. (See in Matt. xii. 34; John viii. 44.) The same word is unfortunately translated (A.V.) *dwelleth* at the beginning of this verse and *abideth* at the close.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. III. 8, 9, 12, 19, 20.

8. ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. "This term, as it stands in direct antithesis to ὁ γεγεν. ἐκ τ. Θεοῦ, is correlative to it in meaning—a *state* or *condition*, not a simple act. The word ποιῶν, according to the Hebraic usage, in the present participle, denotes not *act* only, but *habit*, or rather *more* than *habit*. Ἁμαρτίαν ποιῶν—Lat. *operarius iniquitatis*, one that maketh a trade of sin, or professeth iniquity, whose service is altogether incompatible with the profession or life of a Christian." Jackson, 'Works,' III. 363. "τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν (Matt. xiii. 41), omnes qui iniquitatem exercent, et, ut ita dicam, *iniquitatis artem factitant;* magis enim *habitus* quam *actus* Hebraicâ phrasi significatur." Maldon, *in loc.*

9. This verse and its parallel in this Epistle were prominently appealed to by Jovinian. "Jovinian asserted that John made no distinction but one, viz. between those who *are born* of God, and those who *are not*. He did not reflect that, although Divine life as a common property of all who believe is one and the same, yet different stages are found in its development and degree; that along with the Divine life the sinful tendency lingers on, which may more or less overcome,

or be overcome by, that life; that in this way it *is* right to speak of *more and less*, of distinctions and degrees, in sin or holiness. Hence, too, he represents *sanctification* as simply possession of what has once been received, not *progressive development of it*" (Neander, 'Church History,' II. 368). St John, here as so often, gives us the *ideal standard* of Christianity as it stands for ever high above all superficial views of its character, which look only at partial, particular, imperfect realizations of it, and sever it from its eternal and unattainable ideal. But Jovinian failed from a contrary error. He did not distinguish between the ideal standard, and human realizations of it, with their infinite degrees (see Lücke on the text).

12. It has sometimes been supposed that this may have been suggested to St John by the conduct and teaching of Apollonius of Tyana at Ephesus. From the strange book of Philostratus it is difficult to draw precise chronological data, but the visit may possibly have been A.D. 96, towards the close of St John's life. Philostratus tells a story of a poor old mendicant, whom, after the example of Calchas, Tiresias, and Epimenides, Apollonius advised the people to kill. This story is narrated by Philostratus with picturesqueness and pathos ('Vita Apollon.' Act. II. Sc. II. 5, 58, 59). It would certainly form a vivid commentary on 1 John iii. 12. (See Baunard, 'L'Apôtre S. Jean,' pp. 286, 287.)

19. This omission has important reasons. —(1) To avoid apparent entanglement with mere Moral Philosophy. (2) For the same reason for which Bishop Butler so often varies his language, and uses one equivalent after another for *conscience;* a process which he says will seem "strange to those who have not observed the reason of it"—viz. to state general truth, apart from special theories about it, such as are involved in the fixed use of words of the kind. "St John designates the human soul, the spiritual being, by the name of *heart*, without troubling himself as to psychological distinctions drawn between the different faculties of the soul" (Neander).

The use of לֵב in Hebrew seems to be this: (1) the central point of blood, and vessel of corporeal life; then (2) the life itself; then (3) the seat of senses, emotions, affections; and (4) the mode of thinking and acting, the seat of will and purpose—in fact the centre of corporeal, of sensuous, of emotional, of moral and voluntary life; where the moral character becomes manifest in virtue or vice. Gesen. *s.v.* and Fuerst, 'Lex.' pp. 723, 724.

20. This interpretation is defended grammatically by Hoogeven ('Doct. Part. Græc.' p. 589), morally by Nösselt ('Interp. Gramm.' 1 John iii. 19, 22) and by Huther, see quotations in Lücke *in loc.* Several modern scholars who take the *soothing* view of the subject-matter of this verse explain it thus: "We shall convince our hearts as in His presence that [if our heart condemn us] that God is greater than our hearts." The Greek is understood thus:—*πείσομεν τὰς καρδίας...ὅτι [ἐὰν καταγινώσκῃ ἡμῶν ἡ καρδία] ὅτι μείζων, κ.τ.λ.*—the second *ὅτι* being simply a *resumption* of the first by repeating it. Cf. the resumption of *οὗτος* by *οὗτος* after a parenthetic clause in James i. 25.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *He warneth them not to believe all teachers, who boast of the Spirit, but to try them by the rules of the catholick faith:* 7 *and by many reasons exhorteth to brotherly love.*

BELOVED, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

SECTION VII. iv. 1—6.

CHAP. IV. 1. *believe not every spirit*] believe not **any spirit**, *i.e.* do not give credence to it, the assent of faith, merely upon its own word.

spirit] In the utterance of any powerful teacher St John would have seen, not the individual, but (1) the general spirit at work, and (2) behind and beyond that the influence of a superhuman intelligence, good or evil.

but **test.** So St Paul, "despise not prophesyings, but bring all to the test" (1 Thess. v. 21). Cf. among the distribution of gifts of the Spirit, those of *criticism* and discernment, 1 Cor. xii. 10. The spirit of St John and St Paul, however deeply reverential and childlike, is not one of credulous fanaticism, or abject unreasoning submission to authority. Cf. 1 Cor. xii 10, xiv. 29; 1 Tim. iv. 1. See note on 1 Thess. v. 21. It must have been a crisis-time in the spiritual world, cf. Apoc. ix. 1—3. We must remember that at Ephesus, and in Asia Minor generally, St John found not only a heresy of the *intellect* in Cerinthus and the Gnostics, and a heresy of the *senses* in the Nicolaitanes, but also a heresy of *magic and mysticism*. The streets of Ephesus were full of theoleptics and convulsionaries; magical practices and invocations were pursued by the educated with a passionate interest to which modern spiritualism presents but a feeble parallel (see the "exorcists," "curious arts," and "books" spoken of in Acts xix. 19). St Paul triumphed for a season (ibid. *vv.* 17, 20). But Persian Magi,

2 Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God:

3 And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that *spirit* of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world.

4 Ye are of God, little children, and have overcome them: because greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world.

5 They are of the world: therefore speak they of the world, and the world heareth them.

6 We are of God: he that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error.

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with their enchantments and philtres, Egyptian hierophants, Chaldean astrologers, came to Ephesus year after year. Cabalistic letters, called Ephesian letters, were in reputation for their power of healing or divination. (Clem. Alex. 'Stromat.' I. pp. 386 sqq.) Apollonius of Tyana found an enthusiastic reception in Ephesus (Baunard, 'L'Apôtre S. Jean,' pp. 277—288). It may be added that St John's Epp. contain no hint of the Apostles exercising gifts of healing. Even in the Acts, immediately after Pentecost, while Peter and John walk together, the influence of the former in this department completely overshadows that of the latter. Peter performs the miracle. John assists in silence by faith and prayer. (Acts iii. to iv. 22.)

many false prophets are gone out into the world] It was a critical time in the spiritual world; cf. 2 John, *v.* 7. For the words "gone out," see *supra*, ii. 19. The *idea* is given in a poetry of awful symbols, Apoc. ix. 1, 2.

2. *Hereby know ye*] It may be indic. or imp.

that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh] **Jesus Christ come in the flesh.** (Note the perf. partic. ἐληλυθότα, the permanent state or condition consequent upon His having come; and cf. the pres. (ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί) 2 John *v.* 7. In this passage the Incarnation is looked upon as a *past fact* with permanent consequences in the present—in 2 John 7, as a present and continuous principle.)

3. *And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh*] Tischend. and others read, "every spirit that confesseth not Jesus," omitting the following words, "Christ...come in the flesh" (Reiche, however, argues for their retention). A celebrated controversy rose upon this text. See Additional Note.

is not of God] **from God.**

this is that **whole power and principle of the Antichrist**] (τὸ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου). Prob. not *spirit* understood (as in A. V.), but a *generalizing* use of the neuter for essence and character, denoting a collective whole. ("When we wish to express as generally as possible all that *belongs to* or proceeds from the person or thing signified by the accompanying word, the omission of πρᾶγμα or πράγματα is regular." Donaldson, 'Gr. Gr.' 357.)

whereof ye have heard that it is **coming**] not only in this Epistle, but as an integral part of Catholic tradition in which they lived and breathed. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 5.

4. *Ye are* **from** *God,* **children!** *and have overcome them.* "In the very heat of conflict the children of God know that the victory is won" (Düsterd). The victory of truth is taken for granted. (Neander.) Cf. Gospel, xvi. 33.

them] *sc.* the false prophets, *v.* 1 *supra.*

he that is in you] *sc.* the Personal Word. Cf. "the Word of God abideth in you," *supra* ii. 14. Ignatius, after St John's death, writes to the Church of *Ephesus* in a strain derived from this passage, as if sure of being understood by them. "Let us do all things, as if He were dwelling permanently in us, that we may be His temples, and that He may be in us our God, which He both is and will appear before our face." (Ignat. 'Epist. ad Ephes.' xv.) "Every one who hears—the words '*ye have overcome*'—lifts his head, and would be praised. Nay, exalt not yourself. See who has overcome in you. *Greater is He that is in you,* than he that is in the world." (St August. in Epist. Joann. Tract. VII. 2, Epp. III. p. 2, 2050.)

5. "They are **from** the world. Therefore **from** the world is the very form verbally of that which they speak" (λαλοῦσιν). On the implied difference between λαλῶ, λαλιά, and λέγω, λόγος, cf. John viii. 43, "Why do ye not comprehend the form and mode of speech so peculiarly Mine own (τὴν λαλιὰν τὴν ἐμήν)? because ye are morally incapable of hearing with true reception the substance of the message which is emphatically Mine (τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐμόν)."

6. "The testimony which St John bears in this verse is broad enough to include all who have truly received Christ by faith: it is narrow enough to exclude all who make any other than Christ the service of their life" (Düsterd).

7 Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God.

8 He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love.

9 In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him.

10 Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son *to be* the propitiation for our sins.

11 Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.

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the **Spirit of The Truth**] Who is He? Gospel xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13. The article should be preserved in translating all these passages. See Additional Note on 3 John 3.

SECTION VIII. iv. 7—v. 2.

7. *love...every one that loveth*] Love (ἡ ἀγάπη), the "charity" of St Paul. (For this word, see notes, Vol. III. pp. 338 and 376.) On the distinction between ἀγάπη and φιλία, the peculiarly Christian use of ἀγάπη, and the absence of ἔρως, the student should read five beautiful pages in Archbp Trench's 'Synonyms of the New Testament,' pp. 39—43. "It should never be forgotten that ἀγάπη is a word *born within the bosom of revealed religion;* it occurs in the LXX., but there is no example of its use in any heathen writer whatever" (p. 42). "A wicked man may have Baptism. He may have prophecy. He may receive the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ (1 Cor. xi. 29). All these things a wicked man may have. But no wicked man can have *charity*." (St August. *ut supra*, 2031.)

8. *God is love*] Cf. *v.* 16. There is something in this much beyond the mere Socinian view that "God is benevolent;" or even the Calvinistic view that God has given in Redemption most touching evidence of His love to man, though these are included. It has been observed that "Reformed expositors have a tendency to see in these words not *a Nature* of love but proofs of love" (Düsterd); while the theologians of the Primitive Church and Lutheran and Roman Catholic expositors rather find in them that God is Love inwardly, so to speak, as well as outwardly—by essence as well as manifestation. "God is Love" points not only to our Creation and Redemption, but to an inner essential Love in the everlasting Trinity. And this Love becomes the solution of the mystery of existence—the answer to the question, "Why did God create?" There was no outward necessity; no compulsion but that of love, for love is in its nature diffusive and creative. "Brevis laus, et magna laus; brevis in sermone, magna in intellectu." (St August. *ut supra*, 2045.) (See Additional Note.)

9. *In this was manifested the love of God* **in us**] *Toward us* is not an adequate translation of ἐν ἡμῖν. It is more than the simple dat.: it means not only "bestowed upon us," or "acting toward us," but **in us**. Cf. Acts iv. 12 (δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις), so also "the grace of God given **in** the Churches of Macedonia" (2 Cor. viii. 1). "The gift or grace was not only bestowed *upon*, but operated *in*, the Churches. It was a grace working *in them* by love" (Bp Wordsworth, 'N. T.' II. 167). Cf. Bp Bull, 'Works,' VI. 99, 100; Olshausen, 'Commentary,' III. 396.

that God **hath sent**] Perfect (ἀπέσταλκεν). This perfect, implying the present, permanent, continuing effect of the mission of the Son of God, should be carefully compared with the aorist of the same verb in the next verse (ἀπέστειλε), which signifies the propitiation effected by that mission considered as one great act. For a fine illustration of the distinction between the aor. and perfect, and of the force of the tense here, see "*He anointed Me...and hath sent Me*," the former (ἔχρισέ με) viewed as what took place *once*, the latter (ἀπέσταλκέ με) as still present in its effects. (St Luke iv. 18.) Winer, Part III. § xi. p. 287. Note the bearing of the verse upon the doctrine of the Atonement. (1) We did not first become objects of God's love *in consequence* of the Atonement. Rather, the sending of the Son was an evidence of a love which already existed. (2) God's love was not evoked by ours, but preceded it, even when we were aliens in heart.

His Son, His only-begotten. The title which St John chooses here for our Lord is selected with deep thoughtfulness to indicate and enhance the extent and preciousness of the Father's gift. This title of Christ occurs only here and in St John's Gospel, i. 14, 18, iii. 16, 18. The word does not signify, as some of old thought, brought into existence by the One God, but the Only Begotten One (ὁ μόνος γεννηθείς). St Basil, Lib. II. 'adv. Eunom.'

10. **sent His Son a propitiation**] Cf. *supra*, ii. 2.

11. *if God so loved us*] *If* expresses no doubt; it is conditional only in form, and in sense is almost equivalent to *since*. Cf. Gospel, vii. 4; Rom. xi. 21.

so loved us] Cf. Gospel, iii. 16. The *so* is not merely immeasurable love—*so much*—but refers to the *manner* of His love, as described in *v.* 10—not to the *quantity*, so to speak, but to the *quality* of the love.

12 No man hath seen God at any time. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us.

13 Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit.

14 And we have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son *to be* the Saviour of the world.

15 Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God.

16 And we have known and be-

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12. *God*] Both here and St John i. 18, the Divine Name stands without the article. This confirms the inference that he is speaking not of the Father in particular, but of the Godhead (see the important note on John i. 18), which is the doctrine of the greatest teachers of the Church. "When the Arians said that the Father only was invisible, Athanasius asserted from Scripture and reason the equal invisibility of the Trinity, proving that God is not seen save by the assumption of manhood—but that as regards the proper nature of Deity, God is invisible—*i.e.* Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—save as far as He can be known mentally and spiritually." See this and other testimonies to the same effect. (St August. 'Epist.' CXLVIII. Tom. II. 626, Edit. Migne.)

God no one hath ever yet beholden. True! He is invisible. But, if we love one another, He comes very close to us. Yes! He **abideth** in us. The connection is so explained by à Lap., Huther, Düsterd. We must observe carefully the distinction between the simple *sight* spoken of in the Gospel i. 18, and the *intent contemplation* of the verb here used (τεθέαται). The question how this statement is to be reconciled with St Matt. v. 8, 1 John iii. 2—and with the sight of God attributed in the Old Testament to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, Moses, Micaiah, Isaiah (Gen. xviii. 1, xxvi. 2, xxxii. 30; Job xxxviii. 1; Exod. xxxiii. 11; 1 K. xxii. 19; Isaiah vi. 1)—is discussed at length by St Augustine in an Epistle which won the enthusiastic admiration of Bishop Pearson—("that golden Epistle." 'De Invisib. Dei,' Lect. XII. 'Minor Theol. Works' I. 118—127). St Augustine points out that the sight spoken of is not that of exterior objects or of mental phenomena. God's words to Moses—"thou canst not see My face: for there shall no man see Me, and live" (Exod. xxxiii. 20)—lead to the solution of the difficulty. No living man in this life can see Him and live. The right view of 1 John iii. 2 refers to a sight of God very different from that which was enjoyed by Moses and others upon earth. They saw Him when He willed, with that sort of sight which He willed, not in the inner glory of that Nature in which He remained hidden, even when in a sense He was seen. "We shall see Him as He is" (1 John iii. 2) exactly answers to the sight which was withheld from Moses (Exod. xxxiii. 20, 22, 23). "This you can understand so far as you are united to God, and prepare yourself within as the incorporeal place of His dwelling to hear the silence of His speech, and to see His invisible form. 'The pure in heart shall *see God*.' Not that He shall appear to them as a body from any interval of place—but that He shall have come to them and made His abode with them. For they shall be filled with all the fulness of God, not that they shall become fully God, but that they shall be perfectly full of God."..... "Great theologians have well said that the Invisible God is seen invisibly, *i.e.* by that nature which is also invisible in us—by a pure heart." S. August. 'Epist.' CXLVII., CXLVIII. Opp. Tom. II. 596—630. St John vi. 45, 46, should be carefully studied. *Learning from the Father* as a consequence of *continuing to hear His* teaching is markedly distinguished from *seeing* Him. The first belongs to all who come to Jesus: the second is the exclusive attribute of the Son.

God **abideth** *in us.*

his love is perfected in us] Not sharply either "His love to us" or "our love to Him;" but—"the relation of love between us and God (on God's part already perfected) is perfected *in us*, if we love one another." "Have you begun to love? God has begun to dwell in you. Love Him who has begun to dwell in you, that by dwelling in you more perfectly He may make you perfect." (St August. in Epist. Johann. Tract. VIII. 12.)

13. *Supra*, iii. 24. "Whence know we then that He hath given us from His Spirit? Ask your own heart. If it is full of love, you have the Spirit. Whence know we that you may thus know that the Spirit dwelleth in you? Ask St Paul (Rom. v. 5)." (St August. *ut supra*, 2043.)

14. "We have seen with adoring wonder—and the impression of the sight abides with us (τεθεάμεθα)—and are **bearing witness** (μαρτυροῦμεν)—that the Father **hath** sent (perf.) the Son as the **Saviour** of the world." One of the numerous *loops* that bind the Epistle to the Gospel. It is the phrase of the Samaritans, who have been convinced, not only by the woman's witness, but by their own hearing, in St John's Gospel, iv. 42. The language here is certainly such as would be inappropriate in any but an eyewitness.

16. "We **know** and *have believed and continue to believe in*" (πεπιστεύκαμεν) (cf. Gospel, xx. 29), *i.e.* we have not only "made

lieved the love that God hath to us. God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.

17 Herein is †our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment: because as he is, so are we in this world.

† Gr. *love with us.*

an act of faith" at some past time, but continue now in possession of that faith as the result. That in which we believe is the love that God hath **in us**—not only *to* us but **in** us, by virtue of the Incarnation. It is impossible to understand the Epistle here without a reference to the Gospel. "We have *known the love which God hath in us.*" Why so? Because Jesus promised—"ye *shall know* that I *am...in you*"—"I will *make it known* to them that the love with which Thou lovedst Me may be *in them*, and I *in them*" (xvii. 26). It is yet another instance of the connection of *suggestion* between the Epistle and Gospel. (πιστεύειν τι, to be persuaded of anything, to believe it with an underlying notion of constancy in the persuasion—πεπιστεύκαμεν τὴν ἀγάπην, we are fully persuaded of the love of God. See Bretsch. 'Lex. Man. N. T.' *s. v.*) The passage may also be explained by looking upon "we believe" as parenthetical. "We have known [and we still permanently believe it] the love," &c. It has been profoundly remarked by Bossuet upon this verse, that it goes to the very root of the heresies upon the Incarnation which St John had in view. Such heresies generally have refused to receive neither the power, nor the wisdom of God, but, strange to say, His goodness. The mystery under which the pride of the sophist sank was, at its root, the mystery of the love of God. "In all mysteries let us give as the best reason, *God so loved the world.* That is the doctrine of the Master, and the beloved disciple well understood it. In his time the heresiarch Cerinthus would not believe that God could make Himself man, and the victim for sinners. What is the answer of the Theologian of the New Testament to the heresiarch? What symbol, what new confession of faith, does he oppose to the nascent heresy? Hear and wonder—*we have believed the love that God hath in us!* There is the whole faith of Christians; there is the cause and abridgment of the whole Creed." ('Oraison Funèbre d'Anne de Gonzague.')

A philosopher of the day has said "that theologians fail by attaching themselves to the *Christian symbol* instead of to the *moral sentiment* which carries immeasurable Christianities in its bosom." (R. W. Emerson.) St John says that the two are one in Christ—that the symbol *is* a sentiment. The Creed which we believe is "the Love which God hath in us."

17. *Herein* **hath the love been perfected** (and is consequently perfect) **with us**] (ἡ ἀγάπη μεθ' ἡμῶν), love with us ("between us, mutual love," Bretsch.), love generally to God and man, is fulfilled and perfected in this, viz. that we may have boldness in the day of Judgment—because as He who is the Love, is (abiding in deathless love in the unfading picture in the Gospel which you may contemplate, in the Heaven above where you may lift up your eyes and see Him by faith, in your hearts where He abides), so are we in this poor fallen world. It is difficult not to feel that there is some subtle reference to the idea of *God with us* (Matt. i. 23), and to our peace with God, with man, and with ourselves, through the Incarnation. (See Bp Wordsworth.) *As He is*—**is** *presentiating* (see *supra*, ii. 2, iii. 2; John v. 2) —*so are we too.* Cf. *even as He is pure* (iii. 3); also *as He is righteous* (iii. 7). The *we are* answering to the *He is* brings out more subtly the idealising and unattainable character of the standard. See on ἐκεῖνος ("He, and none else"), ii. 6.

in the day of judgment] in the day of **The Judgment.**

the day] The Hebrews distinguished two "ages," that before Messiah, and that after Him. (See Additional Note at the end of 2 Thessalonians.) The "last day" is the last of the "age," in which Christ shall come again. "The day of the Judgment" is the day appointed for the Judgment. According to St John's use of language κρίσις is (*a*) the separation and *critical discrimination* which goes on necessarily and spontaneously by the very fact of our Lord's appearance and witness between men as they receive or reject Him, with special reference to its condemnatory aspect (John iii. 19—27, the sentence of condemnation upon this world, *ibid.* xii. 31; cf. xvi. 8—11); (*b*) the *last Judgment*, with a special inclusion of the condemnation of those rejected in "the resurrection of judgment," *i.e. sequacem habens condemnationem* (John v. 29); (*c*) a usage including *both these senses*—"*My* judgment, the judgment which is peculiarly Mine" (John v. 30), "*all* judgment" (*ibid. v.* 22), i.e. *totum judicandi negotium*—the whole long series of judgments culminating in the Great Judgment, the long process of discrimination with its last and awful sequel. St John's eschatology is at one with that of St Peter and St Paul, and looks on the day of Judgment—the "*Last* Judgment," as it used, with true instinct, always to be called —with a vivid realization, as if it were all but present (cf. Rom. ii. 15, 16). (See on the subject, Grimm, 'Clav. N. T.' p. 191 and p. 247.) It is well to note the *Johannic* phrase (ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ) Apoc. xiv. 7.

18 There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear: because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love.

19 We love him, because he first loved us.

20 If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?

21 And this commandment have we from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also.

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18. A great Christian thinker reminds us here that there are two kinds of fear, one servile, the other holy—the fear of him who quails before punishment, and the tender fear of him who loves righteousness. "If there were at first no fear, there would be no entrance for love. As in sewing, we see the thread passed through by the needle. The needle is first pushed in, but the thread cannot be introduced until the needle is brought out. So fear first occupies the mind, but does not remain permanently, because it entered for the purpose of introducing love" (August. 'Tract. in Evang. Joann.').

fear brings punishment with it] *Not* "fear is punished," *nor* "leaves a consciousness of punishment," but *there is punishment in fear.* (ὁ φόβος κόλασιν ἔχει. The verb ἔχω sometimes means that which something brings with it in its train or company. So here and James i. 4, "let patience bring with it." Bretschn. *s.v.*) "For him who abides in love, there is no subject of fear." Among other such subjects, the fear of being judged by God tends to disappear; not that the Christian passes superficially over that most solemn truth, or entertains a shallow and deceptive security. But the guilty agitation which lays hold of the wilful sinner so long as he sees in God nothing but a severe and awful Judge—the trouble which is spread over the soul by a conviction of the "wrath of God"—gives place to quiet *confidence* in all who cherish those loving relations with God established by Jesus Christ, of which St John has just spoken. The foundation of such *confidence* is not laid in the personal *merit* or sanctity or emotions of the Christian; that would be a precarious and tottering foundation. The sole support upon which any sinner can rely is the love of God revealed in Christ, by which he is united with his Saviour. There are two opposite points of view in the spiritual life; one considers God as a Father, to whom we remain united by love, and whom Jesus Christ has revealed to us—the other as a Judge, who acts upon us by the dread of punishment. This is the Apostle's point. It may well be that, even in a soul which has arrived at the liberty of love, there are reactions of the spirit of bondage, returns to the yoke of fear broken by the Gospel. But St John speaks in the verse of an *ideal spiritual condition*, in which love reigns with undivided sway, so as entirely to have banished fear. (So Neander.) St Augustine beautifully illustrates the two kinds of fear—one here mentioned by St John as inconsistent with love—the other inseparable from love. "Suppose two wives. The one who is faithless fears her husband's coming—such are they who fear the coming of the day of Judgment. The other, who loves her husband, desires his coming. Both fear. Ask one 'Do you fear your husband?' She will answer 'I fear.' Ask the other; she too will say, 'I fear.' The words are the same; the feeling is different. Ask them why they fear? One says, 'I fear that my husband will come;' the other, 'I fear that he will go away.' One says, 'I fear to be condemned by him;' the other, 'I then fear to be deprived of him.' Transfer this to the Christian life—and you have the fear which is inconsistent with love, and the pure sweet fear which lasts on." ('In Epist. Joann. Tract.' IX. 5.)

He that feareth] He that continues fearing, the *principle* of whose spiritual life is fear (ὁ φοβούμενος).

19. *We* **love** (omit *him*), *because he first*] *First* (πρῶτος in the sense of πρότερος), cf. John i. 15, 18. "Our soul is defiled by sin; by loving God it is made beautiful. What a love is that which makes him who loves beautiful! How shall we grow beautiful? By loving Him who is beautiful." (St Aug. *ut supra*, 2051.) Was St John thinking of his own gracious and unmerited call? (Gospel i. 38, 39.)

20. *he that loveth not his brother*] The neg. here gives a *subjective* tinge to the cast of the expression—"any one of whom we conceive as belonging to such a class."

hath seen...hath not seen] The perfect "sometimes equivalent to 'I (have looked and) *see*.' John ix. 37; 1 John iv. 20." (Winer, 'Gr. of N. T. D.' Part III. § xi. p. 290.)

how can he love God] "While men are continually bidden ἀγαπᾶν τ. θεόν (Matt. xxii. 37; Luke x. 27; 1 Cor. viii. 13) and good men declared to do so (Rom. viii. 28; 1 Pet. i. 8; 1 John iv. 21), the φιλεῖν τ. θεόν is commanded to them never." (Archbp Trench, 'Synon. of N. T.' p. 40, where see the explanation of this.) Cf. also Hammond, 'Practical Catechism,' Lib. I. Sect. 3, p. 56.

21. *he who loveth God*] He that continues loving, the *principle* of whose spiritual life is love. The present partic. with the definite

article has almost the force of a substantive. See *v.* 18 *supra*. In the example and teaching of St John's Gospel, we have not only the *moral* law which is to rule the conscience, but the *social* law which is to govern society. So the love of man is taken up into, and becomes inseparable from, the love of God. St John not only exalts our duty towards our brethren; he makes it divine. "It is hard to love men *as* men. Humanity in the mass is so vulgar, or so perverse. We must have despaired of social and human love altogether, if upon the human object proposed to our love God had not cast an elevating grandeur, and the beauty of a superhuman transfiguration. It is a point specially explained by the disciple of Jesus in his First Epistle. 'If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar' (1 John iv. 20). The law which we have received from Him is a law of love, 'that he who loveth God, love his brother also' (ibid. *v.* 21). Such is the moral law which is also the law of holiness, of progress, of the future. It is going on for nearly two thousand years since the Epistle of St John presented us with its formula. Humanity and the world have as yet only drawn from it its first consequences. These essays, poor and incomplete as they are, have made civilized humanity what it is. Ask then of this love all that it can give. Do not mutilate it, by changing its very nature. Do not separate the love of God from the love of man. Do not preach a sterile human fraternity by overlooking the Divine paternity, which is the trunk of the tree of life. Do not isolate at your own pleasure the law of *religion* from the law of *society*." (Baunard, pp. 342—345.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. IV. 3, 9 AND 16.

3. Socrates asserted that "Nestorius was ignorant that in the old copies of the Catholic Epistle of John it was written, 'every spirit that *dissolveth Jesus* is not from God' (*πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἐστι*). But this thought those who wished to separate the Divinity from the economy of the Manhood erased from the old MSS. Wherefore the old interpreters indicated this very fact when they related that some dealt deceitfully with the text of St John's Epistle, wishing to *dissolve* (or *sever*) Him who is Man from Him who is God." ('Hist. Eccles.' VII. 32.) It would seem as if Socrates himself were the only Greek evidence who remains. For (1) no Greek MSS., nor any version, or author, *except* Latin[1], support this; (2) several, even of the Latins, cite the passage as it stands in the Greek texts (see Tert., St Augustine, Fulgent., in Reiche, 'Comment. Crit.' III. 321). The reading is apparently of Latin origin, either from the old Latin version or some author of repute, probably Tertullian. The aim is clearly "polemical, against heretics, who distinguished between the Man Jesus and the Divine Æon, Christ —or the Divine and Human Nature—and who as thus isolating the true Humanity, might be said to separate the Man Jesus from Christ as God, and as it were to "dissolve" Him. This became inserted in the text. In the great Latin Epistle of Leo the Great ('ad Flavianum,' X. cap. 5[2]), which was declared orthodox by the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), translated into Greek, and elevated almost to the rank of a symbol, this passage is quoted more than once as *solvit Jesum*" (see Reiche *in loc.* and on 1 Tim. iii. 16).

9, 16. For *ἀγάπη*, see 1 Cor. xiii. and the Additional Note, Vol. III. *376*. The present writer arrived independently at the same general conclusion, *viz.* that *ἀγάπη* alone is best rendered *charity*, with "defining context" *love*. His reasons are these. (1) No reverent student of the N. T. can doubt that the exclusion of *ἔρως* from its pages is not accidental. The sole Greek word for *love*, untainted by degrading associations and unconfined by special limitations, sprang up not indeed within the circle of Christianity literally speaking, but "within the sphere of revealed religion." (Archbp Trench.) ('Αγάπη is derived from *ἀγαπάω*, which is connected with *ἄγαμαι*, wondering and reverential admiration. The word is not found outside the circle of sacred thought, and is unknown to classical Greek as a substantive—for the reading in Plut. 'Symp. Quæst.' VII. 6, 3, seems to be erroneous. It appears as the translation of אהבה in the LXX., possibly from phonetic resemblance.) (See *e.g.* Eccles. ix. 1; Cant. viii. 6.) (2) The exclusion of *ἔρως* from the N. T. imposes upon the translator a corresponding carefulness. The old Latin version bears witness to this. (Augustine certainly refuses to recognize a distinction in the Latin Scriptures between *amor* or *dilectio* as bad, and *caritas* as good, 'De Civ. D.' XXV. 7; but the argument is incomplete as regards *caritas* at least.) *Dilectio* is too cold, *amor* too dubiously ethical for *ἀγάπη*, in spite of the "Deus amor est" of Bengel. Now the word *caritas* as compared with *amor* is predominatingly ethical. The distinction is excellently drawn by Quinctilian. "*Amor πάθος, caritas ἦθος*." ('Instit. Orat.' Lib. VI. Cap. II. 21, Tom. II. 495, edit. Spalding.) The great rhetorician leaves no doubt as to his meaning. The word *ἦθος* denotes that which

[1] "Omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum Christum," Cod. Amiat. Tertullian, however, knew of this reading and combined it with the common reading, 'Adv. Marc.' V. 16.

[2] 'Epist.' XXVIII. (al. XXIV.). See the Ep. with Notes in Prof. Bright's 'Sermons of S. Leo.' 146—153.

is less intense, more soothing, and is at once commended by its irresistible goodness. *Caritas* is love prescinded from selfishness and passion. The word seemed providentially designed for the sacred ἀγάπη. Thus *charity* passed into English. It is to be hoped that it will never be ultimately allowed to disappear from the English N. T. or from the Collect and Epistle for Quinquagesima Sunday. For (3) some moral and spiritual loss may ensue. It is often objected that charity is narrowed and vulgarized into the hard metallic form of alms—mere money or money's worth. But against this, or anything of the kind, there is a perpetual stream of protest from quarters which are not theological. (Thus in his address to the Medical Congress, August 3, 1881, Sir James Paget said:—"And to this we shall attain if we will remind ourselves that, as in every pursuit of knowledge there is the charm of novelty, and in every attainment of truth utility, so in every use of it there may be charity. I do not mean only the charity which is in hospitals or in the service of the poor, great as is the privilege of our calling in that we may be its chief ministers, but that wider charity which is practised in a constant sympathy and gentleness, in patience and self-devotion. And it is surely fair to hold that, as in every search for knowledge we may strengthen our intellectual power, so in every practical employment of it we may, if we will, improve our moral nature; we may obey the whole law of Christian love.") After a careful search, the present writer is unable to find in Shakespeare one single instance where the word "charity" is used in any other sense, than that of pure, noble, disinterested gentleness ('M. of Venice,' IV. 1; '2nd Part of Henry VI.' III. 1; 'Richard III.' I. 3; 'Henry VIII.' I. 2). Nay, in one passage, love itself is distinguished from charity as a part from the whole, or a fruit from the principle whence it springs. King Edward says,

> "Brother, we have done deeds of *charity*,
> Made peace of enmity, fair *love* of hate."
> ('Richard III.' Act II. 1.)

Granting, however, the force of the objection, the people may be constantly reminded to correct and *enlarge* their conception of charity by 1 Cor. xiii. 3. But no amount of teaching, it is to be feared, can absolutely *purify* "love" for some, or spiritually *elevate* it for others of our race and language. Poetry, romance, history, common conversation, associations almost as wide and strong as human life, have fixed love in the region of *passion*. The writer has examined more than 300 passages in Shakespeare in which the word is found. It is only used in fifteen or twenty for the affection of brother, sister, parent, or for general benignity (then mostly qualified by an epithet, *e.g.* "kind," "fair," "comely," "unfeigned"), in all other cases it signifies the passion which has been glorified by chivalry, the theme of poets and novelists. For all these reasons, the present writer deeply regrets the disappearance of "charity" from the Revised Version of the N. T. (The rendering "of love" in 1 Peter v. 14 seems to him to be specially unadvisable.) When new ideas are projected into the realm of thought, new words necessarily come into existence. It has been remarked that the French Revolution at once added largely to the French dictionary. When God created a new thing upon the earth, and bestowed a new gift upon regenerate human hearts, His Word gave it a new name. Ordinary speech, even Greek speech, could not render the idea; φιλία, φιλανθρωπία, στοργή, ἔρως, were inadequate or worse. The very fact of 'charity' being a word out of the ordinary sphere gives it an advantage as a rendering of ἀγάπη.

[The derivation of the word seems to throw little light upon the question. However, by the kindness of a friend, deeply versed in comparative philology—the Dean of Clonfert—the writer is enabled to add the following interesting note. "There can be no doubt "that Eng. *love*, Ang.-S. *lufu*, Goth. *lubo*, "are all the same root as Sans. *lubh—cupere*, "*desiderare*. The essential element of its "meaning is the tension of desire; but not "necessarily of concupiscence. On the con-"trary, in Goth. the same root is applied in "the substantive *lubains* to express hope; and "there is a kindred root *laub* which expresses "estimation, approval. *Galaubs kas* (vessel) "is Ulfilas's translation of εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος in "Rom. ix. 21, and *ga-laub-jan* is Goth. for "*glauben* to believe, and *us-laub-jan* for *er-*"*lauben* to permit. No doubt also *libet*, *lubet*, "*libido* are kindred words, and λίττομαι, λι-"παρής, λίψ expressing the tension of eager-"ness. Of the same family, but more remote, "is Goth. *liban*, Eng. *live*, expressing the "inner force of life. It is hard to find any "root which can be identified with *amo*, but "I think it appears from its uses and from "*amicus* and *amoenus* that it expresses not the "tension of desire but the relaxation of enjoy-"ment. That this is also the *Grundbedeutung* "of ἀγάπη is evident from the passages quoted "in Liddell and Scott under ἀγαπάω; but it "is as difficult to identify this with any other "root as it is for *amo*. *Carus* is precisely "dear and *caritas* dearness. There is little or "no desire in it, still less relaxation of enjoy-"ment, but rather the tension of prized pos-"session which becomes want in the absence "of possession. There is no other root to "which *carus* can be affiliated though the "Greek χρ- is akin to its latter meaning, and in "it the tension or bond may be ethical, χρεία, "χρή. Sanskr. *vṛ—desiderare*, *petere*, *optare*, "*eligere*, is the same root as that of Fέρως."]

CHAPTER V.

1 He that loveth God loveth his children, and keepeth his commandments: 3 which to the faithful are light, and not grievous. 9 Jesus is the Son of God, able to save us, 14 and to hear our prayers, which we make for ourselves, and for others.

WHOSOEVER believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God: and every one that loveth him that begat loveth him also that is begotten of him.

2 By this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God, and keep his commandments.

3 For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments: and his commandments are not grievous.

4 For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, *even* our faith.

5 Who is he that overcometh the

CHAP. V. 1. *him that begat*] The aorist. *him that is begotten*] The perfect participle.

2. *By this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God*] St John's meaning is finely analysed by Augustine: "How is this? A little before he spoke of the *Son* of God, not of the *sons* of God. Christ alone was proposed to our contemplation, and it was said (*v.* 1)—then follows *v.* 2—therefore, he who loves the *sons* of God loves the *Son* of God; and he who loves the *Son* of God loves the *sons* of God; nor can any man love the Father unless he love the Son; and he who loves the *Son* loves the sons. What sons of God? The members of the Son of God. And by love he too becomes a member, and by love is knit and compacted into the body of Christ; and thus there will be one Christ loving Himself. (1 Cor. xii. 26, 27.) A little above St John said of brotherly love (1 John iv. 20), But if you love your brother, can you love him and not love Christ? How can this be, since you love the members of Christ? When then you love the members of Christ, you love Christ; when you love Christ, you love the Son of God. Love cannot be separated. Choose any one of these objects of love; the rest necessarily follow. You say, 'I love God the Father alone.' False! If you love Him, you love the Son also. But, you say, I love the Father and the Son; but this alone. False! For if you love the Head, you love the members; and if you love not the members you love not the Head. Let no man excuse himself from one love by another. That love is so compacted into one that it makes all the loves which hang from it one, and fuses them as a fire. Unless the flame of love be kindled, the fusion of many loves into one cannot be. When we love God, we know that we love the children of God." (St August. *ut supra*.)

SECTION IX. *vv.* 3 sqq.

3. In reading A. V., alter the punctuation so as to connect *v.* 4 directly with the close of *v.* 3. **His commandments are not grievous, because all that is born of God overcometh the world.** ("Turn to the two commandments Matt. xxii. 37, 39. The whole of this Epistle is full of these two commandments." St Aug.) In hearing that "we are to **observe** His commandments," one thought may well occur—"The commandments spoken of are those observed by Jesus, whose picture we see developed in the Sermon on the Mount. There we have a law of sanctity beside which all human morality is pale. The task is difficult, impossible." Nay, St John says the contrary. "They are not heavy." Such a declaration could only come from his own life and experience! (Cf. for the beginning of the verse the words of Raphael:

"Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
His great command."
'Paradise Lost,' VIII. 634.)

Here is one proof that His commandments are not grievous—a proof co-extensive with the world-wide spiritual combat of God's children. "They are not grievous; for whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world."

4. *whatsoever is born of God*] The *neuter* substituted for the *masculine* is an *advance* upon it. It designates a mark of the new nature abstracted from incidental peculiarities —2 characteristic of the entire body as an integral whole. From a different point of view the *masculine* (John vi. 40) is an advance upon the *neuter* (*ibid. v.* 39). In the first, our Lord promises Resurrection to those who are given to Him in the mass, and as a whole. In the second, he obviates the idea of a sort of pantheistic absorption, and *individualizes* the promise (cf. in vi. 37, the neuter immediately exchanged for the masculine).

born of God] For the perfect here see note, *supra*, on iii. 9.

the Conquest that has conquered the world—the victory that *has been* victorious over it (the aor. denoting action completed once for all). The victorious power of Him who said *I have overcome the world* (xvi. 33), streams over upon redeemed humanity. The victory is won, the mortal wound given, the head bruised.

our faith] here runs into the objective

world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?

6 This is he that came by water and blood, *even* Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth.

sense—*the faith*, *i.e.* the Christian religion objectively as received by faith subjectively. This sense of the word is found in Acts vi. 7, xiv. 27; Rom. i. 5. Observe that *the faith* is spoken of, not merely as the *means* of victory, but as a *victory* in itself. There is something very noble in this deep, silent, unexcited triumph—our faith *is* a victory! [So Wordsworth addresses Duty—"Thou *who art victory!*" 'Ode to Duty.']

6. *This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not* **with the** *water only, but* **with the** *water and* **with the** *blood*] Let us (i) attempt to bring out the exact force of the words here, and (ii) pass on to grasp their meaning.

(i) The force of the words is—"This is He who came, conditioned (so to speak) by—with the intervention of (διά)—water and blood, not accompanied only by (ἐν) the water, but by the water and the blood." (See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.) (ii) A full examination of the meaning which is to be constructed out of these elements, and which must include the following verses, will occupy some space for its due development. The Epistle and Gospel (as we have so often seen) must be constantly read together. There is a perpetual reference in the former to the latter. "The most perplexing incident in the Gospel" (xix. 34) is followed up in "the most perplexing passage in the Epistle" (Bishop Lightfoot) (1 John v. 6). Now *vv.* 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 are pervaded by, and are unintelligible without, the consideration that St John's Gospel aims at being a Gospel of manifold witness to Jesus. (*a*) A witness of *men* to Christ, with the attesting cries wrung from their hearts. (i. 7—49, iii. 2, iv. 39, vi. 69, vii. 46, xii. 17, xx. 28.) The Gospel is a tissue woven out of many lines of human evidence. In *v.* 9, *infra*, "if we receive the witness of men," &c. the Apostle refers to his Gospel as that of *human witness*. (*b*) It is also the Gospel of *Divine witness* in various forms: (1) *Scripture* (v. 39—46), (2) *His own* (viii. 17, 18), (3) *His Father's* (viii. 18, xii. 28), (4) *Miracles* (v. 36). In all these ways it is a *Gospel of witness*, human and Divine. The very word studs almost every page, and occurs in the Gospel nearly as often as in the whole of the rest of the New Testament. Now, it has scarcely been sufficiently noticed by interpreters of 1 John v. 6—12 that these verses advert to this great characteristic of the Gospel. This is indicated by the otherwise unaccountable prolixity of iteration of the word *ten* times in five short verses. The Epistle points out (*vv.* 7, 8) that there is in the Gospel *another series of witnesses*, not obtrusively visible, not outwardly audible, yet whose shadow falls upon every page, whose voice may be heard by the attentive ear. Mysterious fact! they are *three*. And thus it is: St John records in his Gospel that "one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came thereout *blood and water*" (xix. 34). (This *blood and water* is the order of *fact* and *history*.) To this St John adverts (1 John v. 6) when he tells us "this is He who came...not accompanied only by the water but by the blood." (The *water and blood* is the ideal, mystical, sacramental, *subjective* order; the *blood* and *water* is the historical and *objective* order. The first, therefore, is appropriately adopted in the Epistle; the second in the Gospel.) To us, no doubt, this may seem strange. Yet let us pause and consider St John's point of view. If any one fact remains historically sure it is that Cerinthianism prevailed in Asia Minor, and that St John wrote in part to meet its advances. Now Cerinthus separated Christ, the Divine Æon, from Jesus, the good but mortal and finite man. The two, he said, met at the waters of Jordan, upon the day of the Baptism, when Christ united Himself to Jesus for a few years, to leave the man for ever. Before the Passion the Divine ideal Christ withdrew, the man Jesus suffered, while the impassible, immortal Christ was far away in Heaven. This St John utterly denies in *v.* 6. There is no such fortuitous juxtaposition of two beings. There is one Lord Jesus Christ—declared to be *one*, not only by His Baptism, the witness of *water*, but by His Passion, the witness of *blood*, not only in Jordan but on Calvary. Look at the pierced side, and we have a visible type and summary of this, not only the water but the blood! But, lying behind this, in deep and tender distance, there is assuredly something more than an allusion to a temporary controversy—something eternal as the Gospel. The historical order, as we have seen, is in the *Gospel* (xix. 34), the ideal and sacramental in the *Epistle* (v. 6). The water, the blood, the Spirit are three great factors in the *Gospel:* it is full of them. (The *water*, John iii. 5, cf. i. 26—33, ii. 9, iii. 23, iv. 13, v. 4, ix. 7. The *blood*, vi. 53, 54, 56, xix. 34. The *Spirit*, vii. 39, xiv. xv. xvi. xx. 22.) Now the *water* centres, so to speak, in *Baptism* (iii. 5), and the *blood* is symbolized, exhibited, applied, in *Holy Communion* (vi.); and the *Spirit*, by His Divine power, is perpetually making them effectual.

7 For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.

8 And there are three that bear witness in earth, the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.

9 If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son.

Thus the water and the blood in the Gospel and in the Church, in the Book and in the Sacraments, are abiding witnesses of the Incarnate Lord. For, if all else were swept away, these would be His witnesses. Why all these millions, generation after generation, baptized with water? Why that cup, blessed in so many churches in all lands with the words "This is *my Blood*"? Round this the whole external order of the Ministry is drawn. And before these stands a third Witness, who is Divine. Not only Sacraments—all the marvels of Christianity; the onward progress of its powers; the new creation perpetually called from the dust of human life; its peaceful and glorious victories come from one source. It is the *Spirit* who calls forth in long succession preachers, missionaries, martyrs, reformers, healers, saints. The outward and inward in the Church are harmonious. Her master has given her an outward administration and an inward power. The water and the blood warn the Church not to spiritualize the material. The Spirit saves the Church from materializing the spiritual. See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.

[This interpretation would not exclude a reference to *expiation* and *sanctification*—to the *sacrifice and cleansing*, the *altar* and the *laver* (Exod. xxx. 18, 21, xl. 6), so wonderfully significant of the benefits of Christ's death. It is not inconsistent with the symbolical hint of the Divine and Human Natures of Jesus seen by so many ancient writers in the incident (John xix. 34), and constantly remembered, as they supposed, in the primitive usage of mixing water with wine in Holy Communion. It would include the quickening by the Spirit and the cleansing from sin—the ideas of the outpoured Spirit and of the sacrificed human life "which underlie the two sacraments" and St John's use of the terms "blood" and "water." See on St John xix. 34.

And the Spirit is that which is witnessing that the Spirit is the Truth] The self-attestation of the Spirit crowning and perfecting the outward and historical. On the Spirit as *The Truth* see Additional Note 3 John 3.

7. For three are they who are witnessing. Thus we have a Trinity of testimony, "the three genuine witnesses" (Bishop Lightfoot on 'Rev. of N. T.' p. 24). "This trine array of witnesses on earth is clearly supported, and has behind and above it **the Trinity** which is heavenly, archetypal, fundamental, immortal" (Bengel). See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.

The numerical principle in human witness, and the notion of God as witness, were impressed upon St John from the lips of Christ (Gospel viii. 17, 18; cf. 3 John 12). While he writes here *vv.* 7, 8, his eye is fixed upon Three *personal* witnesses. Observe the masculine partic., *v.* 7 (τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες), and then, though he mentions three subjects markedly in the neuter, with the thrice-repeated neuter article (*v.* 8)—and though his style generally has a tendency to prefer the neuter—as if the unexpressed Personal witnesses who occupied his thought overshadowed the page, overpowered his language, and could not be put aside—the repeated *masculine* after the *three neuters* (οἱ τρεῖς). The 'Schol. apud Matth.,' quoted by Tischend., observes—"he speaks of these three in the masculine, because these are symbols of the Trinity." It may be that after the express mention of the Spirit first (in consequence of the last words of the previous clause), the Father who regenerates is symbolized by the water (Titus iii. 5; 1 Peter i. 3; James i. 17, 18), and the Son who redeems by the blood.

and these three agree in one] (οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν) *co-operate to one end*,—"to the subject of the leading clause, that Jesus is Christ" (Düsterd); perhaps "to overcoming the world" (*v.* 5). Bishop Wordsworth translates—"these *three*" (masc.) "are (joined) *into the one* (the one Substance, neuter)," and compares St John x. 30 and xvii. 11, 22, in which the unity of the Persons is described by the neuter. There is high ancient authority for this interpretation. But a theological difficulty is suggested by Dr Burton, 'Bampton Lectures,' Note 85, p. 526.

9. *If we receive the witness of men*] The *form* of the expression implies that we *do* assuredly receive human witness. We receive it naturally as *men*, not merely supernaturally as Christians—necessarily and as matter of course. This is at once an appeal to the principle of rational, historical common-sense, and to the Gospel which that principle underlies (see note, *v.* 6, and Additional Note at end of the chapter).

10, 11. Read these verses with the central clause in parenthesis, thus: *He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in* **him** (*or in Him*). (*He that believeth not God hath made*

10 He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself: he that believeth not God hath made him a liar; because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son.

11 And this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son.

12 He that hath the Son hath life; *and* he that hath not the Son of God hath not life.

13 These things have I written unto you that believe on the name

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him a liar; because he **hath not believed the witness** *that God* **hath witnessed** *of his Son.*) *And this is the* **witness**, *that God* **gave** *to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son.*

10. *the witness in* **him**, *i.e. in himself*] [Not probably *Him*, with reference to the Son of God as "the living theology of Christians," the sphere in which the witness exists.] From *v.* 6, we have had a summary of the Gospel as a Gospel of *witness;* the witness of the *Spirit*, of the *water*, of the *blood*, of *men*, of *God*. Precisely the subjective addition is now made which is natural. [The reading ἐν ἑαυτῷ found in ℵ and received by Lachm. is probably not correct. But αὐτός sometimes has a reflexive force. The Vulg. translates *in semetipso.*] All the objective witness is crowned and perfected when it passes inwardly into the soul, into the heart and life —when the believer on the Son of God hath the witness in himself. The evidential importance of the inner witness is well stated by Baxter. "I am now much more apprehensive than heretofore of the necessity of well grounding men in their religion, and especially of the witness of the indwelling Spirit; for I more sensibly perceive that the Spirit is the great witness of Christ and Christianity to the world. And though the folly of fanatics tempted me long to overlook the strength of this testimony of the Spirit, while they placed it in a certain internal affection or enthusiastic inspiration, yet now I see that the Holy Ghost in another manner is the witness of Christ and his agent in the world. The Spirit in the Prophets was his first witness; and the Spirit by miracles was the second; and the Spirit by renovation and sanctification, illumination and consolation, assimilating the soul to Christ and heaven, is the continued witness to all true believers. *And therefore ungodly persons have a great disadvantage in their resisting temptations to unbelief.*" (Richard Baxter, History of his own Life and Times in Wordsworth's 'Ecclesiastical Biography,' Vol. v. p. 568.)

him] This is not logically a proof to others; but it is the proof of proofs to ourselves. (See Rom. viii. 16.) "The first question asked of Laud was, what was the comfortablest saying which a dying man could have in his mouth; to which he meekly made answer, *cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.* Being asked again what was the fittest speech a man could use to express his confidence and assurance, he answered with the same spirit of meekness, that *such assurance was to be found within*, and that no words were able to express it rightly." 'Life of Laud,' by P. Heylin. Part II. Lib. v. 55. Thus once more the Epistle appears as the *subjective* completion of the whole Gospel of St John.

he that believeth not God] One uncial only (A) here reads, *that believeth not the Son.* This reading is not only weak in external support. For St John is not speaking of *faith in* the Son—but of *God's witness to His Son;* to which witness of God Himself he who gives not credence is guilty of impiety, because in disbelieving it he makes God a liar. (Reiche, 'Comment. Crit.')

he that believeth not God hath made him a liar; because he is **not a believer in the witness** *that God gave*] There is a double refinement of distinction in these words, which it is difficult to indicate in translation. (1) "He that believeth not God...because he believeth not" (ὁ μὴ πιστεύων τῷ Θεῷ...ὅτι οὐ πεπίστευκεν). In the last words the objective negative makes it pass from *supposition* to *fact.* The supposed case of the unbeliever has passed into *reality*, and St John represents to himself an actual unbeliever. (2) Further, the first "he that *believeth not God*," rather signifies—"not taking Him at His word," "not putting faith in His veracity"—the second, "believeth not the witness as Divine." ["πιστ. εἴς τινα, *i.e.* honor Deo soli adhibendus,...sed πιστεύειν τινί, cum sit universalius, aliquando Deo, aliquando hominibus convenit" (Lampe). This gives great force to John v. 38. "If they did not *believe Him*, how much less could they *believe in Him?*"] It is unbelief, not only denying His Divinity, but insulting His veracity. The translation of the same word in A. V. by *witness* and *record* (*vv.* 10, 11) is unfortunate.

12. *He that hath the Son hath* **the life**] He that hath not the Son hath not **that life.**

13. These things have I written unto you that ye may know that ye have eternal life—ye believers in the name of the Son of God!

There is great variety of reading here. But the readings may be divided into two classes, the *contracted* and *uncontracted*, with many slight shades of variation. The *uncontracted*

of the Son of God; that ye may know that ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God.

14 And this is the confidence that we have [1] in him, that, if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us:

15 And if we know that he hear us, whatsoever we ask, we know that we have the petitions that we desired of him.

[1] Or, *concerning him.*

may be represented by A.V.—the contracted by Tisch. (ταῦτα ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι ζωὴν ἔχετε αἰώνιον, οἱ πιστεύοντες εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ).

This reading is found in A, B, ℵ, Cod. Amiat. (so the very old Coptic version word for word), and is approved by Lachm., Lücke, Huther, and many others. But the longer reading is less likely to have been introduced into the text, and copyists might think that the passage admitted of easy and judicious abbreviation. According to the T. R. and the translation of it in the A. V., the design of the epistle was twofold: (1) That, though believers, they should know and be warned again that eternal salvation can only be by faith in Christ. (2) That they should persevere in the same faith—that believing they should continue to believe. But this is the very hinge on which the Epistle turns. The repetition of the same words—"believe on the name of the Son of God"—may not find favour in the schools of human rhetoric; but it is quite in the style of St John, who loves to engrave his weightiest sentiments upon the minds and hearts of his readers by a repetition of words, or even of phrases.

These things have I written] In letters, ἔγραψα is used for γράφω, as *scripsi* in Latin, in reference to the epistle which is being written. But we should be careful not to set down the former in all cases as an *epistolary aor.* Sometimes it points to a previous epistle (3 John *v.* 9). Sometimes it alludes to an epistle already concluded, or to a portion already finished of the letter in hand (1 John ii. 21—26, v. 13). Winer, 'Gramm. N. T. D.' Part III. § xl. p. 294. (Düsterd, Ebrard, Bengel, however, consider these words as a formal conclusion of the *whole Epistle.*)

believe **in**, &c.] The construction here denotes to give honour to, to trust in, as Divine; for the more usual expression employed to signify belief in man as well as faith in God, see above, *v.* 10.

believe **in** *the name*] "*Name* denotes the sum of a personality. Wahl interprets the Name of Jesus as Jesus, with all the ideas and memories connected with His Name." (Tholuck, 'Gospel of St John,' p. 335.) The name in the absolute sense, in the eye of God, is that by which the true essence of the being named is characterized, and not only a connotative mark. This verse is very important, as unequivocally teaching that the main object of this Epistle is practical and spiritual, not polemical.

14. *And the confidence that we have* **towards** *him* **consists in this,** *that*] (Cf. Gospel, iii. 11, xvii. 3, &c.), *i.e.* "we have full confidence that...."

he heareth us] Not *exactly* equivalent to "fulfil our petitions" (that is first mentioned, *v.* 15), but as in St John's Gospel for ἐξακούειν (ix. 31, xi. 41, 42).

15. *if we know*] A peculiar form, expressing a very strong confirmation (ἐὰν with perfect indic., the only instance in the New Testament)—"If we know, *as we certainly do.*"

we know that we have] In the pregnant Johannic sense. It is almost parallel to the way in which the word is applied to future rewards and punishments to indicate their *certainty* (Matt. v. 46; Mark iii. 29; John iii. 15; Hebrews x. 35; see Bretschn. *s. v.* ἔχω). Note in this passage two conditions of acceptable prayer—*confidence*, and *harmony with God's will.*

the desires that we have desired from Him] St John's language here is strikingly like 1 S. i. 17, LXX.

16, 17. Under the general head of prayer, a special case requires to be considered. This difficult passage may be treated most satisfactorily by a continuous paraphrase of *vv.* 12—21.

"All the things contained in this Epistle I have written for two great ends to you who believe on the name of the Son of God—that ye may know that ye have already eternal life, and that ye may continue to believe on that name.

"Continuing in this knowledge and belief we have confidence towards Him consisting in this—that if we ask aught according to His will He heareth us. And if we know—as we do—that He heareth us whatsoever we so ask, we know that we have the petition which we ask from Him.

"Here is a case to be considered however. If any man see **his brother sinning sin** we will suppose it to be not to death, he shall ask, and God shall give him life, *i.e.* in the case of those whom we suppose not to sin unto death. There is sin to death. I do not say that he shall inquire concerning that. All unrighteousness is sin, and there is sin which as a matter of fact is not unto death.

"But be comforted. We know that every one who having been born of God continues in that blessed state is not an habitual sinner; but the true everlasting Son of God keepeth

16 If any man see his brother sin a sin *which is* not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it.

17 All unrighteousness is sin: and there is a sin not unto death.

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him, and that wicked one toucheth him not. Yea, we know that we are of God, and the world lieth wholly in the power of the wicked one. Not so with us. We know further that the Son of God is present, and hath given us an understanding to know the one True God. And in His Son Jesus Christ [this is the true God and eternal life] we are in the True God.

"Children! who are in the one true God and in the true God His Son, guard yourselves by one decisive act of self-defence from the idols."

16. *There* **is sin** *unto death*] As to this, *four tests* are positively discoverable in the text itself. (*a*) It does not seem to be any *single* sin, but **sin** of a particular *kind* (**there is sin**). (*β*) From the emphatic way in which *brother* is used, it could only occur among *Christians*, in the full communion of the Church. (*γ*) It would seem to be such sin as was, in some sense, *perceptible* and *visible*—"if any man *see*." (*δ*) According to the Johannic sense of the word, the *death* spoken of cannot be *bodily death* from the *judgment of God;* or the mere spiritual losses—however grave and real—of a deserved excommunication. It must mean *moral* and *spiritual death* (1 John iii. 14), deprivation of **the life** (supra, *v.* 12). It might seem as if its lineaments were traced in the previous part of the Epistle. By heresy, by unbelief, by obstinate wordliness, by want of love issuing in a Cainlike hatred, we may reverse the blessed transition "from death unto life" (1 John iii. 14), and pass from "life to death," *i.e.* to a state of *spiritual* (not yet necessarily *eternal*) death. The completion of this state is the passing out from the light of Christ and of His Church into darkness—possibly into apostasy and idolatry, or into atheism. This explanation seems to meet the whole context from *v.* 16 on. St John does not state whether such a sinner's case is absolutely hopeless, whether he is definitively incapable of conversion. But he will not *desire* Christians to intercede for those who, as far as in them lies, have voluntarily dipped the roots of their souls in poison, and sought to destroy their Christian life. The reference is here, as so often, to the Gospel of St John. Even among Christians there was the possibility of incurring the doom of which Jesus warned the unbelieving Jews—"Ye shall die in your *sin*...in your *sins*" (John viii. 21—24). See Additional Note at the end of the chapter.

He shall give **to him** (αὐτῷ) *life, for them that sin not unto death* (τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν μὴ πρὸς θάνατον). These words may be explained in two ways. (1) Apposition does not necessarily extend to *gender* and *number*. A plural in appos. may refer to a collective singular (1 Cor. i. 2; cf. 1 K. xii 10, LXX.). "He shall give life *to* him, *i.e. to* those sinning, in a way which may be conceived of as not unto death." (2) "To him" may, more probably, refer to *the person asking*. "God shall give to him who asks in faithful prayer life *for those* (dativ. comm.) not sinning unto death."

There **is sin** *unto death. I* **say not concerning that, that he shall inquire.**

I say not. "I say not that he (*i.e.* the Christian brother) shall pray for it. Which may seem cautiously set. Not that he *forbids*, but only doth not *bid*, to pray for them, or did not *promise* good success to prayer offered for such an one." (Hammond.) Cf. the prohibition: "Pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession to Me" (Jer. vii. 16). ("It is not for any one to heal this sin but Christ only.") "I do not command him to pray." (Augustine, *in loc.*; cf. however 'Retract.' i. 19.) A Lap. paraphrases well: "I have said above 'that, if we ask anything according to His will He heareth us...that we know that we have the petitions that we desired of Him' (*vv.* 14, 15). Yet I except one case, that of 'sin unto death,' *i.e.* if a brother have, to thy knowledge, sinned not unto death, pray for him, and I am full sure that this will be heard. But, if it be sin unto death, I must not, I cannot, engage. Yet I do not absolutely forbid intercessory prayer. Pray if thou wilt, but be not sure that thou wilt be heard."

Observe "sin not unto death" (*v.* 16), and again (*v.* 17). "In the former clause μή is used as suitable to *a subjective* observation, dependent upon *if he see*. In the latter clause, οὐ occurs intentionally, since an *objectively valid* principle is expressed, a *dogmatically real* idea is established" (Winer).

inquire] This word (ἐρωτήσῃ) stands with marked emphasis at the close of the sentence, and is distinguished from *ask* (αἰτήσει) at its beginning. See on John xvi. 23, and Archbp Trench, 'Syn. N. T.' xl.

18, 19. The Apostle marks by a threefold *we know* three great general principles of the Epistle.

(*a*) We are conscious that he who having been born of God continues in that blessed state, continues not in sin, kept as he is by the Son of God. (*v.* 18.)

(*b*) We are conscious of a new nature

18 We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not; but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not.

19 *And* we know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness.

20 And we know that the Son of

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and of lofty privileges which come from God, as contrasted with the world's entire devotion to the evil one. (*v.* 19.)

(*c*) We are conscious of the presence of the Son of God, and of the faculty of knowing God given by Him. (*v.* 20.)

The Epistle is pervaded by *three* relations—(*a*) to holiness, (*b*) to the world, (*c*) to the Person of Christ. See for (*a*) i. 6, ii. 3, 13, 20, 27, iii. 3; for (*b*) ii. 8, 15 sqq., iii. 13; (*c*) ii. 20—22.

18. *We know* (οἴδαμεν)] A rare form elsewhere. The spirit of St John was one with that of his readers. Not only he, but the Church; not only an Apostle, but all Christendom. His own personal conviction enlarges, as it were, into that of the Church.

The idea in the latter part of this verse is exactly opposite to that which is derived from A. V. It is not that "he that is born of God *keepeth himself*;" but that "the **Begotten of God** (ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ), i.e. *Jesus, keepeth him.*" The *perf.* not the *aor.* (see beginning of this *v.*) is used by St John for the human child of God. See for the *idea*—"He that is of God" (ὁ ὢν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ), John vi. 46, where a hasty reader thinks of the privilege of every true Christian, not of the sole dignity of the everlasting Son of the Father. The expression used by Chrysostom in commenting upon the latter passage throws light upon the verse before us—"what this essence is no one knoweth, save only He that was Begotten of Him" (ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ). S. Joann. Chrysost. 'In Joann. Homil.' xv. (Tom. VIII. 99, edit. Migne.) We have here the statement of the Son of God (John xvii. 12) generalized as a principle of the Christian life. Besides this, in the Gospel the Father is prayed by Christ to "keep" Christians (xvii. 14, 15). Indeed, it may almost be said that neither in St John's writings, nor anywhere else in the New Testament, are Christians spoken of as absolutely and universally "*keeping* themselves." For 1 Tim. v. 22; James i. 27; Jude *v.* 21, refer to "keeping themselves" in some *special department* of Christian duty or life.

toucheth him not] (prob. an allusion to *touch not Mine anointed*, 1 Chro. xvi. 22, LXX.). The promise implied in this is fulfilled in him who having been born of God continues in that condition.

19. *We know that we are* **from** *God, and the world lieth* **wholly**.

Lieth wholly (ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τ. π. κεῖται). **Wholly**, with emphasis, like Milton's—"where armies *whole* have sunk" (cf. "Thou wast **wholly** born," John ix. 34).

lieth wholly in the evil one. ("Mundus totus in *Maligno*" (not in *malo*) "positus est." Vulg.) The meaning here appears to be determined by **the evil one** of *v.* 18, and cannot therefore have any weight (additional to *v.* 18) in justifying the translation ("deliver us from the evil one," Matt. vi. 13). The image may be taken from a child on a parent's lap. Note the *advance* from *toucheth* in last verse to *lieth wholly* in this.

We know that we are **from** *God.* "In an age when the purifying influences of the Spirit had no operation *beyond* the walls of the Church—and when, moreover, *within* those limits the Gospel was exerting its fullest influence—Christians, conscious as they were of both hopes and virtues to which none but themselves could pretend, were liable to no embarrassment (whatever grief) in taking up the Apostle's profession, *we know that we are of God.* While the Church and the world are in any such relative position, each exhibits its proper internal quality in the most conspicuous manner. Purity belongs to one, shameless confusion to the other. The last living Apostle in the age of Trajan, he looked abroad upon the Roman world, and must, inspiration apart, boldly decide between the friends and foes of his Master" (I. Taylor, 'Saturday Evenings,' pp. 59, 60).

20. **is here**] (ἥκει) "to have come and be here" (Winer, p. 290). Cf. Ps. xl. 7, בָּאתִי (ἦκω, LXX.), the very motto and *Ich dien* of the Son of God in N. T. "*Venio* quasi symbolum Domini fuit." (Bengel on Hebrews x. 7. See passages in 'Bampton Lectures for 1876,' p. 245, note 1, 2nd edition.)

and hath given us an understanding] (διάνοιαν) that we may *know* Him that is true. *An understanding*, a faculty, a new sense. "We have five senses by which the visible world comes before us. Faith is a new sense, a new eye, by which the invisible world comes before us" (Tholuck).

that we may know] Knowledge only in the deeper sense of the word. When it treats of the relations of two persons, it designates the "perfect intuition which each has of the moral being of the other" (Godet, 'Sur l'Év. de S. Jean,' II. 542).

him that is true] Or, **the Very God** (τ. ἀληθινὸν θεόν). Is this the true reading? It is supported by A among uncial MSS., and a

God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, *even* in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life.

21 Little children, keep yourselves from idols. Amen.

preponderance of versions and Greek Fathers. (See especially Athan. 'Orat. III. c. Arian.' 19.) It might indeed have been inserted by copyists for perspicuity, but it would not so constantly have appeared in quotations unless justified by ancient MSS. (cf. also John xvii. 3; 1 Thess. i. 9).

And in His Son, Jesus Christ [this is the Very God and Eternal Life], we are in the Very (*sc.* **God**).

Waterland says, "Admitting this reading it confirms this view: 'We are in the true God, viz. the Father, by being in His Son, because that Son is the True God.' This is very expressive and significant, intimating that there is none so certain way of knowing the true God as by a teacher who is true God: nor any other way of being reconciled to God but by being united to one who is God;—that the Son of God alone can be able to unite us to the true God, and that because He Himself is true God: who by being Incarnate could join Divine and human natures, God and man, in one." (Cf. Irenæus: "No man can know God, unless God has taught him—that is to say, that without God, God cannot be known." Quoted by Waterland. Moyer, Lecture VI.)

"Allowing that a pronoun may sometimes refer to a remote antecedent, yet it is not so usual, nor so natural, neither should it be presumed without manifest necessity" (*ibid.*).

eternal life] *Eternal life* is a title of Jesus (*supra*, i. 2). "He began his Gospel with observing that the Father is God, and the Son God also; so he ended his Epistle teaching us to believe in the Father as True God, and in the Son as true God too."

the **Very God**] The Very, not the true. He who alone is really God, as distinguished from all idols. It seems most desirable to distinguish, when possible, in translation between ἀληθής and ἀληθινός. The latter, as applied to God, denotes the Being who alone is worthy to be so called, because He alone realizes the idea expressed by God. As opposed to idols, the one word *Very* implies all that is expressed in 1 Cor. viii. 4, 5, 6. This truly Johannic word is found thirteen times in the Gospel and First Epistle of St John, ten times in the Apocalypse—only in six other places of the New Testament. "The Son, according to John, is not simply God, but Very God." (St Athanas. 'Orat. IV. c. Arian.' 26, p. 648, edit. Thilo.)

21. Children! guard yourselves from the idols. *Guard yourselves*—the aor. (φυλάξατε) as if by one decided act. Do so—and have done with it (see Bp Andrewes, 'Anglo-Cath. Lib.' I. p. 430; quoted by Donaldson, 'Greek Grammar,' 413). (Cf. the present imperative in "keep fleeing from idolatry." 1 Cor. x. 14.) The present imperative rather denotes "measured and dispassionate" moral precept; the imperat. aor. is emotional and stringent (Winer, 'Gr. N. T. Diction.' Part III. § xliii. 329, 330.) The word which we render **guard** occurs only in this place in St John's Epistles, and three times in his Gospel (xii. 25, 47, xvii. 12). It is distinguished from the other word rendered *keep* in the A.V. (τηρεῖν) as the outward guard of a gate or bulwark, from the inward principle of watchful observation. "Guard yourself by the bulwark of the Church—you have a strong city." (Ps. xxxi. 21; Isaiah xxvi. 1.) **The idols** (ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων). These words must have had great emphasis in Ephesus; see Introd.

Two important inferences from this passage should not be overlooked. (1) The horror of *idols*, indicated by the eloquent shudder with which the Epistle closes, is a characteristic which its writer possesses in common with the author of the Revelation. (Apoc. ix. 20, xxi. 8, xxii. 15.) Cf. also for *the idols*, note on 1 Thess. i. 9. (2) To St John is often attributed an intentional and exaggerated development of the glory of our Lord. If it were so, he took part in a successful conspiracy to give the honour due to God to one whom in his heart he believed to be a created being. But the instinctive fear and loathing of *idolatry*, manifested by the emphatic close of the First Epistle, supplies a moral contradiction to this supposition. One curious fact may perhaps be noted as a possible effect of St John's teaching. It has been mentioned as singular that no example of a heathen temple, converted into a Christian church, has been found in Asia Minor, anywhere on or near the track of the earliest line of the progress of Christianity. ('Byzantine Architecture; illustrated by Examples of Edifices erected in the East during the Earliest Ages of Christianity, with Historical and Archæological Descriptions.' By Charles Texier, Member of the Institute of France, and R. Popplewell Pullan, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.)—It may be added that both the exhortation here, and the abstinence from direct use of the Old Testament throughout the Epistle, distinctly shew that St John was primarily addressing *Gentile* Christians. (The references in iii. 8—12 are to very elementary facts of Bible history.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES on CHAP. V. 6, 7, 8, 9, 16.

I.

6. The view of this difficult passage given in the text is the result of anxious and prolonged consideration. The writer feels sure that he has arrived at his conclusion without *prejudice* at least, as he commenced his special study of the verse with a leaning to a different interpretation. There are some remarks which he is desirous to add. (*a*) It may be objected to the sacramental interpretation of the *blood* at least that the Holy Communion is in Scripture spoken of rather in connection with the sacred symbol of the *Body* than of the *Blood* of Christ. It should not be forgotten, however, that there are two passages in which the two sacraments are summarily referred to, in each of which the Holy Communion is described not by the bread but by the other element which stands for the Blood of Christ. (Matt. xx. 22, 23; 1 Cor. xii. 13. For the double sacramental reference of the second text, see Waterland's powerful argument, 'Works,' IV. 669 sqq. Cp. also the language of Ignatius, *ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.* 'Ad Philad.' IV.) (*b*) The view taken in the Commentary has been dear to many of the greatest divines of the Church of England. ["Behold the Fountain that is set open for sin and for uncleanness; a fountain not of water only, but of blood too! O Saviour, by that water we are washed, by that blood we are redeemed. Those two sacraments, which Thou didst institute alive, flow also from Thee dead; the water of baptism, which is the laver of regeneration; the blood of the New Testament shed for remission of sins; and *these together with the Spirit that gives life to them both are the three witnesses on earth whose attestation cannot fail us.*" (Bishop Hall, 'Contemplations,' Book IV. Contemp. XXXII.) "I stand upon the number *two*, because they are put together (1 Cor. x. 3, xii. 13), or learn it from St John. Christ came not by water alone, but by water and blood. And there are three that bear witness; the Spirit that is the ministry of the Gospel; *the water, that is baptism, and the blood, that is the Lord's Supper*." (Bishop Taylor, 'Christian Consolation.' Of Sacraments. Chapter V. Works I. xliv. Bohn's edition.)

> "That they will pierce my side I full well know,
> That as sin came so *sacraments might flow*."
> George Herbert, 'The Sacrifice.'

The words of the prayer in our Baptismal Service, by referring the water from the pierced side to Baptism, would seem to imply the application to the other sacrament also: "Who for the forgiveness of our sins didst shed out of Thy most precious side both water and blood, and didst command Thy disciples that they should go and teach all nations, *baptizing* them...*Sanctify this water to the mystical* washing away of sin," &c. (This form is taken from ancient Liturgies. See Palmer, 'Orig. Liturg.' II. 187.) It may be added that St John's view of the sacramental life as twofold and twofold only exactly corresponds with St Paul's. 1 Cor. x. 1—4.

II.

Οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος, 'I. X. With verbs such as *εἶναι, γίνεσθαι, ἔρχεσθαι*, and the like, *διά* expresses the state or condition in which the person is, comes, &c. (cf. Rom. ii. 27; 1 Cor. xvi. 3; 2 Cor. ii. 4; Ephes. vi. 18, &c.)—"This is He who came under the conditions, as it were, of water and blood." See instances from classical writers, the LXX. and Josephus in Bretschn. 'Lex. Man.' p. 93.

Οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι. Ἐν with verbs of coming, going, &c., denotes accompanied by, "with them" (see Num. xx. 20, *καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῷ ἐν ὄχλῳ βαρεῖ, καὶ ἐν χειρὶ ἰσχυρᾷ*, LXX.), Luke xiv. 31; Rom. xv. 19; 1 Cor. iv. 21; 2 Thess. ii. 9; Heb. ix. 25. ["Ἐν ad eam conjunctionem quæ est *in comitatu*, ubi convenit cum *σύν* vel *μετά*, quo sensu plerumque legitur eum verbis *veniendi, eundi* et similibus, ut propriè sit *in medio aliquorum*, i.e. cum iis in comitatu eorum, et maximè, quamquam *non semper*, dicatur de pluribus." Bretschn. 'Lex. Man.' p. 138. Thus Rom. xv. 29, *ἐν πληρώματι εὐλ. ἐλεύσομαι*, "I will so come, as to bring with me fulness of blessing." Heb. ix. 25, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσέρχεται ἐν αἵματι*, "the High Priest enters, accompanied by, bringing with him, blood." The whole manifestation of Jesus was, so to speak, under the condition of water and blood. He came bringing with Him, accompanied by, not the water only, but the water and the blood.

[The supposed polemical allusion to the *disciples of the Baptist* in the words "not by water only," would seem to have arisen from a failure in perceiving St John's motive in the prominence which he gives to the Baptist. The whole Gospel contains a series of witnesses, of whom the Baptist is the first and not the least important (i. 7, v. 36). Moreover, writing, as St John did, after the other Evangelists, partly to supply and fill up, he naturally added some particulars about the precursor (Tischend. 'Præf. Synop. Evang.' p. xxiv., and Eusebius, 'Hist. E.' there quoted). M. Renan finds this polemical allusion in the text, which he interweaves, into his theory with his usual adroitness. "The *school of the* Baptist did not expire with its founder. Many years after the death of the two Masters, the Baptism of John was still administered. Later (about A.D. 80) the *Bap-*

tist's sect was in *opposition to Christianity*, especially in Asia Minor. The Apostle appears to combat it indirectly (Gospel i. 26, 33, iv. 2; 1 John v. 6; cf. Acts xix. 1—4). One of the Sibylline poems seems to come from the school. As to the sects of Hemerobaptists, Baptists, Elchasaites who filled Syria, Palestine, and Babylon in the second century, and of whom fragments remain to our own day in the Mendaites, or so-called Christians of St John, it may not be sure that they have the same origin with the movement of John Baptist, or that they are of authentic descent from John. His own true and peculiar school, half fused into Christianity, fell into the position of a petty Christian heresy and passed into obscurity." ('Vie de Jésus,' pp. 203, 204.) Niemeyer, 'de Docetis,' discusses the question whether the "School of the Baptist" is referred to here and in the Gospel (i. 7, 8, 15—20, 23, 26—29, 34, iii. 27—36, v. 36, x. 4). He quotes some fragments brought to light by Norberg upon the disciples of John, or Sabians[1]. In this sect some critics think they can detect a different school of Johannites from those who supposed John to be Messiah—a type of doctrine which indeed asserted that Messiahship belonged neither to our Lord nor to John, but (as in the Gnostic and Doketic speculations) to a heavenly nature only apparently endowed with a human body. But the gravest doubt rests upon the whole interpretation, and the question cannot be answered —*when* and *how* did those dogmas and terms, to which St John is supposed to refer polemically in his Gospel and in 1 John v. 6, pass over to the Sabians? On the whole, the existence of a "School of the Baptist," not only *behind* the full Pentecostal development of Christianity but in fierce dogmatic opposition to it, seems extremely uncertain. And the general object of St John's Gospel, together with the well-ascertained heretical tenets of the Cerinthians—not to mention the purpose of the writer of the Epistle to refer constantly to the Gospel—supply us with a sufficient key to the text.]

The following remarks from the pen of the Rev. Samuel Haughton, M.D. of the University of Dublin, add to the stores of information in the notes on St John's Gospel, and to Dr Stroud's often-quoted discussion on 'The Physical Cause of the Death of Christ.' They are inserted here by the kind permission of the great physiologist by whom they were written (see also 'Church Quarterly Review,' Jan. 1880):—

Ἦλθον οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ τοῦ μὲν πρώτου κατέαξαν τὰ σκέλη, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου τοῦ συσταυρωθέντος αὐτῷ· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐλθόντες, ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν ἤδη τεθνηκότα, οὐ κατέαξαν αὐτοῦ τὰ σκέλη· ἀλλ' εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ ἑωρακὼς μεμαρτύρηκε, καὶ ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία· κἀκεῖνος οἶδεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς πιστεύσητε.—John xix. 32—35.

Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος, Ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστὸς, οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι.—1 John v. 6.

"When the soldier pierced with his spear the side of Christ, He was already dead; and the flow of blood and water that followed was either a natural phenomenon explicable by natural causes or it was a miracle. That St John thought it, if not to be miraculous, at least to be unusual, appears plainly from the comment he makes upon it, and from the emphatic manner in which he solemnly declares his accuracy in narrating it.

"Repeated observations and experiments made upon men and animals have led me to the following results—

"When the left side is freely pierced after death by a large knife, comparable in size with a Roman spear, three distinct cases may be noted:

"1st. No flow of any kind follows the wound, except a slight trickling of blood.

"2nd. A copious flow of blood only follows the wound

"3rd. A flow of water only, succeeded by a few drops of blood, follows the wound.

"Of these three cases, the first is that which usually occurs; the second is found in cases of death by drowning and by strychnia, and may be demonstrated by destroying an animal with that poison, and it can be proved to be the natural case of a crucified person; and the third is found in cases of death from pleurisy, pericarditis, and rupture of the heart. With the foregoing cases most anatomists who have devoted their attention to this subject are familiar; but the two following cases, although readily explicable on physiological principles, are not recorded in the books (except by St John). Nor have I been fortunate enough to meet with them.

"4th. A copious flow of water, succeeded by a copious flow of blood, follows the wound.

"5th. A copious flow of blood, succeeded by a copious flow of water, follows the wound.

"Assuming for the present, what I shall shortly prove, that death by crucifixion causes a condition of blood in the lungs similar to that produced by drowning and strychnia, the fourth case would occur in a crucified person who had previously to crucifixion suffered from pleuritic effusion; and the fifth case would occur in a crucified person, who had died upon the cross from rupture of the heart. The history of the days preceding our Lord's

[1] Norberg, 'Commentatio de Rel. et Linguâ Sabæorum' (in 'Commentat. Reg. Soc. Goettingensis' 1780).

crucifixion effectually excludes the supposition of pleurisy, which is also out of the question if blood first and water afterwards followed the wound. There remains, therefore, no supposition possible to explain the recorded phenomenon except *the combination of the crucifixion and rupture of the heart.*

"That rupture of the heart was the cause of the death of Christ is ably maintained by Dr William Stroud[1]; and that rupture of the heart actually occurred I firmly believe; but at the same time I do not think that mere rupture of the heart without crucifixion can account for the flow of blood as well as water. The order of the phenomenon was the following: the spear of the soldier pierced in succession the pleura, the lung, and the pericardium. From the pleural cavity nothing flowed; from the lung was poured out the dark fluid blood, characteristic of crucifixion; and from the sac of the pericardium followed the copious flow of water (serum), separated after death from the blood that had filled this cavity and caused instantaneous death, when the sufferer closed His long agony, and having said 'It is finished' bent His head and gave up the ghost, because His heart was broke. It remains now to investigate the causes of death in ordinary crucifixion, and to shew that it can explain the copious flow of blood that followed the wound inflicted after the death by the spear of the soldier.

"In crucifixion, as commonly practised by the Romans, the sufferer was nailed by the feet to the upright beam, and his hands were fastened by nails or cords to the cross-beam; while a projecting bar, passing between the legs, afforded a partial support to the weight of the body. In this constrained position the operation of breathing, as far as it is performed by means of the intercostal muscles, was seriously interfered with, because the ribs were fixed by the strain caused by the suspension of the body from the arms by the intervention of the great pectoral and serrate muscles connecting the upper limbs with the trunk; and the unfortunate sufferer was thus mechanically reduced to the condition of one whose intercostal muscles have been tetanized by the action of strychnia or lock-jaw, or other cause capable of producing this result. In consequence of the above-mentioned interference with the free action of the intercostal muscles, the breathing was conducted altogether by means of the diaphragm; a condition so painful after a short time, that the sufferer involuntarily raised his body by bearing upon the nails that secured his feet, or by swinging himself from the points of suspension of his hands, notwithstanding the agony thus occasioned, which was easily endured in comparison of the greater agony produced by his diaphragmatic breathing. It thus frequently happened that a strong man of resolute will, by raising himself by the hands, or lifting himself on his feet, remained alive upon the cross for three or four days, during which his blood, in consequence of imperfect oxidation, became more and more venous and fluid, and was lodged in a larger proportion than was natural in the substance of his lungs, so that if pierced after death, these organs would have given forth a copious flow of fluid black blood, like that observed to flow from the lungs of an animal killed by strychnia, or suffocated in water after much struggling. When it was not convenient for the soldiers to remain for three or four days on the watch beside the cross to prevent the interference of their friends, or when, as in the case of Jewish criminals (Deut. xxi. 22, 23), it was necessary to terminate their sufferings before sunset, death was hastened by breaking the bones of the legs and arms, near the ankles and wrists, by means of an iron mallet. The effect of the fracture of the legs and arms was to prevent the sufferer from relieving the agony of diaphragmatic breathing by restoring the action of the intercostal muscles, and he thus perished miserably in a few hours of horrible suffering, instead of prolonging his life for some days by the painful process of relieving the intercostal muscles by lifting himself by the muscles of the arms and legs. In either case death was ultimately produced by deficient oxidation of the blood, and a post-mortem wound of the lung would be followed by a copious flow of dark and fluid blood. In the case of the Divine Redeemer, this flow of blood caused by crucifixion was followed by the flow of water due to the rupture of the substance of the heart, and the effusion some time before death of a large quantity of blood into the cavity of the pericardium."

The importance of this is obvious. It shews that the narrative in St John xix. could never have been invented; that the facts recorded must have been seen by an *eye-witness;* and that the eye-witness was so astonished that he apparently thought the phenomenon miraculous.

[1] 'A Physical Treatise on the Cause of the Death of Christ.' 8vo. London. Hamilton and Adams. 1847.

I am permitted by the widow and son of an eminent physician who recently died from rupture of the heart to mention the following particulars, which may be regarded as typical in such cases:—

1. The pericardium contained a pint and a half of fluid.

2. This fluid consisted of half a pint of soft clot, tolerably well separated, and one pint of clearish serum.

3. The examination was made fifty hours after death.

7, 8. This passage stands as above in A.V. Elz. has in addition to the Greek words, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, the following:—ἐν

τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ. It is not within the scope of the present undertaking to enter minutely into a question which is so purely one of critical scholarship. It may suffice to say that the additional words (1) break the continuity of the context, (2) are unsupported, (*a*) by any uncials, (*b*) by any cursives, except three of comparatively recent date, (*c*) by any good MSS. of ancient versions, (*d*) by any Greek Fathers of the first four centuries, (*e*) by any older Lectionaries. Those who still seriously defend the additional words are obliged to content themselves, *either* with attempting to shew the relevancy of the interpolation to the context, *or* with trying to decide the issue upon writings of Latin Fathers of the African Church. There can be no doubt that the sagacity of Cardinal Wiseman, and the learning of M. Lehir, have added to the evidence of a disposition on the part of the teachers of the African Church from Tertullian to Fulgentius, if not to quote the words in the fuller form, at least to make the addition in full or in part an almost inseparable gloss. Fulgentius not only cites the words, but asserts that they were quoted by St Cyprian ('Respons. ad Arian.' *ad fin.*, 'De Trinit. ad Felicem'). In the confession of faith of 400 Bishops at the Conference of Carthage, convoked by Hunneric (A.D. 484), the passage occurs in part at least. St Victor of Vita transcribes the confession. In it occurs the sentence: "Et ut adhuc luce clarius unius divinitatis esse cum Patre et Filio Spiritum Sanctum doceamus, Joannis evangelistæ testimonio comprobatur. Ait namque—'tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cælo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus; et hi tres unum sunt.'" ('Hist. Persec. Vandal.' Lib. III.) It is, therefore, scarcely accurate to assert that Vigilius Tapsensis is "the first of the Latin Fathers who quoted the spurious words." (Tischendorf, 'N. T. Græcè,' Edit. 7, II. 226; Griesbach, 'Dissert.' at end of Tom. II. Crit. Edit. of N. T., 1806.) Ingenious attempts have also been made to find allusions in St Augustine. "Habeto duo vel tres testes, P. et F. et Sp. Sanctum." 'In Joan. Evang. Tract.' XXXVI. 10.—"Deus itaque summus et verus cum Verbo suo, et Sp. Sancto, *quæ tria unum sunt*." 'De Civ. D.' V. 11. St Cyprian writes in one passage—"de P. et F. et Sp. Sancto scriptum est '*et tres unum sunt*'" ('De Unit. Eccl.'), and in another, "*cum tres unum sint*." ('Epist. ad Jubaien.') Tertullian also quotes the words "*tres unum sunt*" ('Adv. Iren.' c. XXV.), and in a way which might not unfairly be contended to indicate that he drew his citation from *v.* 7 (*not v.* 8), and that he used the words as words of Scripture. There can be no doubt that in the chain of African witnesses (Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, the Bishops at Carthage, Victor of Vita, and Fulgentius) there is something remarkable. But there is no passage from these African Latin Fathers which cannot be accounted for by the Trinitarian allusion which unquestionably underlies the authentic passage, or by the words *tres unum sunt* specially impressing themselves upon the Church of Africa[1]. It is impossible to shew any reason for believing that the African Churches alone were in possession of the contested verse, or to account for a passage of such dogmatic importance having disappeared from the Greek MSS. and from the versions of every other branch of the Church. Why should Africa have enjoyed a more ancient Latin version of the N. T. than Rome itself, drawn directly from Greek MSS., older and more complete than any which we now possess? (The argument in favour of the interpolations is drawn out fully in 'Two letters on 1 Joh. v. 7, containing also an inquiry into the origin of the first Latin version of Scripture, commonly called the Itala.' By N. Wiseman, D.D. Rome, 1833. M. Lehir's treatise has not yet been published, but an abstract of its contents is given 'Introd. au N. T.' par H. de Valroger, II. 552—568. Bentley's golden words may well re-assure any who suppose that the candour of Christian criticism has weakened the proof of the great Christian dogma of the Trinity: "If the fourth century knew that text, let it come in, in God's name; but if that age did not know it, then *Arianism in its height was beat down without the help of that verse*; and let the fact prove as it will the *doctrine* is unshaken." ('Letter,' January 1, 1717.)

9. It will be seen how directly this meets the objection of perhaps the most learned and certainly the most eloquent of the opponents of St John's Gospel: "The School of St John in Asia Minor was characterized by a tendency, commoner in antiquity than now, but very articulately marked in all *mystic ideologists*, viz. *indifference to historical reality*. Without the slightest scruple that school

[1] Bentley appears to have supposed that "Cyprian's words were transcribed into the *margin*, or between the lines of *v.* 8, of a book of some one who had a great veneration for that Father, as a *gloss*, which is very common in MSS. Next, a copyist, finding the words so inserted, imagined that the former copyist had by mistake omitted them, and therefore put them in the Text. And thus the insertion might rest till a long time after, and then the sham Preface must be made, complaining of the unfaithful Translator for leaving it out!" See Bp Wordsworth's reasons for supposing that the remarks in Casley's 'Preface to Catalogue of Royal Library' represent Bentley's Prælection of May 1, 1717. 'N. T.' II. P. 2, p. 124.

applies the principle which was destined to become Hegelian, 'it *ought* to be, therefore *it is*.' See the fourth Gospel. It is evident to rigorous criticism that that Gospel systematically subordinates chronological order and the tendency of its narratives, to the dogma of the Incarnate Word." (M. Réville, 'Irenæus.') Surely this "mystic ideology," this "indifference to historical reality," is inconsistent with the profession in 1 John v. 9, of the essentially historical principle of belief upon evidence. The tradition of the Church credits St John with a grave and awful reverence for historical truth. It asserts that he degraded from the ministry a Presbyter of Asia Minor who confessed that he wrote the apocryphal acts of Paul and Thecla from excessive zeal for the honour of that Apostle. This very ancient tradition is an indication of that which was felt to be St John's view upon such matters. The guilt of the Asiatic Presbyter would have been light indeed compared with that of St John himself had he placed words in the mouth of the Saviour which He never spoke[1]. [The *dramatic truth* of St John's narrative in his Gospel, the delineation of character, the consistency of language, in the various persons introduced, should be studied and dwelt upon as a proof of its historical veracity. A great master of fiction has said for himself—"I neither can, nor do pretend, to the observation of complete accuracy even in matters of outward costume, *much less in the more important points* of language and manners;" and he speaks of "the fair license due to the author of a fictitious composition" (Sir W. Scott, Preface to 'Ivanhoe.') Now in point of "language and manners," St John has never been proved to fail. *Either* the delineator of the Samaritan woman, the blind man, Thomas, Martha and Mary, was a consummate artist, *or* a true chronicler. Certainly he was not the former; therefore, he was the latter.]

16. The general principle laid down in the note (*supra*) will enable us to deal with most of the interpretations which have been given of "sin unto death."

The different views may be briefly tabulated thus:

1. Obstinate unbelief.

2. Sins punished with mortal disease (according to the synagogue) or made capital by the civil power (Michaelis—Serenfeld. 'Syllog. Dissert. Theol.' p. 470).

3. Sin against the Holy Ghost (Matt. xii. 31) [but if so, it would be more explicitly described]. (Schol. Matth. Beza, Wolff. So many of the Fathers.)

4. Sin, obstinate and unrepented, "when a man sins without any feeling leading to repentance." *ὅταν τις ἁμαρτίαν ἀναισθήτως ἔχῃ πρὸς μετάνοιαν*, Schol. Matthäi, 146—230. Œcumenius seems to adopt this, referring to Judas' example (Schol. Matth. Œcumenius).

5. After true knowledge of God, sinning against the brotherhood of the Church, and resisting the grace of reconciliation. (Augustine: "Peccatum fratris ad mortem puto esse, cùm post agnitionem Dei per gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi quisquam oppugnat fraternitatem et adversus ipsam gratiam, quâ reconciliatus est Deo, invidentiæ fæcibus agebatur" (afterwards, "si in hâc perversitate finierit hanc vitam"). "Peccatum autem non ad mortem est si quisquam non *amorem a fratre* alienaverit, sed officia *fraternitatis* debita per alienam infirmitatem animi non exhibuerit." 'Opp. Aug.' Tom. III. P. 2, 197 (quoted by Lücke). Aquinas, Suarez.)

6. Sin leading to death and hell.

7. Final impenitence.

8. Blasphemy (1 S. ii. 25), or apostasy to idolatry.

9. Sin from its enormity practically incorrigible, like that of Judas, Sodom, &c.

10. Views which may be called *Ecclesiastical*.

(*a*) The *excommunicate*—for whom no solemn public prayers were made, though private intercession was not forbidden ("A man for whom intercessory prayers of the Church might be hurtful"). Neander. Grotius: "Qui cum peccaverint moniti peccare pergunt, aut certè disciplinæ, quæ in ecclesiâ instituta est, se subjicere nolunt," but compare 2 Tim. ii. 25, 26.

(*b*) The state of sin described Heb. x. 28, 29, and referred to by the Second Council of Nicæa, *i.e.* after Church censure *ἀδιόρθωτον μένειν*. So there were among the Jews three degrees of sin, of which *Schammatha* ("there is death") was third. Bp Wordsworth cites Schoettgen to this effect, who states that John's language (1 John v. 16) is "grounded in Hebrew thought, law, and language." (See especially Lücke, Commentary on this passage, who has supplied much of the material here employed.) This note may close with a brief extract from a great English divine.

"This passage led Jovinian to teach that a baptized man should never sin. Hence it was inferred that if a man falls away, he is lost beyond hope (St Hieron. 'adv. Jovinian.' Lib. II. Tom. IV. Part ii. p. 193). Some acts of sin are so incident to the condition of men that the man who hath committed them is still within the methods of pardon. But "*unto death*," *i.e.* some men proceed beyond the measures and economy of Gospel, and the usual methods and probabilities of repentance, by obstinacy, or despising offers of grace and means of pardon. For

[1] This tradition is at least as old as Tertullian, born A.D. 190 (Tertullian, 'De Bapt.' 17; Hieron. 'de Script. Eccles.' VII. See Tischend. 'Act. Apost. Apoc.' *Prolegomena*, XXI. sqq.).

such a man John does not encourage us to pray: if he be such our prayers will do him no good. But because no man can tell the last minute or period of pardon, therefore Scripture left us under indefinite restraint and caution—discretory enough to represent the sad state of things in which the impenitent have immerged themselves, yet so indefinite and cautious that we may not be too forward in applying it to particulars, nor in prescribing measures to Divine Mercy, nor in passing final sentence upon our brother before we have heard our Judge Himself speak. Every act of sin takes away something from the contrary grace; but if the root abide in the ground, the plant is still alive, and may bring forth fruit again. But he only is dead who hath thrown off God for ever, or entirely, with his very heart." (Bishop Taylor on 'Repentance.') So St Ambrose, Eph. ii. 1, "Sinners sin unto death, *i.e.* habitual, refractory, pertinacious and incorrigible sinners, in whom there is scarcely any hope or sign of life."

II. JOHN.

Senior ergo, cui scilicet cycnea suppeteret quædam gratia senectutis.
(S. Ambros. 'In Psalm.' xxxvi. 25.)

INTRODUCTION.

I.

1. To whom is the Epistle addressed?—To a Christian woman, Kyria.
2. Reasons for this conclusion.

II.

1. Who is "the Elder" spoken of?
(*a*) The style and contents point to St John, *negatively* and *positively*.
(*b*) Two conclusions adverse to St John's authorship both of the Epistles and of the Gospel drawn from the title of Elder.
A. The title of Presbyter could not have been assumed by an Apostle.
Answer.
B. Objection from Eusebius's interpretation of the passage of Papias preserved in his History.
Answer.

III.

Interest and importance of the letter as addressed 1. to a *Christian widow*—
2. to an *Ephesian widow*.
3. The difficulty in accepting the fact that the Epistle is addressed to an individual woman arises to many minds from *v.* 10.

IV.

Analysis of the Second Epistle of St John.

V.

External testimony.

I.

1. Among the first questions which naturally suggest themselves to readers of the Epistle are those connected with its opening words. To whom is the letter inscribed—to the Church in *general*, or to a *particular* Church *personified*? Or, if addressed to an individual, what is her name?

The writer of the present notice has slowly, and almost reluctantly, come to the conclusion that the Second Epistle of St John was sent to an individual Christian woman, Kyria[1]. The reluctance arises partly from the weight of authority *against* this interpretation. It is observed by Bp Wordsworth that "in an ancient painting at St Maria in Trastevera at Rome, Christ is represented as enthroned with the Church as the Queen on His right hand, and in it a book with the words inscribed—'Veni, *Electa* mea, et ponam te in thronum meum'." This is the representation in pictorial form of the interpretation of St Jerome[2],

[1] The name seems to be Kyria—(1) Because, had the name been Electa the order of the words would, probably, have been different. (2) Because the position of the word Κυρία (*v.* 5) best corresponds with the notion of its being a proper name. (3) Because the sister of her to whom the Epistle is inscribed is also spoken of at the close as "thine *elect* sister" (τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς, *v.* 13). (4) Because there is ample evidence that at the time to which the letter must be referred, Kyria was in use as a proper name, which can scarcely be said of Electa. (See references in Lücke, 'Comment. üb. die Brr. des Johann.' p. 35.) Kyria is in meaning equivalent to the Chaldaic מָרְתָא (Μάρθα, *domina*).

[1] New Testament, Vol. II. 'Catholic Epistles,' pp. 127, 128.

[2] After quoting "una est columba mea...una est matri suæ, *electa* genitrici suæ" (Cant. vi. 8), that father adds—"ad *quam* scribit Johannes epistolam, *senior electæ*, dominæ et filiis ejus." 'Epist. ad Ageruchiam,' CXXIII. (XCI. edt. Benedict. Opp. Tom I. 1053, Edt. Migne.) [The 'Synops. Athanas.' has, however, γράφει Κυρίᾳ.]

and of many others, ancient and modern, from whom one is unwilling to separate. The reasons for a respectful dissent from this interpretation are the following.

2. It seems easy to see why many writers thought themselves constrained to have recourse to allegory. (*a*) The person addressed by St John, if person it were, was lost in obscurity. This was sufficiently indicated by the fact that even the name was not absolutely certain. But the first verse interpreted of a woman, Kyria, and her children, would imply that they were known and loved far and wide through the Church, by "all who knew the truth[1]." A personification of a church, or of the Church, as a woman with many sons, would remove the difficulty. (*b*) The objections which were raised against the Epistle to Philemon in some quarters will serve to shew how brevity and an everyday tone were apt to be considered inconsistent with inspiration. The oracle of God could hardly condescend to the affairs of common life, to the interests of a slave, to the feelings and spiritual welfare of a widow and her family. But exalt the widow into a mystic figure of the Church mourning for her Lord, and the objection would be removed[2]. (*c*) It certainly would appear singular to many that a note to a private friend should find its place among the Epistles known as *Catholic*. (*d*) The language of St Peter[3], whether interpreted of the Church in Rome[4] or of the Church in the literal Babylon[5], might seem to afford an almost exact parallel[6].

Of these objections, the first presses the words too closely, and does not make sufficient allowance for the electric current of sympathy between the Churches in St John's day. The second will make no impression upon modern Christian thought and feeling[1]. The third has been answered by Lücke. "If by the term Catholic Epistles we are to understand apostolical letters, St Paul's (ὁ ἀπόστολος) only excepted, the abovementioned difficulty is entirely removed. But even on the other hypothesis (that the ancients originally gave the name of Catholic to no epistles but such as were really encyclical) the difficulty is not serious. In some Churches, apparently, the Second and Third Epistles were not at first incorporated in the collection of Catholic Epistles. When these short letters were, sooner or later, received into that collection, one or other of two reasons may have been taken into account. Possibly these brief notes may have been considered as appendices or accompaniments to the First Epistle[2]. Possibly no more suitable place in the canon could be found for their canonical preservation, than just beside the First Epistle; which arrangement, as they were so brief, did not in the least alter the original signification of the term Catholic Epistles[3]." In reference to the

[1] "St John's Second Epistle impresses us as being addressed to a *community*, for, if a private family were signified by 'the elect lady and her children,' the Apostle could not have said that not only he, but all they also that have known the truth, 'loved the children of the elect one'" (Döllinger, 'First Age of the Church,' I. 163).

[2] For a beautiful use of the image of the Church as "a widow indeed, and therefore strong indeed," see Augustin. 'Enarrat,' Ps. cxxxi.

[3] ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή, 1 Pet. v. 13.

[4] See Buxtorf on the symbolical names of Rome familiar to the Jewish mind in his 'Lex. Chald. Talm. Rabb.' s.v. אדום, and M. Renan, 'L'Antechrist,' p. 36 and p. 122.

[5] See the profoundly interesting discussion in Introd. to 1 Peter in this volume. Cf. also Bp Wordsworth, 'New Testament,' II. 'Catholic Epistles,' pp. 68, 69.

[6] Another objection from *v.* 10 will be considered below.

[1] The tone of this is rather expressed by Bengel's beautiful praise of the N. T. "Ad mulieres, liberos, servos, adolescentes dirigitur sermo atque ad omnes omnino." (On Heb. xiii. 34.) This inspired note to a widow is worthy of the disciple of Him who so tenderly considered the *widow's* circumstances. (Mark xii. 42; Luke xxi. 2.) Cf. note on the mention of Apphia in Philem. *v.* 2, Vol. III. 831.

[2] So Irenæus seems to have regarded 2 John ('Adv. Hæres.' III. 18). "Joannes Domini discipulus confirmat dicens [Joh. xx. 31]. ...Et in Epistola sua sic testificatus est [1 Joh. ii. 18—22]. ...Et discipulus ejus Joannes in prædicta epistola fugere eos [hæreticos] præcepit, '*multi seductores exierunt in hunc mundum, qui non confitentur Jesum Christum in carne venisse. Hic est seductor et Antichristus: videte eos, ne perdatis quod operati estis*' [2 Joh. 7, 8]. Et rursus in Epistola ait: 'multi pseudoprophetæ exierunt de sæculo...non est *ex Deo*,' sed ex Antichristo est [1 Joh. iv. 1—3]. ...Rursus in Epistola clamat [1 Joh. v. 1]." It will be observed that 2 Joh. 7, 8 is cited as from the first Epistle—perhaps from a mere slip—possibly. however, for the reason indicated by Lücke in the text.

[3] Lücke, 'Comment.' p. 355.

last argument for the mystical interpretation Bp Lightfoot adds—"The salutation" to the "elect lady" (*v.* 1) from her "elect sister" (*v.* 13) will then be a greeting sent to one Church from another; just as in 1 Peter the letter is addressed at the outset ἐκλεκτοῖς Πόντου κ.τ.λ. (i. 1) and contains at the close a salutation from ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή (v. 13)[1]. This is the strongest point that can be raised for the hypothesis, and has unquestionable weight. But the mysterious *tone* of St Peter in the passage, and the symbolical colouring imparted by the word "Babylon," makes the passage in St Peter very different from the straightforward and literal tone of St John in his Second Epistle[2].

II.

A question not only of greater interest, but of much deeper importance, arises as to the authorship of the Epistle, and is suggested by the first words which meet the eye of the reader—(ὁ πρεσβύτερος). Who is the "Elder"?

1. (*a*) The style and contents of this short note point irresistibly to the pen and heart of St John—and that *negatively* and *positively*. Some words usual with the other Apostolic writers, and in all the range of the earliest Christian literature, are not found in it. Language and ideas which lie outside the Johannic circle of the Gospel and First Epistle, lie outside the Second Epistle also. "Church" does not occur. The opening salutation (*v.* 3) is, in all probability—"grace, mercy, peace, from God the Father, and **from Jesus Christ**[1]"—the full title, "Lord Jesus Christ," not being in the Gospel or First Epistle. The teaching about Antichrist is peculiar to St John and to the First Epistle, and was especially needed in the Churches of Asia Minor. The writer of this Epistle says with energy—"this is **that Deceiver and that Antichrist**[2]." Much more convincing than the many similarities of style is the constant reference to the First Epistle. High above all the paths by which that Epistle led its readers were warnings against the *three* especial dangers of the time and place. (1) The danger of denying the true Christ; the peril of losing Christ, and God with Him—for he who has not Christ has not God. (2) The danger of failing in true love to the brethren. (3) The danger of not observing Christ's commandments. Every Christian wanted to have these three great cardinal warnings constantly at hand, engraven upon his heart. He wanted to be able to say to himself some short, sharp watchword against the *three* perils of the time. Precisely the same *three* dangers are presented to us in the Second Epistle upon a narrower canvas, and in a more concise form. The treatise is compressed into a leaflet. Hence the especial value of the Second Epistle. Easily copied and remembered, it was wafted from spot to spot, from city to city, from Church to Church It was recognized as *Catholic* in both senses of the word—in its universal circulation, and in its claim to universal acceptance as having come from an Apostle's hand. To apply the language of the time, it was felt that the feather, small as it is, had dropped from

[1] 'Epistles to Colossians and Philemon,' p. 305. "I take the view," pursues Bishop Lightfoot, "that the Κυρία addressed in the Second Epistle of St John is some *Church personified*." "The whole tenour of the Epistle," it is said, "seems to imply this, especially *vv.* 4—7 sq." But surely the Apostle might well rejoice to find some of a private friend's numerous children walking in the truth. And the warning against admitting deceivers into the house is, under the circumstances of the time, as suitable to an individual as to a Church. The view which makes Kyria an individual is not without valuable support, ancient and modern, *e.g.* "Scripta est vero ad *quandam Babyloniam*," Clem. Alexand. 'Adumbr. ad II. Joann.' Opp. Tom. III. p. 1011; and the excellent 'Synopis S. Script.' (attributed to Athanasius) simply says, ταύτην ὡς πρεσβύτερος γράφει Κυρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς. Athanas. Opp. IV. 410 (edit. Migne).

[2] Other arguments for the *mystical* interpretation are derived from the representation of the Church under the figure of a woman in the 'Pastor of Hermas,' and from the *Scholium* in Matthäi (ἐκλεκτὴν Κυρίαν λέγει τὴν ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἐκκλησίαν ὡς τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλίαν ἀκριβῆ φυλάττουσαν) compared with the old title πρὸς Παρθένους. See Reithmayer, 'Introd. Canon. B. of N. T.' (Fr. Translat. of Valroger, II. 410).

[1] See Tischendorf, 'Nov. Testam. Græc.' *Pars Altera*, 231 (edit. 7, 1859).

[2] ὁ πλάνος καὶ ὁ Ἀντίχριστος, 2 John *v.* 7. The term πλάνος, indeed, is not exclusively Johannic (cf. Matt. xxvii. 63; 2 Cor. vi. 8), nor the kindred verb and substantive, but the verb at least is a favourite with St John (John vii. 12, 47; 1 John i. 8, ii. 26, iii. 7, iv. 6 (πλάνη). The verb is found in *eight* places of the *Apocalypse*).

the eagle's wing. Here are its *three* talismans—(1) Against the peril of losing Christ, and losing God with Him. "Many deceivers are gone out into the world, those who continue in not confessing Jesus Christ coming in Flesh. This is the Deceiver and the Antichrist. Every one leading forward and abiding not in the doctrine which is Christ's, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine, he hath both the Father and the Son" (2 John *vv.* 7, 9). (2) Against the peril of losing true love of the brethren. "Not as though I wrote a new commandment unto thee, but that which we had from the beginning, that we love one another" (*v.* 5). (3) Against the peril of ceasing to observe Christ's commandment. "And this is love, that we walk after His commandments. This is the commandment, that, as ye have heard from the beginning, ye should walk in it" (*v.* 6). The style and contents of the Second Epistle of St John, we may confidently conclude, lead us back to St John the Apostle as its author.

(*b*) The title of πρεσβύτερος, assumed by the writer of these two short letters (2 John 1; 3 John 1), leads us, however, into a controversy of much importance in its bearing upon the authorship of the Gospel and the First Epistle, which have always been attributed to the beloved disciple. Two conclusions are confidently maintained by many modern critics. (A) It is allowed, indeed, that the Second and Third Epistles of John are from one hand, and *that* the hand of the writer of the fourth Gospel and of the First Epistle. But the New Testament, it is urged, gives us one clear indication of the author's position, which effectually excludes the supposition that he can have been an Apostle. For the writer of the Second and Third Epistles, who is undeniably the same with the author of the two other great Johannic works, twice calls himself ὁ πρεσβύτερος. But the title, in such a connection, can only designate the official presbyter, the minister of a particular Church, and cannot possibly have been assumed by an Apostle. (B) The scanty fragments of ecclesiastical history have preserved us one page written by Papias, which enables us to identify the writer of the Gospel and the three Epistles with the Presbyter John spoken of by that writer.

(A) It is to be observed, however, that one expression used by St Peter[1] presents a parallel to the language of St John (2 John *v.* 1; 3 John *v.* 1), even if we are compelled to understand by it the official term for the ordinary minister of a Church, which seems however to be unlikely in this case. If St John calls himself "the Presbyter," St Peter addresses the presbyters as "the fellow-Presbyter." This may confidently be maintained, in spite of the doubt which has been thrown upon the interpretation by the arguments of Grotius. If it is necessary then to suppose that the word Presbyter in this place is technical and official (which appears more than doubtful as we proceed to shew), it would not, therefore, follow that an Apostle could not apply it to himself.

(B) Whatever the word may mean, in the famous passage preserved by Eusebius[2] Papias apparently assigns the title to several other Apostles by inference. It would seem more than probable that by the Presbyter John he simply indicates the Apostle St John a second time[3]. And Papias mentions him

[1] πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος, 1 Pet. v. 1.

[2] εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους—τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν· ἢ τί Φίλιππος· ἢ τί Θωμᾶς, ἢ Ἰάκωβος· ἢ τί Ἰωάννης, ἢ Ματθαῖος, ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν· ἅ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταὶ λέγουσιν. (Papias apud Euseb. 'Hist. Eccl.' Lib. III. cap. ult. See also Routh, 'Reliq. S.' Tom. I. 8, and notes, pp. 21—25).

[3] Every one who has looked into the controversy of course knows that Eusebius draws a different inference, that he lays stress upon the fact that Papias "counts John's name twice over" (δὶς καταριθμοῦντι αὐτῷ τὸ Ἰωάννου ὄνομα). "Another John Papias mentions with those who are not of the number of the Apostles, placing Aristion before this John, and styling him presbyter. Thus by these things evidence is given to the truth of the story that two of the same name lived in Asia Minor, and that the two have tombs in Ephesus, and that each tomb is called to this day the tomb of John. To which statements it is well to attend. For it is probable that the second—if some will not have it that the first—beheld the Revelation which goes under the name of John." The questionable character of these inferences of Eusebius has been well shewn by Riggenbach, 'Lieb. Jesu' (French Transl. pp. 59, 60).

with this attribute, not because the second John is a different person from the first, but because he wishes to indicate the *two different ways* in which he obtained the information which he so much preferred, "from the living and abiding voice" of man to the less vivid narrative of books[1]. In the first place, he drew his information from those who had themselves followed the Elders—those Elders being Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, *i. e.* the Apostles. In the second place, Papias bethinks himself of the still nearer approach to the words and deeds of Jesus which he had enjoyed, and names two actual disciples of the Lord with whom he had himself conversed. First, he places Aristion, who was simply one of the actual disciples of Jesus; then he reserves for the last place, for the crown and climax of witnesses, one who was not merely a disciple of Jesus, but the Apostle (ὁ πρεσβύτερος) John[2].—"The Elder," then, at the beginning of our Epistle signifies the aged Apostle who had seen Jesus, the oldest of those who had walked with the Lord, the one existing representative of holier days and a more favoured generation. Christian art represents St John in the beauty of youth. In these two Epistles, written with a feeble hand which seems to shrink from the exertion of dipping the pen in ink[3], we see the beauty of old age. Both representations are true. St John is ever young and ever old. Those only who in youth have something of the calm and purity of old age carry into their old age something of the fire and freshness of youth.

We conclude that the Second Epistle of St John comes from the Apostle, and is addressed to an individual.

III.

1. The conclusion that this truly Apostolical letter is addressed to an individual, a woman, a widowed mother, seems to give it a deeper interest. The great question about any religion is not whether it is capable of making converts in a single generation. Can it mould and influence those converts to the late evening of a prolonged life? Can it communicate its power undiminished to a second generation? Can it find its way into the life of the family? This Epistle answers the question at a later date than any other part of the New Testament, and thus supplies what we scarcely find elsewhere. The absence of all reference to Kyria's husband makes us conclude that she was a widow. It would appear that she had not had daughters, or at least did not possess them now[1]; but she had sons, probably many, at all events three at least[2]. Upon these sons the Gospel had laid the strong grasp of its purity. Their life had touched the centre of Truth, and from it described the perfect circle of Love. St John found them making their continuous life-walk[3] in the sphere of a truth which was not only speculative; for they who had lost one earthly parent kept ever in the path indicated by a command coming from the Father[4], and received by all His children. In its main particulars, the natural inferences from the Epistle would correspond with the historical tradition of the life of St John. Its whole tone, and the title of "the Ancient" or "Elder" (ὁ πρεσβύτερος) indicate the writer's old age. Equally

[1] οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης (ap. Routh, 'Rel. Sac.' Tom. I. p. 8).

[2] ἄ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταὶ λέγουσιν. See Riggenbach *ut supra*. May we not see the vividness of a present personal recollection in the present (λέγουσιν)? What he has heard second-hand belongs to the past, to the days when he used to inquire—what he is perpetually hearing is the undying accent of Aristion and of St John the Apostle—the things which they are ever saying to him. (See Bishop Lightfoot in the 'Contemporary Review,' *ut supra*.)

[3] Is there not something significant of old age in the two passages, 2 John *v.* 12, 3 John *v.* 13? The author of this note is irresistibly reminded of an interview with a distinguished diplomatist a few weeks before his death, at an age nearly as advanced as that of St John. He kindly traced a few lines at the writer's request, with a gentle and courteous smile, asking to have his pen dipped in the ink, with an observation to the effect that "even that becomes an exertion for an old man."

[1] τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς οὓς ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ, 2 John *v.* 1.

[2] εὕρηκα ἐκ τῶν τέκνων σου περιπατοῦντας ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, 2 John *v.* 4.

[3] περιπατοῦντας, *v.* 4.

[4] καθὼς ἐντολὴν ἐλάβομεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, 2 John *v.* 4.

would it seem apparent that the Apostle was absent from his usual place of abode. That absence might, possibly, have been one of the tours of visitation for the appointment of Bishops and regulation of Churches mentioned by an early writer[1]. But men are not apt to write in such a strain, except to those who have been severed from them by barriers not easily crossed[2]. The close of the note, after its solemn warnings, is irradiated by a gleam of joy at the prospect of a meeting, so full and bright that we may be tempted to find the rift in the clouds through which it falls in some circumstance which promised deliverance from the exile in Patmos—possibly the death of Domitian and the accession of Nerva.

2. If this general view be correct, the Second Epistle of St John suggests one striking and interesting *contrast*. Kyria was a Christian widow of Ephesus. But Ephesus was the most dissolute, as it was the most superstitious, of cities. "It was entirely plunged in insolent idleness," writes Philostratus. "It was filled with players upon instruments, the ministers of every abandoned pleasure. The streets were thronged with dissolute effeminate wretches. All night long one heard nothing but balls, revels, and wanton music[3]." And "the Ephesian widow" was almost a proverb for evil even in a corrupt age. One of the marvellous gifts of the Christian Church consisted in honouring, consoling, *utilising* widowhood. For the Gospel ministers to the broken-hearted, and soothes the lonely. It saves from despair; it opens the soul to an inseparable love; it gives a new purpose by calling upon the spirit which has been healed to pour out the consolation which itself has received upon all who are wounded in the battle of life by sin or sorrow. It is remarkable that St Paul should have drawn precisely for a Bishop of the Church of *Ephesus* that picture of the true Christian widow, with her awful severity to herself and her gentle sweetness to others, with her holy and consecrated gravity[1]. Almost contemporaneously with St John's Epistle to Kyria, the famous story of the "Ephesian Widow" was told by Petronius, with its cynical insult to all that is best in the heart of a woman—to the love for the husband of her youth, to the tender recollections of her wedded life, to the sanctity of the grave, to the majesty of death[2]. Indeed the First Epistle to Timothy itself suggests the same contrast in another shape. What a difference between the younger Ephesian widow, touched by grace superficially, at the circumference not in the centre of her soul, upon whom the breath of the truth had blown without its transforming power—and such as Kyria, loved by St John and all who knew the truth for the truth's sake, which abideth in us—yes, and shall be with us for ever[3].

3. It may be well to refer finally to one passage, which is often felt to be a moral difficulty in the way of accepting the reference of this Epistle to a person. It probably, indeed, lies at the root of the eagerness to accept the *mystical* view on the part of some believing critics, who are themselves eminently free from mysticism. It is felt by such that the stern prohibition against receiving heretics who deny Christ into the house, or bidding them good-speed, is infinitely less difficult to defend as addressed to a Church than as addressed to an *individual*. But, it should be remembered that the heretic here contemplated came solemnly to the house[4], summoning it as it were formally in the name of

[1] Clem. Alexandr. 'Quis div. salv.' 43; Euseb. 'Hist. Eccl.' III. 24.

[2] See note on the force of βλέπετε ἑαυτούς, 2 John *v.* 8.

[3] 'Vit. Apollon. Thyan.' IV. 1 (quoted 'L'Apôtre St Jean,' Baunard, p. 236).

[1] 1 Tim. v. 3—10. Cf. ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς, Titus ii. 3. On the quasi-ecclesiastical position of widows in the early Church, see Bingham, 'Antiq.' VII. 4—9.

[2] The story is repeated by Jeremy Taylor, with all the many-coloured light which can be thrown upon it by his fancy and reading—strangely out of place, one is tempted to say—in 'Rules and Exercises of Holy Dying,' Chapter V. sect. VIII. The Ephesian widow's marriage "took place in the grave of her husband, in the pomp of mourning, in her funeral garments." She advises the soldier, in an emergency which arose, "to take the body of her first husband, and place it upon the gallows in place of the body of the stolen thief." Taylor's reference is to Petronius, ['Satyric.'] XVII. 1.

[3] Contrast St Paul's caustic touches (σπαταλῶσα...καταστρηνιάσουσι...τὴν πρώτην πίστιν ἠθέτησαν) 1 Tim. v. 6, 11 with 2 John *vv.* 2, 3.

[4] εἴ τις ἔρχεται, *v.* 10.

Antichrist, admittedly and as downright matter of fact bearing with him anti-christian doctrine[1]. The highest welfare of some within the house might demand that they should not be exposed to the contaminating influence. Perhaps the best and wisest commentary upon the passage has been written by Bishop Taylor—"No spiritual communion is to be held with heretical persons, when it is certain they are such, when they are convinced by competent authority and sufficient argument. But the persons of the men are to be pitied, to be reproved, to be convinced, to be wrought upon by fair confidences and the offices of civility, and invited to the family of faith by the best arguments of charity, and the instances of a holy life (1 Pet. ii. 12). Indeed, if there be danger, *i.e.* if a weak understanding may not safely converse in civil society with a subtle heretic, in such cases they are to be avoided, not saluted (Titus iii. 10; 2 John *v.* 10); but as this is only when the danger is by reason of the unequal capacities of the persons, so it must only be when the article is *certainly heresy*, and the person certainly criminal—when interest is the ingredient in the persuasion, and a certain and necessary truth destroyed by the opinions[2]." The advice, certainly, is not inconsistent with the character of St John. To forget this is to err in the same direction as that style of art which accepts for the type of St John the languid grace of an effeminate tenderness. The thunder which sometimes suddenly rolled through the sky which hung over his youth[3]—the passionate zeal which desired to bring down fire from heaven, as Elias did[4]—did not quite pass away with the new creation in Christ Jesus, with the softening of an Elijah into an Elisha. At all events this verse, and various passages in the first Epistle, indicate the same type of character[5]. The Apostle, like the truth of which he is the messenger, has his sternness as well as his indulgence, his intolerance as well as his tolerance[6]. He has been wont for more than sixty years to confine his thoughts within the limits of **The Doctrine**. He is "well pleased with the easy conditions of dwelling at Jerusalem, and not passing over the pleasant bounds of the sweet banks of Kidron." To *lead forward* over these is for him the negation of true *progress*, the ceasing to have a hold upon the living God[1].

But, after all, an age like ours has a difficulty—moral or immoral—in any such injunction, however explained. It may be well if we are led to examine how much of our difficulty arises from genuine charity—how much from feeble convictions, from a superficial courtesy, from the canvassing for popularity, from the vanity which feels confidence against temptation, and the curiosity which desires to hear what can be said in the most *piquant* form, but is utterly careless as to what is true.

IV.

Analysis of the Second Epistle of St John.

Salutation to Kyria and her sons, *v.* 1.

Ground of his affection for them, and that of all true members of the Church, *vv.* 1, 2.

Benediction upon them with two watch-words of the Epistle, *truth* and *love*, *v.* 3.

A.

First motive of writing—kindly joy in the spiritual well-being of her children, *v.* 4.

The source of that—truth as we have received *commandment* from the Father, *v.* 5.

B.

1. The *commandment*—is not new; includes *three* elements—

(*a*) Duty of mutual *love*, *v.* 5—

(*b*) of a life directed by His *commandments*, *v.* 6—

(*c*) of *Faith—the* commandment, *v.* 6[2].

[1] Note the objective negative (*καὶ ταύτην τὴν διδαχὴν οὐ φέρει, ibid.*

[2] 'Great Exemplar,' Part II. Ad. Sect. XII.

[3] Mark iii. 17.

[4] Luke ix. 54.

[5] 1 John ii. 19, 22, iv. 3, v. 19.

[6] Consistent with this is the indelible impression of St John's character left in the Church, as witnessed by the ancient and well-known story of his leaving the bath which Cerinthus had entered. Irenæus, 'Adv. Hær.' III. 3; Euseb. 'H. E.' III. 13.

[1] See notes on 2 John *v.* 9.

[2] Note *ἐντολὴν γράφων*, *v.* 5; *κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ*, *v.* 6; *ἡ ἐντολή—a commandment, His commandments, the commandment.*

2. Warnings (in *inverse* order).

(*a*) Against *Antichristianism and Antichrist*,

The peril of *faith*, *v.* 7.

(*b*) Against *losing the past*,

The peril concerning the *commandments*, *v.* 8.

(*c*) Against *false toleration*,

The peril of misunderstanding the commandment of *love*, *vv.* 9, 10, 11.

Joyful anticipation of meeting, *v.* 12.

Salutation from her sister's children, *v.* 13.

V.

The external evidence for the Second Epistle of St John is, as might be anticipated, less than that which can be adduced for the First. Still it is considerable, both in the East and West. In the Alexandrian school it was generally recognized. Clement of Alexandria looks upon it as a note of the simplest tone, addressed to a lady of Babylon, by name Electa[1]. Eusebius distinctly states that Clement in his 'Hypotyp.' gave concise summaries of all the books in the canon, not excluding those called "antilegomena—I mean the Epistle of Jude, and the remainder which are called catholic[2]." Dionysius of Alexandria, whose doubts about the authorship of the Apocalypse give evidence of his critical fastidiousness, recognizes the second and third Epistles as of St John[3]. Later on, the evidence is overwhelming. The excommunication of the Arian party is justified by a Bishop of Alexandria[4] by an appeal to St John's language (2 John *v.* 10). The 'Synopsis of Scripture' attributed to Athanasius not only recognizes but analyses the second and third Epistles of St John[1]. St Athanasius himself, in a writing especially intended for a safeguard against apocryphal pieces disguised under the same names[2], expressly enumerates three Epistles of John among the seven Catholic Epistles, as a possession of those who hold fast divine Scriptures unto salvation. In the West, Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, the representative of the best traditions of the "school of Ephesus," quotes the Second Epistle (*v.* 11) as written by "John, the disciple of the Lord[3]." The 'Canon Muratorianus,' after mentioning the first Epistle in close connection with the Gospel, adds towards the close an explicit recognition of *two* Epistles of John. In the seventh Council of Carthage (A.D. 256) under Cyprian, an African Bishop expressly cites a passage from the Second Epistle in justifying his vote against the validity of heretical baptism[4].]

[1] Secunda Johannis Ep. quæ ad virgines scripta est, planissima est. Scripta est verò ad quandam Babyloniam, Electam nomine. Clem. Alexandr. Opp. p. 1011 (edit. Potter), (among the fragments).

[2] Πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκου (sc. ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ) γραφῆς ἐπιτετμημένας πεποίηται διηγήσεις, μηδὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγομένας παρελθών· τὴν Ἰούδα λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς. ('H. E.' VI. 14.)

[3] Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένῃ Ἰωάνν. καὶ τρίτῃ, καίτοι βραχείαις οὔσαις...ὁ Ἰωάνν. ὀνομαστὶ πρόκειται ἀλλ' ἀνωνύμως ὁ πρεσβύτερος γέγραπται. ('H. E.' VII. 25.)

[4] Alexander (an ante-Nicene writer. See Socrat. 'H. E.' I. 6). Cf. Routh, 'Reliq. Sac.' I. 423.

[1] 'Synops. S. S.' 35, 56, 57 (Athan. Opp. Tom. IV. pp. 410, 411, edit. Migne).

[2] Περὶ δὲ ἡμῶν ὡς ἐχόντων πρὸς σωτηρίαν τὰς θείας γραφὰς· καὶ φοβοῦμαι μήπως...ἐντυγχάνειν ἑτέροις ἀρξωνται, τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀποκρυφοις, ἀπατώμενοι τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τῶν ἀληθινῶν βιβλίων...τὰ δὲ τῆς Καινῆς πάλιν οὐκ ὀκνητέον εἰπεῖν· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα...ἐπιστολαὶ καθολ. καλούμεναι τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἑπτά...εἶτα Ἰωάννου γ'...ταῦτα πηγαὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου. 'Ex tricesimâ nonâ Epist. Festal.' (Opp. Tom. II. pp. 1176, 1177, edit. Migne). The writer, after careful study of these two passages, can find no ground whatever for Lücke's qualification—"Athanasius and the author of the 'Synopsis' are equally favourable, *at least to the second Epistle*." 'Epistles of St John,' II. 298 (Biblical Cabinet, Vol. XV.). He, however, gratefully acknowledges the assistance which he has derived from Lücke in this section.

[3] See quotations from Irenæus, *supra* 37, note 1.

[4] Aurelius a Chullabi dixit—"Johann. Apost. in Epistolâ suâ posuit dicens (2 John *vv.* 10, 11), Quomodo admitti tales temerè in domum Dei possunt qui in domum nostram privatam admitti prohibentur? Aut quomodo cum eis sine ecclesiæ baptismo communicare possumus quibus si *ave* tantum dixerimus, factis eorum malis communicamus?" (apud Routh, 'Reliq. Sac.' III. 130.) For references to 1 John in 2 and 3 John see Additional Note at close of the Introduction. Pauline allusions, or touches of style, will be found in 2 John *vv.* 3, 8; 3 John *vv.* 6, 7, 8.

[The possible connection of this Epistle with Patmos justifies the insertion in this place of the best description of that island which the writer has seen, and which—so far as he knows—is contained only in some pages which cannot now be procured.

"Facing that side of Ionia, so celebrated of old by its riches—at the present day only by the ruins of so many great cities, Miletus, Priene, Ephesus—there rises a group of islets, rocks almost without a name, for the most part desert, scattered in the Ionian Sea between Cos and Samos. One only has become famous, and by a singular contrast in the midst of this classic country, it owes all the fame which it possesses to Christianity alone, to the memory of the Apocalypse, and to the presence of a monastery. That islet is Patmos."

After an account of his voyage from Mycone, and arrival at the Monastery of St John in Patmos, the writer thus describes the scene.

"Day fell. The sun set in a cloudless sky. We availed ourselves of its last moments to go out upon the roof, and to take in the general aspect of the isle....With one glance we took in the isle in its littleness. It is but a point lost in the immense sea—indeed, singularly enough, the impression struck me more in the islet than in our little bark in the mid-sea. Four hills from 800 to 1000 feet high, at the extremities of Patmos, answer to that on which the convent stands. Formed of great black broken boulders, they are quite barren. The shore and the inner valleys, though without trees, shew some verdure—not that of pasturage, but of useless brush-wood which grows spontaneously. What more can we see? Little chapels upon all the heights, shepherds' huts made of pine branches, covered sheds, miserable parks grazed by thin sheep, fifty barks at anchor in the silent port—that is all Patmos in its austere poverty. But let us lift our eyes above this arid soil and these melancholy rocks. What a splendour of light! There seem to be almost as many islets as waves sown in the illimitable sea. How beautiful they look at this happy distance which hides their sterility, while it lets us see their majestic forms! There is Amorgos, like the upturned keel of a huge ship. There is Paros all white as its own marbles upon the horizon. There is Nicaria, indented by a hundred bays. There is Samos, partly plain, partly highland. There, to the east, is Anatolia, and Asia Minor from Miletus to Iassos. A transparent vapour, which takes none of the clearness from the objects over which it floats, blends all their outlines, and happily melts together this sky, this sea, these isles. The sky is blue, the sea is blue, the isles are blue—the isles more vapourous, the sea deeper-coloured, the heaven clear, tender, almost ashen, to the horizon....There is a certain pleasure in feeling a vast sea between oneself and every public event, in knowing nothing of the outer world but the white sail of a vessel which gleams upon the horizon without ever casting anchor in front of the despised islet....We started one morning for the ruins of Iassos. Soon the mounds, the convent, the isle itself, was nothing but a dark point upon the horizon, which a last high wave suddenly removed into the region of memory." ('Une visite à Patmos,' par M. P. de Julleville. 'Revue des cours litteraires,' 2 Mars, 1867, pp. 217—222.)]

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

It has been well said: "Certainly if it was ever allowable to conclude from similarity of features that sons were born from the same parent, it is easy to understand from the words, sentiments, style, character[1], of these three Epistles, presenting as they do one and the same image, that they must have been written by one and the same author. This

[1] 2 St John	Gospel	1 St John
v. 1		
ἀληθεία (five times in *v.* 1—*v.* 4)	*Passim*	*Passim*
ἐγνωκότες τὴν ἀλήθειαν	viii. 32	ii. 21
v. 4		
περιπατοῦντας (also twice *v.* 6)	viii. 14, x. 23, xi. 9, 10, xii. 35	i. 6, 7, ii. 6, 11
v. 5		
οὐχ ὡς ἐντολὴν γράφ. ...καινὴν ἀλλὰ ἣν εἴχομεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κ.τ.λ.		ii. 7
v. 6		
καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγάπη ἵνα κ.τ.λ.		v. 3
αὕτη ἡ ἐντολή ἐστιν, καθὼς ἠκούσατε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κ.τ.λ.		
v. 7		
πολλοὶ πλάνοι ἐξῆλθαν εἰς τὸν κόσμον		iv. 1
οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰησ. Χ. ἐρχόμ. ἐν σαρκί		ii. 22, iv. 23
ὁ ἀντίχριστος		ii. 18, 22, iv. 3

may be shewn at length by a comparison of words and clauses. But the frequent mention of love and truth in all three letters is alone sufficient to convince us that we have the same bright and genuine reflection of St John's soul in the second and third Epistles as in the first[1]."

2 St John	Gospel	1 St John
v. 9		
καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει		ii. 23
v. 12		
ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ἡμῶν ᾖ πεπληρωμένη	iii. 29, xv. 11, xvi. 24, xvii. 13	i. 4
3 St John		
v. 1		
ἐν ἀληθείᾳ (twice *v.* 3) *v.* 4, *v.* 8, *v.* 12	*Passim*	*Passim*
v. 3		
περιπατεῖς (περιπατοῦντα *v.* 4)	*Passim*	*Passim*
μαρτυρούντων σου τῇ ἀληθείᾳ	ἵνα μαρτυρήσω τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, xviii. 37	

3 St John	Gospel	1 St John
v. 10		
οὔτε ἐπιδέχεται ... καὶ κωλύει	οὔτε ἄντλημα ἔχεις καὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶ βαθύ. iv. 11	
v. 11		iii. 10, 20
v. 12		
οἴδατε ὅτι ἡ μαρτυρία ἡμῶν ἀληθής ἐστιν	xxi. 2, 3	
v. 14		
οἱ φίλοι ... τοὺς φίλους	xi. 11, xv. 13, 14, 16	

[1] Baronius, A. C. 99, Cap. ix. (quoted by à Lapide).

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF

JOHN.

1 *He exhorteth a certain honourable matron, with her children, to persevere in Christian love and belief,* 8 *lest they lose the reward of their former profession:* 10 *and to have nothing to do with those seducers that bring not the true doctrine of Christ Jesus.*

THE elder unto the elect lady and her children, whom I love in the truth; and not I only, but also all they that have known the truth;

2 For the truth's sake, which dwelleth in us, and shall be with us for ever.

3 Grace be with you, mercy, *and* peace, from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father, in truth and love.

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1. Most probably (as has been proved above in the Introduction), in the important and often-quoted fragment of Papias *elder* signifies no official position, but is used to indicate one who belongs to the first generation of Christian believers. So here. The suppression of the name is quite in accordance with St John's usage in his Gospel.

to the **excellent Kyria**] See Additional Note.

her children] cf. *v.* 4. If Kyria in this passage be (as we suppose—see Introd.) an individual, the expression and *I found of thy children* (infra, *v.* 4) would shew that she had at least three living children. (Lücke.)

whom I love **in truth**] with true love.

2. *For the truth's sake*] "If, in any instance, the world's affections stray beyond its own circle, if it extends its regards to a real Christian, it is never on *account of his being a Christian*, never for *the truth's sake* which dwelleth in us." (Robert Hall.) This is a beautiful description of the cause of the love of each true Christian to all others—the conformity of faith through the whole Church. (Est.) "Truth" is used *five* times in this Epistle, *six* times in 3 John. The best way of loving *in* truth is to love *for* the Truth.

—yea and it shall be with us for ever] This is an instance of the *oratio variata*. The construction is altered intentionally, and brings out the thought much more forcibly than could have been done by a uniform structure. (Winer, Part III. § lxiii. 600.) It is half benediction, half prophecy, like the beginning of the next verse. "The Truth with us" is drawn from the same region of thought "as the Love with us." (See note on 1 John iv. 17, and cf. Matt. i. 23.)

3. **There shall be with us grace, mercy, peace**] A reference, possibly, to *St Paul's* Apostolic salutation in two Epistles only (1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 2). This rush of words is unlike St John's usual calm reserve. Can it be that some circumstance—possibly the martyrdom of *Timothy*—filled the heart of John and caused him to use in this place a form of salutation which would remind an Ephesian Christian of the Bishop of Ephesus, and of words which were likely to have been constantly on his lips? "Grace and peace" are also conjoined in the opening of the Apoc., i. 4. The word *grace* is very rare in St John's writings; only besides these passages in John i. 14, 16, 17; Apoc. xxii. 21. "Grace and peace" are substituted for the Hellenic and heathen χαίρειν (used by *St James alone* of the Apostles, i. 1). (See *infra* note on *v.* 11.)

and from **Jesus Christ**] The word *Lord*, which occurs nowhere in St John's Epistles, should be omitted here.

in truth and love] As, in very advanced life, he draws near the evening of his days, the two things which are dearest to St John's heart, and ever on his lips, are *truth* and *love*. It was said of one (Bonaventura) that "what he had read in the morning he seemed to have known from all eternity." In St John, on the contrary, we see a deep meditative character, slowly maturing and retaining to advanced age the master ideas of life received in youth from the teaching of Jesus. "O Truth! O Love!" cries the Church in the old prayer at the close of every week, "behold! the day, when after all the sorrows of the earth below, we are about to enter into the blessedness of your rest." (Baunard, 'L'Apôtre S. Jean,' p. 399.)

4 I rejoiced greatly that I found of thy children walking in truth, as we have received a commandment from the Father.

5 And now I beseech thee, lady, not as though I wrote a new commandment unto thee, but that which we had from the beginning, that we love one another.

6 And this is love, that we walk after his commandments. This is the commandment, That, as ye have heard from the beginning, ye should walk in it.

7 For many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. This is a deceiver and an antichrist.

8 Look to yourselves, that we lose not those things which we have [1]wrought, but that we receive a full reward.

[1] Or, *gained*: Some copies read, *which ye have gained, but that ye receive, &c.*

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4. have found *of thy children*] *Some of the number of thy children.* Some find in these words a sad and gentle hint that certain others of Kyria's children were *not* walking in the Truth.

have found] (εὕρηκα) The *eureka* of the saint is different from that of the philosopher. ("Rarum hodiè inventum, rarum gaudium!" Bengel.)

5, 6. Cf. 1 John ii. 7, v. 3. **I beseech thee, Kyria!** These verses carry with them irresistible evidence of coming from the heart and pen of St John. "This is the new commandment, that we love one another." But the love—*the charity*—what is it? Walking according to His *commandments*. But *the* commandment, which includes all commandments—what is it?—Why, the *Love!* The Love expanded issues in the commandments. The commandments, essentially enfolded in the commandment, contract again into *the Love*.

> "As if the rose should shut and be a bud again."

6. *That...ye should walk in it*] i.e. *in the Love* more probably than in the *commandment*. This passage in which *the Love* (*charity*) is identified with the *commandment* suggests the best definition of ἀγάπη. It is the compression into one word of the whole saying of Jesus in Mark xii. 29—31, the idea of His *first* and *second* commandment embodied in Him and reproduced in us by the Spirit.

7. *many deceivers...This*] "many deceivers;" used collectively, and taken up by "*this*" in sing.

are **gone out** *into the world* (ἐξῆλθαν εἰς τὸν κόσμον)] A, B, ℵ (Cod. Amiat. *exierunt*) approved by Lachm., Tischend., Lücke, for these reasons. (*a*) The expression occurs in 1 John ii. 19, iv. 1, while there is no reason for supposing it carried in from these passages, as εἰσῆλθον is easier, and not without precedent in New Testament (Rom. v. 12); (*b*) the meaning "gone out" is more suitable here, for "come in" is said of things or persons upon their first use or introduction. But, in the case of these "seducers," they *had been* in the Church, and then left it. They did not *enter into the world*, but *went out* from their place in the Church into the world. (See Reiche, 'Comment. Crit.' III. 332.) The same word is used in Apoc. vi. 4, "There *went out* (sc. into the world) another horse."

who confess not] μή with a partic. indicates a supposed *genus* or class. The phrase is not equivalent to "many deceivers, viz. those who do not confess" (that would require the *objective* negative), but "many deceivers, those of the class who do not confess," *quicunque non profitetur* (Winer, 'Gr. of N. T. D.' p. 505).

Jesus Christ **coming in the flesh**] The Incarnation is here viewed as a present living principle. Cf. note on 1 Joh. iv. 2.

This is **the deceiver** *and* **the antichrist** "The proceedings against the πλάνος, the seducer (*Mésith*), who makes an attempt upon the purity of religion, are explained in the Talmud with details." (Renan, 'Vie de Jésus,' p. 393, 1st edit.) The word is technically and characteristically applied to our Lord by the chief priests and Pharisees (Matt. xxvii. 63, ὁ πλάνος, *that deceiver*). The name and idea are *Johannic* (John vii. 12, 47). The many deceivers are looked upon as concentrated and gathered into one.

8. *Look to yourselves*] The emphatic *to yourselves* implies St John's absence very strongly. (Cf. Phil. ii. 12.)

"That **ye** lose not those things that **ye** wrought (ἃ εἰργάσασθε, perf. pass. used actively, Winer, p. 274), but that **ye** receive **reward in full**," &c. We have here to choose between three verbs in first person plural, or the three same verbs in the second person plural. The second person plural is best supported by authority, and also by the context. The second person might be suggested to copyists by the words which they had just written, *Look to yourselves*, and is apparently very easy. But it is much more logical and cogent for the Apostle to charge those to whom he wrote by *their own* eternal interests, than by those of himself and other

9 Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son.

10 If there come any unto you,

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ministers. Surely, too, it would not be precisely true or scriptural to assert that the Apostles or Christian teachers suffered eternal loss by the failure of their converts. For the scriptural idea of *wrought* in its bearing on salvation cf. John iii. 21, vi. 27; for *reward*, 2 Chro. xv. 7; Matt. v. 12, vi. 1, x. 41, 42 (the οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ of this verse, possibly alluded to here), Luke vi. 35; Rom. iv. 4; 1 Cor. iii. 14 (see especially Melanchthon on the 'August. Conf.' Opp. I. 33, 34). The true notion of *reward* fills up what would otherwise be a gap upon one side of Gospel truth. This verse may have been in the minds of those who changed the old Collect—"ut divini operis fructum propensius exequentes pietatis tuæ remedia majora percipiant"—into "that they plenteously bringing forth the fruit of *good* works may of Thee be plenteously *rewarded*" (Collect for the Twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity). The **reward in full** (μισθὸν πλήρη ἀπολάβητε) would seem the echo of Ruth ii. 12 (γένοιτο ὁ μισθός σου πλήρης. LXX.).

9. Every one **leading forward** *and* **not abiding in the doctrine which is Christ's** *hath not God*] (1) **leading forward** (προάγων is the true reading; so A, B, ℵ. *omnis qui præcedit*, Cod. Amiat.) The word is perhaps more than simply *going forward*. In classical Greek it is used of an officer *leading on* his troops, pushing forward. It seems here to include two ideas—going beyond the line of truth in what seems to him an advance, with an allusion to the vaunted *progress* of *advanced* Gnostic thought—carrying others with him, leading them with bold and self-willed ambition, outside the barriers. There may possibly be a reference to a haughty imitation by the servants of Antichrist of the Great Shepherd, of whom the word is used by Himself and by others (Matt. xxvi. 32, xxviii. 7; Mark x. 32). (2) "The **doctrine which is Christ's**." Not, probably with genitive of the object "doctrine *about Christ*," nor again "doctrine which is *Christian*" or "with which Christ works," but "doctrine which has Christ for its *Author*, which He taught." (Cf. Matt. vii. 28, xxii. 33; Mark i. 22, xi. 18; Luke iv. 32; John xviii. 19. "The doctrine of Balaam" is that which Balaam taught. Apoc. ii. 14.) Here, once more, we have an instance of *suggestion*, an *asterisk* pointing to the Gospel. (Introd. to First Epistle, p. 284.) "The doctrine which is Christ's." What is that? and why so called? The answer is in St John's Gospel, vii. 16, 17. It is the doctrine which Jesus delivered, and called emphatically "*my* doctrine, *the* doctrine." "The doctrine which is Christ's" is the norm of all true thought and doctrine. Every development beyond that is a leap into the darkness. Every supposed *progress*, outside the limit, is rather a retrocession, a feeble restlessness which will not allow the soul to "abide," a ceasing to "hold God fast." Thought must be *chastened* as well as *free*. One step outside the circle of the Truth is ruin and sin and death. (See Additional Note.)

He that abideth in **the doctrine**] *of Christ* is not to be repeated here. (See Additional Note.)

10. This verse reminds us that the Gospel has its intolerance as well as tolerance. The well-known story of St John's flying from the bath where Cerinthus was, scarcely, perhaps, indicates a stronger abhorrence of such errors as would lead us away from the real, living, Incarnate Christ. The earlier indications of St John's character in the Gospels (Mark ix. 38; Luke ix. 53) are recalled to our memory. Some important distinctions between the Church and world then and now are certainly to be taken into account. (1) "The *world* lieth wholly *in the wicked one*," cried St John in his first Epistle. The words are, in a measure, true yet. But "the darkness," which in his day was "drifting by," is now, in Christendom, partially dissipated. (2) The only hope of the world lay in the Incarnation, and in the ideas which it brought, and the powers which it implanted in humanity. We, who are under the new moral and spiritual order, created by the Gospel, do not see the danger which to St John seemed so near and pressing; we can scarcely even conceive it. We live in the security achieved by a battle which has been won along the whole line, and relax in peace some of the precautions which were necessary in days of warfare. Our toleration may often have intermingled with it a selfish love of a quiet life. (3) The honour of Jesus was dear to His apostle. In the estimate of him who wrote—"the Word was God"—to deny that Jesus was the God-Man was to question His legitimacy and impugn His truth. If this Epistle is supposed to be addressed to a *Church*, the verse before us would leave a somewhat different impression. See Introduction.

*If...any...bring not this doctrine...***and good speed bid him not.** The liturgical practice of repeating "the Lord be with you" after the Creed, as "a symbol and bond of peace," has been traced to this verse. "St John (2 Epist. *vv.* 10, 11) forbids us to salute any that cleave not to the right faith. But, when the

and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into *your* house, neither bid him God speed:

11 For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.

12 Having many things to write unto you, I would not *write* with paper and ink: but I trust to come unto you, and speak †face to face, that our joy may be full.

13 The children of thy elect sister greet thee. Amen.

† Gr. *mouth to mouth.*

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minister hath heard every one profess his faith in the same words with himself, then cheerfully and without scruple may he salute them as brethren, and they requite his affection with a like return." (Comber, 'The Temple,' I. 318.)

This dogmatic severity, this moral indignation against certain forms of heresy, breathes in the language of Ignatius to the *Ephesians*, 15 or 20 years later. "They who destroy the peace of families shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. If then they who do these things after the flesh died, how much more if any one destroy the faith of God by evil teaching." (Ignat. 'Epist. ad Ephes.' XVI.)

11. *that biddeth him* **good speed**] χαίρειν, the Greek form of salutation (James i. 1; Acts xv. 23). The Hebrew salutation was a wish for the *peace*, the Latin for the *health*, the Greek for the *happiness*, of the person addressed.

The three salutations are eminently characteristic of the general view of life and its aim entertained by the three races. The Roman, to whom health and strength seemed all in all, said *Salve*. The Greek, whose existence aimed supremely at "light and sweetness," said Χαῖρε, looking upon *joy* as the highest aim. The Hebrew, who had a revelation, and knew the blessedness of reconciliation with God and conscience, said *Peace*.

is partaker of **those deeds of his, those evil** *deeds*] Contradictions of the Creed are in some circumstances entirely evil deeds. (Gal. v. 20.) There are *sins* against *faith* as well as against *morals*. For the notion of a common partaking in evil, cf. Ps. l. 18; 1 Tim. v. 22.

12. *I would not write*] οὐκ ἐβουλήθην, the *principle* of the "epistolary aorist" (Winer). "Paul sent Tychicus to give information by word of mouth upon his position—details which he did not consider it prudent to commit to paper. These sorts of precautions may be remarked in several Epistles, cf. 2 John *v.* 13" (Renan, 'L'Antechrist,' p. 90).

with paper and ink] "Faith was all in all—each bore it in his heart, and cared little for loose sheets of paper (χάρτης), 2 John *v.* 12. The passage, 2 Tim. iv. 13, does not prove that the Epistles were written on parchment. Parchment was peculiarly used for *books*." (Renan, 'Saint Paul,' p. 134.) See Additional Note.

trust] Rather, **hope**.

face to face] lit. "mouth to mouth." Cf. Gal. iv. 19, 20, and Bengel's note. "He writes gently, but would speak more gently again. The voice can be inflected, as the turn of discussion requires. Speaking in this respect is best, writing vicarious and subsidiary, 2 John *v.* 12; 3 John *v.* 13" (Bengel).

that our joy may be **fulfilled**] This expression links the present Epistle with the Gospel (iii. 29, xv. 11, xvii. 13), and with the First Epistle (i. 4). The high associations with which it is connected lead us to suppose that it would scarcely have been applied by St John to any meeting but one of peculiar solemnity after a cruel and prolonged separation which had threatened to be eternal. See Introd. to this Epistle, *supra*, p. 359. "Habet nescio quod latentis energiæ *vivæ vocis* actus, et in aures discipulorum de auctoris ore transfusa fortius sonant." (S. Hieron. 'Ad Paulin.' quoted by à Lapide.)

13. *The children of* **thy sister, that excellent sister**] See Additional Note on *v.* 1. Nephews of Kyria were with St John at this time.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on 2 ST JOHN 1, 9, 12; 3 ST JOHN 13.

2 St John 1.

The word ἐκλεκτός here is, probably, not used in the sense in which baptized Christians are generally so termed (Col. iii. 12; 1 Pet. i. 1). If so, we should, in the case of an individual, expect an addition (as in the case of Rufus, the only *individual* so designated, outside this Epistle, in the N. T.—ἀσπάσασθε Ῥοῦφον τὸν ἐκλεκτὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ, Rom. xvi. 13). It rather signifies that which as most *choice* of its kind is chosen out—*singular*, as in the old English phrase "my *singular* good friend"—*precious*—so gems are spoken of in the apocryphal Book of Henoch as λίθοι ἐκλεκτοί. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 3, 6. (See Bretschn. 'Lex. Man. N. T.' *s. v.*)

2 St John 9.

πᾶς ὁ προάγων is not exactly equivalent to πᾶς προάγων. The latter simply means "every one that leads forward." But the ὁ joined to a participle has the force of ὅστις and signifies

"every one of the class who is such as to 'lead forward.'" On πρό in a bad sense, see Tholuck 'On St John's Gospel,' p. 260.

It seems, on the whole, wise to retain here the old word *doctrine*, rather than to substitute *teaching*. Of the original term (διδαχή) it has been said by a lamented writer:—"For example, the very word 'doctrine,' perhaps not from the fault of the translators, but from the change of meaning which has taken place in the lapse of time, has undergone a transformation which converted a perfectly general expression into one synonymous with dogmatic teaching. This error, if so we may call it, has been removed almost uniformly in the present Revision, which renders the word διδαχή, not by 'doctrine,' but by 'teaching.'" ('Revised Version' of N. T.' in the 'Times,' July 20, 1881.) But no one can doubt that if the word is sometimes merely "act of teaching" (Mark xii. 38), and sometimes "a mode of public instruction" (1 Cor. xiv. 6), it came to be used for the body of faithful doctrine which followed the received norm accepted by the Church. (Cf. τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδ. πιστοῦ λόγου, Titus i. 9; Rom. vi. 17, with the text before us.) Thus the term passes over from the act or mode of teaching to its subject-matter, whether dogmatic or preceptive. (Cf. also Acts xvii. 19; Matt. xvi. 12; Acts v. 28; Heb. xiii. 9.) The word *doctrine* therefore, is to be retained (not only in the single text, Rom. xvi. 17), but in this place, in John vii. 16, 17; Rom. vi. 17; Titus i. 9, and some other passages, *just because* the perfectly general expression "underwent a transformation which converted it into one synonymous with dogmatic teaching" in the hands of the sacred writers themselves.

2 St John 12; 3 St John 13.

διὰ χάρτου καὶ μέλανος (2 St John 12); διὰ μέλανος καὶ καλάμου (3 St John 13).

The three materials for writing here spoken of require some notice. (1) Paper (χάρτης, Lat. *charta*), properly a leaf of paper made from the separated layers of the papyrus. We find this material, with pen and a black pigment, in constant use in the times of Cicero and Horace. (Cic. 'de Nat Deorum,' II. 50; Opp. XIV. 3028; 'Epp. ad Quint. Frat.' II. 15; *Ibid.* XII. 2102. Horat. 'Satir.' II. 3, 7. 'Ars Poet.' 447.) A very full and interesting account of this "paper," its varieties and manufacture, is given by Pliny. "Before we leave Egypt, it will be well to speak of the *papyrus*; since by the use of leaves of paper the culture of human life, and the memory of events, is established and preserved. Varro is our authority for saying that we owe this to the victory of Alexander the Great, at the time of the foundation of Alexandria in Egypt. Before this paper was not employed, but the leaves of palm, and the inner bark of other trees. Then public records were inscribed upon sheets of lead; and at a later period private documents on cloth or waxed tablets. In remote antiquity, before the Trojan War, we find from Homer that sheets or tablets of wood were used."

[Pliny refers to

πόρεν δ' ὅγε σήματα λυγρὰ,
γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθόρα πολλά.
'Iliad' VI. 168, 169.]

After tracing historically how paper came into universal use, and describing the Egyptian papyrus-plant in the marshes (cf. Isaiah xix. 7, LXX.), Pliny gives an account of the preparation of the sheets of paper, from the plant. The manufactory was transferred to Rome, where it was improved by the sagacious industry of the great house of Fannius [*Fannii sagax officina*]. (Plin. 'Nat. Hist.' XIII. 21—26, Tom. V. pp. 2283—2293, edit. Brotier.) One of the most elegant and playful of the Epistles of St Jerome, however, connects Asia Minor with another and more permanent writing material, of which St John probably speaks: "I complain of the shortness of your letter. I cannot suppose that *paper* (*charta*) was wanting, while Egypt continues her commerce. Even if Ptolemy, a new enemy, had closed the seas against that trade, yet King Attalus would have sent *parchments* from Pergamos, that the want of paper might be made up by skins; whence the name of *Pergamene* is given to parchments to this very day[1]." (An allusion to a jealousy on the subject of his library, which made Ptolemy Philometor suppress the foreign Egyptian paper-trade. Plin. 'N. H.' XIII. 21; S. Hieron. 'Epist.' VII. Tom. I. 339, edit. Migne. Cf. 2 Tim. iv. 13.

It thus appears that the making of paper (περγαμηνή) in the peculiar form of that industry in Asia Minor was stimulated in the highest degree by Ptolemy Philometor cutting off the Egyptian supply. The incident is another illustration of the violent rivalry between Alexandria and Pergamos, which in a different department issued in the opposition of "the *Pergamene* school of grammar against the *Alexandrine*, and the system of *anomaly* (ἀνωμαλία) against that of *analogy* (ἀναλογία)." This Asiatic paper was made of *skin*—not only in the thicker form for books—but in thin sheets for ordinary use. And the latter was popularly termed χάρτης. ('Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog.' s. v. *Crates*, Vol. I. 884.) Between Eumenes II. of Pergamos and his successor and Ptolemy Philometor there was a furious jealousy upon the subject of their respective libraries. And Crates, the grammarian, is specially connected with the development of the trade in Pergamene paper.

[1] Our word *parchment* is a corruption of *pergamene*—as *vellum* of *velin*.

(See Plin. 'N. H.' *ut supra.*) It is, therefore, scarcely probable that much foreign-made paper would have found its way to Asia Minor; and this incidental mention of *paper* (probably *Pergamene*) may be one other indication of the general *Asiatic* surroundings of St John at the time of writing these Epistles. It is not without interest to turn to the curious manuscript preserved in the Convent of Patmos, and attributed to Prochorus, a disciple of St John (Αἱ περίοδοι τοῦ θεολόγου συγγραφεῖσαι παρὰ Πρωχόρου). This manuscript of an apocryphal writing, composed probably in the 5th or 6th century, and overloaded with poor legendary stories, bears, notwithstanding, ample witness to local and geographical knowledge. While the piece curiously makes no mention whatever of the Apocalypse, it contains an account of the alleged composition of the Gospel upon one of the mountains of Patmos, which seems to be of a finer stamp and more primitive materials than the rest of the works. Singularly enough the writer incidentally assumes that paper and ink were easily to be procured in Patmos. (τέκνον Πρώχορε, εἰσέλθε ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ λαβὲ μέλαν καὶ χάρτην καὶ ἀγαγέ μοι ὧδε...καὶ λαβὼν χάρτας καὶ μέλαν ἐπορεύθην πρὸς αὐτὸν...καὶ εἶπε μοι τέκνον Πρώχορε, ἃ ἀκούεις ἀπὸ τοῦ στοματός μου γράφε ἐπὶ τοὺς χάρτας.) (See M. Guérin's analysis of the Manuscript ascribed to Prochorus. 'Description de l'Ile de Patmos,' Chap. III. pp. 20—42.)

(2) *Ink* (μέλαν) in the form of some kind of coloured pigment, was in use from a very early period. A *colour* for writing, used, according to Josephus ('Antiq.' XII. 2, 10), in different kinds, like the German *tinte* from *tincte*, is spoken of in the O. T. (דיו Jerem. xxxvi. 18). Cicero and Horace speak repeatedly of it as *black* (*atramentum*) in their day. So St Paul, 2 Cor. iii. 3, and St John here.

(3) The *reed pen* (κάλαμος) appears sometimes in the LXX. as the translation of the Hebrew (עט—properly *stilus*—graving-pen. Psalm xliv. (xlv.) 1; Jerem. viii. 8); it never signifies a quill pen, as with us. It appears probable that alphabetical writing was employed generally by the Ionian earlier than by the European Greeks, and that special attention was devoted by them to the manufacture of the chief material for writing. The best paper (the *charta Pergamena*) was prepared at Pergamos, some two days journey from Smyrna. This, it may fairly be inferred, St John used, and not the Alexandrian or Roman papyrus—the *charta* of Pergamos, not of the Egyptian marshes. (See for the early Ionian knowledge and use of alphabetical writing, Heyne, 'Homer,' VIII. pp. 814, 815.) Paper of the modern kind is said to be first mentioned in a letter of Joinville to S. Louis of France. (Brotier's note, Plin. 'Nat. Hist.' v. 2293.)

III. JOHN.

Ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη.

(S. Ignat. 'Epist. ad Ephes.' XIV.)

L'on voit de la flamme aux yeux des jeunes gens,
Mais dans l'œil du vieillard on voit de la lumière.

(V. Hugo, 'La Légende des Siècles.' 'Boaz Endormi,' I. 36.)

INTRODUCTION.

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I. ANALYSIS.

1. Salutation (*v.* 1).

St John's pleasure at the favourable account of Caius brought back to Ephesus (*vv.* 2, 3, 4).

II. The main subject of the Epistle

(*a*) The hospitality of Caius gratefully acknowledged by the Ephesian brethren on their return to Ephesus (*v.* 5).

Exhortation and encouragement to the grace of hospitality (*vv.* 6, 7, 8).

(*b*) The rejection of St John's letter of communion and the bearers of it by Diotrephes (*vv.* 9, 10).

Transitional precept and maxim (*v.* 11).

III. Contrast to Diotrephes.

Demetrius—threefold witness to him; (1) the World, (2) the Truth, (3) the Church (*v.* 12).

Allusion to the Gospel which would be recognized by Caius (*φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσι*)—the great painter's mark at the corner of the little picture (*καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ μαρτυροῦμεν, καὶ οἶδατε ὅτι ἡ μαρτυρία ἡμῶν ἀληθής ἐστιν*, 3 John 12. *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μαθητὴς ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων, καὶ γράψας ταῦτα· καὶ οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία ἐστίν*, John xxi. 24).

IV. Close—hope of meeting—salutation and message (*vv.* 13—15).

It is believed that this analysis suggests a consistent and intelligible account of verses which have often appeared to be confused and almost inexplicable. It would seem that St John (probably after his return from Patmos to Ephesus) had sent certain members of the Ephesian Church for the purpose of missionary labour, or of constituting the inter-communion of the churches, to the Church over which Caius presided, or in which he exercised considerable influence, possibly at Corinth. (See *infra*[1].) In that Church, or in one of its neighbouring communities, a man of jealous and haughty spirit (probably in an official ministerial position), by name Diotrephes, watched for an opportunity of gratifying his ambition by rejecting the authority of an Apostle. When the brethren delegated by St John were insultingly rejected by Diotrephes, who threatened

[1] The chief objection lies in the *ἐὰν ἔλθω* (*v.* 10). It is, of course, very difficult to imagine that St John could have projected a voyage to Corinth. The note on *v.* 10, however, will shew that the supposition in *ἐὰν ἔλθω* is one of faint probability. The hoped for meeting in *v.* 14 may refer to an expected visit of Caius to St John.

with excommunication any members of his Church who should receive them, they were welcomed by Caius with the affection which became a true Christian heart. To him they turned in their need, because in such circumstances it seemed highly inexpedient to apply for a loan or for other assistance to unbelievers with whom they might be acquainted[1]. On the return of these brethren, after a reception so Christian and hospitable, they witnessed to the goodness of Caius before the Church (*v.* 6), *i.e.* the Ephesian Church. These brethren, when they presented themselves to Caius, were "strangers," and hence the expression in *v.* 5 is strictly appropriate according to the explanation.

II.

This Epistle is addressed to Gaius. The name, which represents the Latin Caius, was, it is needless to say, a very common one. Three persons of the name are mentioned as disciples in connection with the earliest records of Apostolic Christianity. One is spoken of together with Aristarchus, as a Macedonian[2]. A second belonged to Derbe[3]. A third is honourably commemorated in St Paul's Epistle to the Romans[4]. The same Caius is spoken of as a Corinthian[5]. The name of Caius also stands in *v.* 1 of this Third Epistle of St John.

Making all due allowance for the precariousness imparted to any hypothesis by a name so common as Caius, there would seem to be something, at least, to say for the opinion of those who identify the Caius of this Epistle with the Corinthian Caius. (*a*) The trait of character indicated (3 John *vv.* 5—8) is, as far as it goes, exactly of a piece with the generous and noble character indicated in Rom. xvi. 23. The house of Caius, the Corinthian, was a shrine of worship, and a centre of hospitality for missionaries[1]. (*b*) But this is not the only thread of connection which conceivably links the Caius of St John's third Epistle with Caius the Corinthian. St John mentions with pain certain schismatic troubles which disturbed some portion of the Church—not more precisely indicated—perhaps caused by some haughty priest or prelate who brought his mean and selfish ambition within the same sphere where Caius exercised his gentle virtues. This man, whose very name may indicate high birth, or possibly even an arrogant self-assumption of a quasi-royal rank[2], rose in unholy rebellion against the authority of the Apostle. His wicked and mischievous words did not refrain from defaming a soul so pure, and a life so beautiful, as that of the old man whose holy presence made Ephesus at that time the true centre of Catholic Christendom (3 John 10). This Diotrephes tried to cut off from the Church's communion those whose only offence was that they did not belong to his party, and would not yield to his unjust sentences of exclusion (*v.* 10). Now, if the Caius of this Epistle be Caius of Corinth, then absent from Ephesus at his former home, we have indubitable evidence of a state of things in the Church of Corinth which singularly illustrates this Epistle—a coincidence of time, place, and circumstances. The Third Epistle of St John most probably belongs to the close of the first century, towards the end of the Apostle's life.

[1] See on the meaning of *μηδὲν λαμβάνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν* (3 John 7) Additional Note at the close of the Commentary on 3 John.

[2] "Caius and Aristarchus, of Macedonia," Acts xix. 29.

[3] "Caius of Derbe," Acts xx. 4.

[4] "Caius mine host, and of the whole church," Rom. xvi. 23. (For the curious and improbable tradition that this Caius was the son of Caius Oppius—the centurion who stood by the Cross (Matt. xxvii. 54), and who first preached the Gospel in Spain,—and that he became Bishop of Milan, see quotations in à Lap. 'Comment. in Scrip. S.' xx. 639, 640.)

[5] "I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Caius," 1 Cor. i. 14.

[1] Hospitality was "no new virtue upon that soil where Herodotus and Homer had received and celebrated it." Under the Gospel, hospitality to Christians as such became one of the first and most necessary of Christian virtues. With 3 John *vv.* 5—8 cf. Rom. xii. 13; Heb. xiii. 2. "Having freely received they wished to give freely. Charity therefore managed to arrange, from distance to distance, stations of hospitality, where the missionaries and preachers found asylum, assistance, safe conduct, not wishing to impose any charge upon the heathen, whose souls and nothing else the Church aspired to possess." (Baunard, p. 401.)

[2] *Διοτρεφής* (3 John *v.* 9) "trained, or cherished by Zeus." In Homer especially, a frequent epithet of kings and nobles.

The style and turn of thought and expression confirm the impression that it is the production of a very old man. It was about the same time, somewhere close to the year 95, that St Clement wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians. The painful picture drawn by Clement of the feuds in the Corinthian Church[1] would quite agree with the expressions of St John to Caius (3 John *vv.* 9, 10). (3) The author of the singularly learned and acute 'Synopsis of Scripture' attributed to Athanasius, who must have had the use of materials to which we have no access, not only identifies the Caius of our Epistle with Caius the Corinthian of whom St Paul speaks (Rom. xvi. 23), but connects him with St John, with Ephesus, and with the publication of St John's Gospel[2]. We have, indeed, no means of deciding who Diotrephes was. If the language of the Epistle (*v.* 10) absolutely precludes us from supposing that Diotrephes was directly and locally connected with Corinth, we are unable to shew exactly how the schismatic spirit which unquestionably prevailed at Corinth just at the time extended itself to Ephesus. Certain it is that in the Epistle of Clement we see, very much as in St Paul's time, the excitable nature of the Corinthian Christians, and the further development of ecclesiastical democracy, invading the Presbyterate, if not the Episcopate. The Roman Church — more tranquil and solid in the presence of her livelier but less practical sister—offers the latter her haughty advice, and establishes the austere order of ecclesiastical discipline[1]. The picture of feud and insubordination drawn by St Clement is of the darkest kind; and the schismatic spirit among people of the same blood and language is intensely contagious. Communication between Ephesus and Corinth was constant and easy, and the Corinthian origin of Caius would give him especial interest in a schism which it was possibly attempted to extend from Corinth to Ephesus. The supposition, then, that the Caius of St John's Epistle is the Corinthian Caius, is at least not improbable.

The external authority for the Third Epistle of St John has been incidentally stated in the examination of the similar evidence for the Second[2]. The instinct of the Church after deliberate thought and examination—the brevity of the letters—and the entire want of conceivable purpose in drawing up Epistles so free from doctrinal peculiarity, and so completely Johannic in thought and style, are amply sufficient to entitle the two Epistles to their place in the Canon.

III.

The Second and Third Epistles of St John occupy their own place in the sacred Canon, and contribute their own peculiar element to the stock of Christian truth and practice. They lead us from the region of miracle and prophecy, out of an atmosphere charged with the supernatural, to the more average everyday life of Christendom, with its regular paths and unexciting air. There is no hint in these short notes of extraordinary *charismata*. The tone of their Christianity is deep, earnest, severe, devout, but has the quiet of the Christian Church and home very much as at present constituted. The religion which

[1] See especially XLIV. to XLVIII. in the edition of the Epistles of St Clement to the Corinthians by Bryennius, pp. 77—89.

[2] Τὸ δὲ κατὰ Ἰωάνν. Εὐαγγ. ὑπηγορεύθη τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγ. Ἰωάνν. τοῦ ἀποστ. καὶ ἠγαπημένου, ὄντος ἐξορίστου ἐν Πάτμῳ τῷ νήσῳ, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξεδόθη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διὰ Γαΐου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ ξενοδόχου τῶν ἀποστόλων, περὶ οὗ καὶ Παῦλος Ῥωμαίοις γράφων φησί (Rom. xvi. 3), 'Synopsis S. S.' 76. (S. Athanas. Opp. IV. 433, edit. Migne). One touch in the third Epistle of St John certainly appears to refer Caius to the Gospel of St John in a way which has more in it than meets the eye for those who can "fine footing trace." When we consider the evidently direct reference in the Epistle (ἡμεῖς δὲ μαρτυροῦμεν, καὶ οἴδατε ὅτι ἡ μαρτυρία ἡμῶν ἀληθής ἐστιν, 3 John *v.* 12) to the Gospel (οὗτός ἐστιν...ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων...καὶ οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία ἐστίν, John xxi. 24), we feel that there must be a special reason for it. It would seem to imply a peculiar knowledge of the fourth Gospel on the part of Caius whom St John addresses.

[1] See the striking passage of Hilgenfeldt, quoted in the first edition of the entire Epistle of St Clement to the Corinthians by Bishop Bryennius, "Προλεγόμενα ρκθ'. ΚΛΗΜ. ΕΠΙΣΚ. ΡΩΜ. ΕΠΙΣΤ."—Constantinople, 1873.

[2] The subject is discussed by Dr Routh. 'Reliq. Sac.' I. 423; cf. III. 208. It may be added that 3 John 7 seems to be quoted in Ignat. 'Ad Ephes,' VII.

pervades them is simple, unexaggerated, and practical. The writer is grave and reserved. Evidently in possession of the fulness of the Christian faith (2 John 3, 7, 9), he is content to rest upon it with a calm consciousness of strength. The sword of controversy strikes one downright blow, and is returned to its scabbard (*v.* 7). In the Second Epistle the loftiest region of dogmatic theology stands out for a moment from among the clouds (2 John 3). The Incarnation of Jesus is indicated, not only, as in the First Epistle, as a past fact with consequences lasting on into the present (Ἰησ. Χριστ. ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, 1 John iv. 2), but as a permanent continuous principle in a living Personal embodiment (Ἰησ. Χριστ. ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί, 2 John 7). In the Third Epistle God occurs twice (*v.* 11), the word Jesus or Christ is not mentioned. Yet how much is implied in "for the sake of The Name" (ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ὀνόματος, *v.* 7)! These two letters also add their own special contribution to Christian thought —or at least accentuate and underline thoughts before written. In the Second Epistle, the idea of a fixed norm of Christian faith is embodied in **The Doctrine** by which every teacher was to be tested (2 John 9, 10). Heresy, at least under certain conditions and in some of its developments, was boldly stated to involve moral guilt (ibid. *v.* 11). There was a delimitation of the region *progress* beyond which is loss of Christ and of God (*v.* 9). In the Third Epistle, a solemn hint was given—how much needed, and for a time how much neglected, events too clearly proved—of the dangers to which the Church might be exposed by ambitious aspirants after ecclesiastical *primacy* (ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν Διοτρεφής, 3 John 9). The moral guilt of schismatic resistance to Apostolic authority was boldly and bluntly stated (λόγοις πονηροῖς φλυαρῶν ἡμᾶς, ibid. *v.* 10). By the conception of the Incarnate Lord, the Creator and Light of all men, and of the universality of Redemption, which the Gospel and the First Epistle did so much to bring home to all who received Christ (John i. 3, 4, 9; 1 John ii. 2), germs were deposited in the soil of Christianity which necessarily grew from an abstract idea into the great reality of the Catholic Church. In these two short occasional letters St John provided two safeguards for that great institution. Heresy and schism are the dangers to which it is perpetually exposed. St John's condemnation of the spirit of *heresy* is recorded in the Second Epistle; his condemnation of the spirit of *schism* is written in the Third Epistle. Every age of Christendom up to the present has rather exaggerated than dwarfed the significance of this condemnation.

IV.

The view which has been taken throughout the Introductions to these Epistles of the connection of St John's later life with Ephesus and Asia Minor may, it is hoped, add to the interest with which the letters will be read by some. Ephesus may seem to rise once more, as it was seen by St John, in the valley between Mount Preon and Mount Coressus. The now green and marshy plain, bounded by the blue line of the sea, may exchange its "majestic sadness" for life and animation. "Christian recollections are the greatest recollections of Ephesus; they suit well with the majesty and the melancholy of these spots. According to the tradition of the first ages, St John, 'the great light of Asia,' as the bishop Polycrates called him, lived for years and died in this city[1]." Whilst Ephesus rises before us as it was in St John's time, the Apostle and some of those with whom he must have been familiar become more lifelike. Aquila and Priscilla appear at Ephesus during St Paul's visit to that city[2] (A.D. 56). The Bishop of Ephesus salutes them by St Paul's desire (A.D. 66) about ten years later[3]. Thirty years have passed, but it is possible that St John may enter the house of the aged tentmaker. Alexander, the bronze-worker[4], may have learned the lesson which St Paul designed to teach him[5]. Tyrannus[6]

1 'Une course dans l'Asie Mineure' ('La Grèce, Rome, et Dante.' Par T. T. Ampère, 360).

2 Acts xviii. 18, 19.

3 2 Tim. iv. 19.

4 ὁ χαλκεύς.

5 1 Tim. i. 20; 2 Tim. iv. 14.

6 Acts xix. 9.

may still be there, with his indelible memories of the teaching of St Paul. From time to time St John may enter the house of the saintly widow, Kyria; or meet the missionaries of the cross under the roof of his beloved Caius. Demetrius may, perhaps, come to visit him. If we suppose the Third Epistle to have been written after the Apostle's return from Patmos, one dearer and more venerable still—Timothy, the Bishop of Ephesus—had almost certainly gone to his rest. There is no impossibility in the conjecture that the apocalyptic message to the Angel of the Church of Ephesus was addressed to Timothy, and its praise and blame are alike consistent with all that we gather of the character of Timothy in the Acts of the Apostles and in the two Pastoral Epistles written to him by St Paul[1]. One tradition of the Church at least represents Timothy as having died a martyr's death at Ephesus, just about the period of St John's return from Patmos, at the close of his two years' exile —beaten to death with clubs by the fanatical devotees of Artemis, against whose excesses he protested at the καταγώγιον of the goddess[2]. If we might follow the tradition as given by a Greek author of the ninth century, we should see the Apostle from day to day—"not startling the minds of the citizens by the splendour of his public preaching, but walking in wisdom and redeeming the time; of tender mind, of quiet manner, of unpretending garb, of gentle speech, allowing easy access to all who approached him. But in all the order of life, in varied and perfect goodness, he was unapproached and venerated[1]." Possibly too we shall find him occasionally at the port[2]. For St John's Gospel shews us the hand and eye of the son of Zebedee. He has the practised ken, which can calculate distances on the water, whether in the darkness of a wild night or in the golden haze of an April morning[3]. A thoughtful study of the writings of St John will enable us to understand in some measure how the son of Zebedee and Salome, the fisherman of Galilee, the disciple of the Baptist, became the Apostle of Jesus, the herald of the Word, the Plato of the Evangelists, the prophet of Patmos, the inheritor of the work of Paul and Timothy at Ephesus, the missionary of Ionia—may we not almost add, the Primate of Christendom?

[1] This is well drawn out by Professor Plumptre in his interesting article upon Timothy. 'Dictionary of the Bible,' III. 1507.

[2] The authorities will be found in Professor Plumptre's article (*ut supra*), or in Baunard, 'L'Apôtre S. Jean,' II. 393. If the fact is historical, it would give a deep meaning to 2 Tim. iv. 3—8.

[1] Nicetas David. Paphlag. 'Orat. Encomiast.' ('Bibliotheca Patrum,' Tom. XXVII. pp. 393, sqq.) This citation, and much also throughout this Introduction, is due to the interesting book of the Abbé Baunard, 'L'Apôtre Saint Jean,' p. 248.

[2] "That early passion still survived the snows of age and the trammels of office, and it was touching to see the almost regretful pleasure with which he would scrutinize the rigging of barks from Hull, or with which he would pace the pier and watch the vessels that crowded the roads, and look on with the approval of no inexperienced eye. He seized the opportunity of addressing them on their moral and religious duties." 'Memoirs of Edward and Catherine Stanley,' pp. 94, 95.

[3] John vi. 19, xxi. 8.

THE THIRD EPISTLE OF JOHN.

He commendeth Gaius for his piety, 5 *and hospitality to true preachers:* 9 *complaining of the unkind dealing of ambitious Diotrephes on the contrary side,* 11 *whose evil example is not to be followed:* 12 *and giveth special testimony to the good report of Demetrius.*

THE elder unto the wellbeloved Gaius, whom I love [1] in the truth.

2 Beloved, I [2] wish above all things that thou mayest prosper and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth.

3 For I rejoiced greatly, when the brethren came and testified of the truth that is in thee, even as thou walkest in the truth.

4 I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in truth.

5 Beloved, thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren, and to strangers;

6 Which have borne witness of thy charity before the church: whom

[1] Or, *truly*

[2] Or, *pray*

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1. **beloved**, as in *vv.* 2, 5, 11. The word occurs four times in this short letter. It is characteristic of St John (1 John ii 7, iii. 21, iv. 1, 7, 11).

2. **in** or **concerning** *all things I* **pray**] (εὔχομαι). This prayer of St John for a dear friend (possibly in bad health) may act as a corrective to the unnatural mysticism of a certain form of pseudo-spirituality. "Sickness," said Pascal, "is the natural state of a Christian." Some have pushed this saying with its measure of undoubted truth so far as to pray for sickness—a contradiction surely to the meek spirit of the petition "lead us not into temptation." We may turn with profit to the wholesome Christian common sense of the beloved disciple, who knew so well the mind of Christ, the Healer. St John here prays that the promise to the godly man in Ps. i. 3 (*πάντα ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ κατευοδωθήσεται*, LXX.) may be fulfilled to his friend.

that thou mayest prosper (εὐοδοῦσθαι—the rendering of צלח and הצליח, *to be prosperous*)—*and be in health* (ὑγιαίνειν, cf. for this meaning of the word Luke v. 31, "they that be whole," A. V.). Cf. also for the first of these two words, "laying by him in store whatever he prosperously obtains" 1 Cor. xvi. 2). In this verse Hooker finds the justification of our Prayer-Book in containing prayers for temporal blessing. ('E. P.' v. 35.) In Naples the comprehensive new year's salutation is *buon capo d' anno, con buona salute, santa e vecchia*, "a happy new year, with good health, and a holy old age." The closing *formula* of the Papal Epistles in Latin is, "omnem tibi à Domino cupit et adprecatur tum *animi* tum *corporis* prosperitatem."

3. **witnessing to thy truth**] The order of the words here is very emphatic, and seems to point to an implied contrast with Diotrephes and others (*σου τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*; cf. *σου τῇ ἀγάπῃ*, *v.* 6).

even as thou **truly** *walkest*] *i.e.* sincerely, without deception (*ἐν ἀληθείᾳ*).

4. "Greater joy **than these** (joys) I have [not], viz. that I should hear of my children walking **truly**," *i.e. sincerely*, as at the close of the last verse—each child so walking is, as it were, a separate joy. The occasion of St John's joy may be compared with that of St Paul on hearing of Philemon's faith and love. (Philem. *v.* 4.)

The older commentators quote a passage beautifully illustrative of this from Seneca, in which he describes his delight in the mental and moral progress of a favourite pupil. 'Epist.' xxxiv.

5. *thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou* **workest** (*πιστὸν ποιεῖς ὃ ἐὰν ἐργάζῃ*). The neuter is used adverbially, *i.e.* suitably to Christian faith, and as is worthy of a Christian believer. *Thou doest...whatsoever thou* **workest**. Note the different words, the second signifying *toilful work* (Matt. xxi. 28, &c.), "thou art *doing well* in all thy *toilful work*." (Fideliter *facis* quicquid *operaris*.) Some commentators hold (improbably) that the phrase is equivalent to the classical "giving a pledge," *i.e.* here of character and conduct. (So *πιστὰ ποιεῖσθαι*, Herod. III. 8.)

to the brethren, and to strangers] A various reading here has a large amount of support—"to the brethren, and *that* (*i.e.* "who besides," Alford) are strangers." (So A, B, C, ℵ.) Reiche, however, supposes this to be a gloss. St John seems to refer to brethren from the Ephesian Church, received by Caius though strangers. [On the hospitality of Caius, see *supra*, Introd.]

6. **witnessed to** *thy charity before the church*] Like *witnessed to thy truth*, *v.* 3. The

if thou bring forward on their journey after a godly sort, thou shalt do well:

7 Because that for his name's sake they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles.

8 We therefore ought to receive such, that we might be fellowhelpers to the truth.

9 I wrote unto the church: but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the

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construction here is Johannic (John xviii. 37).

before the church] *i.e.* the Church from which they had been sent forth—the Ephesian Church to which they had now returned. This is the first occurrence of the word *church* in St John's writings—without the article here. This singular fact may, it is submitted, be accounted for in one way and one only. Our Lord never used the word *Church* in His public addresses. Before the multitudes He could not at this stage of His work make intelligible the disruption of Judaism, and the establishment of a spiritual Kingdom as wide as the world. Only before His disciples, far on in His Ministry, did He ever use the word *Church*, and that only *three* times. (Matt. xvi. 18, and twice in xviii. 17.) But it did not fall within the purpose of St John's Gospel to record these words of Jesus. And it was a fixed principle with him in his First Epistle not to use any great term of the spiritual order which was not employed in the Gospel. Hence the word Church is absent from the Epistle, because it is absent from the Gospel. But the reason for abstaining from the use of the word ceased with the First Epistle. And we find it *three* times in the Third Epistle.

speed forward *on their journey*] (προπέμψας) helping them on their journey. In the O. T. this is sometimes the translation of שָׁלַח (Piel of שָׁלַח), and signifies to accompany one departing, to send him on his way (συμπροπέμπειν, Gen. xviii. 16, LXX.). When valued and beloved guests took their departure, the hosts accompanied them some way, in token that they clung to their society to the last moment. This was often accompanied with presents and provisions for the way. (Kalisch, 'Histor. and Crit. Comm.' Genesis, 404, 556. Gen. xviii. 16; xxxi. 27.) The curious academic word in the Oxford language of the last century, "to *propemp* any one," *i.e.* to provide with a ceremonious escort on public occasions, preserved very little of the original force. The word is Pauline (Rom. xv. 24; 1 Cor. xvi. 6—11; Titus iii. 12. Cf. also Acts xv. 3, xxi. 5.)

after a godly sort] lit. "worthily of God"—"he who honours such faithful servants of God, honours Christ, our God, who sends them."

worthily of God (cf. Col. i. 10; 1 Thess. ii. 12). The Apostle exhorts Christians to do this action *worthily of God*. He implies then that it is the standard by which every action is to be measured—to make it, as far as possible, worthy of God in every part. The gift which we intend to lay before a king is rendered complete as far as loyalty and reverence can ensure. The gift which is presented by love and gratitude is made as perfect as gratitude and love can make it. The old builders finished details of architecture high out of sight on roof and spire with exquisite exactitude, because they would be seen by the angels. So every action of the regenerate life should be finished in every detail, and made as complete as it can be made by loyalty and reverence, by love and gratitude, for the eyes of the Lord of men and angels. What an ideal of life to say to oneself in this or that action, "do this **worthily of God!**"

7. "for the sake of **the Name**" (*His name's sake*, A.V.). The pronoun is wanting in all the *Uncials*. (It may have been brought in from a reminiscence of Rom. i. 5.) Just as *the Name* in the Old Testament is put absolutely for *Jehovah* (Deut. xxviii. 58; 1 Chron. xiii. 6), so in the New Testament it is used for *Christ* (Acts iii. 16, iv. 12, v. 41. Cf. "that *beautiful* Name," James ii. 7). The same use, passed on to the earliest Christian writers (see Ignat. 'ad Ephes.' III. VII.; 'ad Philipp.' X.). The argument for our Lord's Divinity, deducible from this, is excellently put by Ammon; in the *Catena* on Acts v. 41. "*For the Name.*" "By using the general expression he indicates that Jesus is God. For, just as a man solemnly using the word, '*He* has said,' means '*God* has said,' so he who uses *the name* indefinitely equally declares the Divinity of Jesus" (quoted in Tischend. 'Nov. Test. Græce,' edit. VII. Tom. II. pp. 29, 30). Note too that *name* implies a *true personality* lying behind it. It is never used of qualities, only of persons (see Matt. xxviii. 20).

taking nothing of] See Additional Note.

8. *We*] The pronoun here standing markedly at the beginning of the sentence is full of significance. It is beautifully like St John's humility to include himself in a confession of sinfulness, or in an obligation to perform a duty. This verse is morally quite of a piece with 1 John ii. 1.

therefore] On this, probably the only οὖν in St John's three Epistles, see Additional Note.

might be fellowhelpers] **may become fellow-workers.**

preeminence among them, receiveth us not.

10 Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds which he doeth, prating against us with malicious words: and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth *them* out of the church.

11 Beloved, follow not that which is evil, but that which is good. He

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for *the truth*] *Fellowworker* is a Pauline word (Philem. 24; Philipp. iv. 3; 1 Thess. iii. 2). This clause is not however parallel with Philipp. iv. 3 or 1 Thess. iii. 2. For though **The Truth** may here run into a personal meaning and may signify Him who said "I am the Truth" (John xiv. 6), yet we are here called upon to become fellow-workers *to* or *for*, not with, The Truth.

9. There are several readings here, of which the most important is—"*Thou* wrotest somewhat" (ἔγραψάς τι, B). This reading has been supposed to be of a very subtle character, introduced by a copyist, to whom it seemed a double unsuitability (1) that a writing of an inspired Apostle should have perished, and (2) that Diotrephes should have had the power to reject it, both of which are involved in the T. R. *I wrote somewhat*. The common reading, however, seems to give a satisfactory sense. St John informs Caius that he had written to the Church, of which that gentle and hospitable Christian was a valued member, but he has reason to know that Diotrephes would not receive or obey his Apostolic bidding. He, therefore, implicitly warns Caius to be careful that the contents of this letter, at least, should be made known to the Church. Rothe supposes—and the supposition has internal probability—that Diotrephes was a bishop. (See *supra*, Introd.) The temptation of young and haughty bishops to excommunicate hastily and unjustly is vividly illustrated by Augustine's remonstrance with the youthful Auxilius and his sympathetic note to Classicianus, who had suffered this wrong. 'Epist.' CCL.

Diotrephes, who loveth to **have pre-eminence over them**] (ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν). The word might almost be rendered, "who affects primacy over them." Ecclesiastical ambition would seem to St John in particular against the mind of Christ (Matt. xx. 28), especially the words ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος, *v.* 27, to which we may refer.

them] *i.e.* the individuals comprised in the collective word "the Church."

receiveth us not] "Our apostleship, our authority, our brethren, our letters, our injunctions," (à Lap.) "Hence so many Churches are, in a sense, all first, all apostolic, while all cling to one unity. They have communion of peace, the mutual address of brotherhood, the common watchword of hospitality ("*contesseratio hospitalitatis*"). (Tertullian, 'De Præscript.' xx.)

10. *if I come*] (ἐὰν ἔλθω). This expresses uncertainty with some small amount of probability—if I shall come, which is not quite impossible (Donaldson, 'Gr. Gr.' pt. v. ch. II. § ii. p. 501, 'Conditional Propositions'). In sentiment this verse is a softened echo of 1 Cor. iv. 21; 2 Cor. x. 11, xiii. 1, 2, 3.

I will remember] **bring to remembrance**—the same word as in Joh. xiv. 26. To "bring evil deeds to remembrance" is practically to reproach, bring to shame. Hence ὑπομιμνήσκω is sometimes used in this sense. (See Demosth. quoted by Bretschn. *in loc.*)

prating against us with **wicked** *words*] (λόγοις πονηροῖς φλυαρῶν ἡμᾶς). Diotrephes is habitually a doer of works, whose character is defined by the character of his words; nay, those words *are* works. The words are light and reckless, *bubbles*, yet wicked. The sketch, short, and touched with an old man's trembling pen, reminds us of the *dramatic* element so marked in the fourth Gospel.

and not **contented hereupon**, *neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would*] The very unusual construction in this verse is quite *Johannic*. Cf. St John's Gospel, iv. 11. The construction must be thus understood. St John mentions the schismatic exclusion of Diotrephes—"He receiveth us not." Then the Apostle interposes a brief indignant parenthesis ("For this cause, if I come, I will, &c."). Then he resumes his account of Diotrephes—"and further, not contented,"—Diotrephes was *schismatical*, not heretical.

casteth them out] (ἐκβάλλω). A Johannic word for excommunication (Gospel, ix. 34, 35).

11. *Beloved, follow not that which is evil*] **Imitate not**. The verb is applied in New Testament both (*a*) to *persons* (2 Thess. iii. 7, 9), and (*b*) to *things* (Heb. xiii. 7). See Bretsch. 'Lex. Man. N. T.' *s. v.* and cf. Reiche, 'Comment. Crit.' on 1 Pet. iii. 13, where he argues in favour of "imitators" as the true reading (Tom. III. p. 263). The words **imitate** *that which is good* are the motto and principle of Saints' Days in the Church's calendar, and of religious biography. See a vivid instance of "imitation of that which is good" brought about by reading the life of Antonius. (St Augustine, 'Confess.'

that doeth good is of God: but he that doeth evil hath not seen God.

12 Demetrius hath good report of all *men*, and of the truth itself: yea, and we *also* bear record; and ye know that our record is true.

13 I had many things to write, but I will not with ink and pen write unto thee:

14 But I trust I shall shortly see thee, and we shall speak † face to face. Peace *be* to thee. *Our* friends salute thee. Greet the friends by name.

† Gr. *mouth to mouth.*

VIII. 6.) The relation of Caius to the Gospel of St John (p. 371) makes me refer the *imitation of that which is good* to the example of Jesus. We have here a treatise *De Imitatione Christi* in three words. The link of connection is "Do not imitate Diotrephes, rather make Demetrius your type of Christian life."

He that doeth good] The article with present participle. He whose general principle of life and conduct is doing good. The word, and its kindred substantives, are favourites with St Peter, to whom active benevolence was so conspicuous an aspect of Christianity (cf. 1 Pet. ii. 14, 15, 20, iii. 6, 17, iv. 19), and who summed up Christ's character as manifested in His passage through life in one word (εὐεργετῶν, Acts x. 38).

hath not seen God] A truly Johannic thought and expression (1 John iii. 6).

12. **To Demetrius witness is borne.** The pft. is used in strict accordance with its proper import, viz. the *past* is expressed in relation to the *present*. The witness *has been* given and *now stands*. (See Winer, pt. III. § xi. p. 287.)

and **by** *the truth itself*] "The testimony even of *all men* may be deceived; the testimony of *the Truth* cannot be deceived. The testimony of the truth itself is the testimony of God, who is the highest Truth, of Christ who says, 'I am the Truth' (John xiv. 6). Blessed he who has this testimony!" (à Lap.).

and we also **are bearing witness**] *The Truth* here may, however, not impossibly signify Christ Himself. Can it be that St John is referring to the opening chapters of the Apocalypse, and that Demetrius may have been one of the angels of the Seven Churches to whom Jesus, the Truth, bore witness, in one of the Apocalyptic Epistles? The passage is intensely Johannic. (1) The Johannic correlatives, witness and the Truth, are found together. (2) The Johannic idea of threefold witness pervades the passage. It is another application of one thought in 1 John v. 6—10 on a lower range and more contracted scale. Demetrius has *three* witnesses (*a*) the *world* (ὑπὸ πάντων), (*b*) *Jesus* (ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας), (*c*) the *Church*, specially including *St John himself* (καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ μαρτυροῦμεν, κ.τ.λ.; cf. John xxi. 24). (The comparatively modern conjecture that Demetrius is "the silversmith" of Acts xix. 24 may or may not be true. The name certainly belongs to the Ephesian surroundings: See Additional Note.)

and ye know] There is high authority for *thou knowest* (A, B, C, ℵ and the Coptic version). But the reading seems suspiciously like a copyist's gloss or correction, to whom the idea occurred that the Epistle was addressed to *Caius alone*, and that, therefore, *ye know* was out of place. But the Epistle was evidently not intended to be kept strictly private by Caius (*vv.* 10, 11). "The plural embraces Caius' companions, faithful rulers of the Church, and the whole assembly, for whose use the letter was intended" (Reiche, 'Comm. Crit.' *in loc.*).

that our **witness** *is true*] A sort of mark of St John (xix. 35). See Introd. to this Epistle, p. 373, note 2.

13. *I had many things to* **have written**, *but* I am not willing to **be writing**] The Epistolary aorist in the first clause, and the present in the second clause, are alike appropriate.

with ink and pen] The original signifies black pigment and reed. "The prep. διά denotes *through the medium of;* that *through* which the result passes; which lies *between* the will to do the act and the completion of the act" (Winer, pt. II. § xlvii. p. 396).

ink] *Three* times mentioned in Scripture, 2 Cor. iii. 3; 2 John *v.* 12, and in this verse.

14. **I am hoping straightway to see thee.**

15. **The** *friends...Greet the friends*] The word and idea are not common in the New Testament. The beautiful exceptions are Luke xii. 4; John xi. 11, xv. 14, above all xv. 15. *Friendship* is transfigured and elevated into something better—*fraternity*. The friends here (οἱ φίλοι, τοὺς φίλους) must not be taken out of the Johannic context. "The *friends*," in St John's mind, are not only *mutual friends*, but the friends *of Jesus*. That which was said of Abraham as the friend of God (2 Chro. xx. 7; Isai. xli. 8), or of Moses to whom the Lord spake "as a man speaketh unto his friend" (Exod. xxviii. 11), is more deeply true of the friends of Jesus (John xv. 15). See the exquisitely beautiful sermon in which South draws out the privileges of friendship, and shews their consummation in the friendship of our Lord for His

people: (1) freedom of access, (2) favourable construction, (3) sympathy in sorrow, (4) communication of thought, (5) counsel in difficulty, (6) constancy and perpetuity. ('Sermons,' XIV. Vol. I. 291—308.) "The friends," then, are those who in the new relation of Christian fraternity do not lose the fine natural humanity of *friendship*, but rather have it elevated and purified. But these are also within the circle of St John's thought those whom Jesus calls friends. (Gospel, xv. 15.)

by name] May we not see a beautiful allusion to the Good Shepherd "calling His own sheep by *name*?" (John x. 8.) These simple words are the last which we can trace up to the heart and pen of St John. Their quiet tender *individualism* forms a fitting transition from the superhuman dignity of the Apostolate, to the more ordinary pastoral office. Something of the Apostle's mind may yet breathe in some of the Liturgies, but what and how much is absolutely uncertain. ("Liturgia Hispanica minimè a Romanâ, probabilius à Gallicanâ...et inde ab *Ephesinâ Ecclesiâ* originem duxisse." See Neale, 'Tetral. Liturg.' Prefat. XXVIII., and his reference to Lesl. 'de Liturg. Goth.' v. VI.) A hush as of evening rests upon the close of the note.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on *vv.* 3, 4, 7, 8, 12.

3. Ἀλήθης, ἀλήθεια (connected with λήθω λαθεῖν) in classical Greek signifies that which is *unconcealed*, and therefore *true*, *real* as opposed to *false* or *apparent*. Looking back over the writings of St John from this point, we conclude that the various meanings of the word ἀλήθεια may be classed as follows.

I. Truth *objective*.

1. Living and embodied.

(*a*) In the Son.

Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωή[1], John xiv. 6. To this there may be special (but not exclusive) reference, when our Lord speaks of the Holy Ghost as The Spirit (not of *truth*, but of) **The Truth**. (Τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13), *i.e.* not merely the Spirit to whom specially belongs the revelation of absolute Truth, but the Spirit of *Christ* who is *The Truth*.

(*b*) In the Holy Spirit.

The Spirit *of* The Truth is also The Truth. (τὸ μαρτυροῦν ὅτι τὸ π. ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλήθεια, "that the Spirit is The Truth." 1 John v. 6.)

2. Embodied in the sum-total of the revelation of Jesus, as the reflection of the mind of God, and therefore the *absolute truth* (John i. 17, viii. 32, 40, 45, xvi. 13, xvii. 17, xviii. 37; 1 John ii. 21; 2 John 1).

[In many passages the meanings (1 *a*) and (2) run into each other, in the same way as the Personal Word and the word spoken or written, *e.g.* John v. 33; 1 John ii. 19; 2 John 2; 3 John 12.]

II. The *Truth received* passes *subjectively* into *The Truth in us* (1 John i. 8, ii. 4; 2 John 2; μαρτυρούντων σου τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, 3 John 3). Hence:

(*a*) *Truth in thought*, consisting in the accord of *thought* with *being*, conformity of our conceptions to that Truth which is the ideal and unerring standard[1] (1 John ii. 21; 2 John 1).

(*b*) *Truth in action*. As *The Truth* covers the whole extent of human nature, right action is that Truth made visible and projected outwardly in conduct (ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, John iii. 21; οὐ ποιοῦμεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, 1 John i. 6).

(*c*) *Truth in speech*—opposed not to the logical falsity which is a *mistake*, but to the ethical falsity which is a *lie* (anarthrous in viii. 44—46).

(*d*) *Truth in actuality* as opposed to *appearance*—the *fact* as opposed to the *sham* (anarthrous in 1 John iii. 18. ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, really, with true love, 2 John 1; 3 John 1; cf. *vv.* 3, 4.

4. *greater*] μειζοτέραν (cf. for form ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ, Ephes. iii. 8), a poetical comparative formed from a comparative (cf. "Now that I am *more better* than Prospero," 'Tempest,' Act II. scene 1). Note in the μειζοτέραν ...ἵνα ἀκούω an almost peculiarly *Johannic* use of ἵνα; cf. 1 John iv. 17 (Winer, Pt. III. § xliv. p. 255).

7. *of the Gentiles*] ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν. Text. Recept. Ἐθνικῶν is read in A, B, C, ℵ, and received into the text by Tischend. But it

[1] The root of this great utterance of the Son of God is in the words יהוה אל אֱמֶת הוּא־אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים "The Lord God is *Truth*; He, even God, is Life" (Jer. x. 10).

[1] "Non enim falsa dicit, qui se verum dicere dicit, sed falsas apprehensas verè enunciat illas apprehensiones. Cùm igitur veritas sit orationis adæquatio cum ipsis speciebus, falsitas erit in notionibus quæ sunt in animâ, propterea quod eæ rebus adæquatæ non sunt, non autem in oratione. Sculptura in gemmâ falsa erit, quippe quæ Cardanum minus expressè delineabit, non erit falsa cera, nempe sculpturam è chrysolitho praecisè referet..... *Veritas est affectus orationis conveniens menti, et affectus mentis conveniens rei.*" Jul. C. Scalig. 'De Subtil. ad Cardanum,' Exerc. II. p. 8.

has the air of a gloss. For ἔθνη is a very ambiguous word. (*a*) It stands for non-Judæan races generally, with no religious allusion; (*b*) for persons geographically outside Palestine, including Jews of the dispersion; (*c*) for the *nations as idolatrous*; (*d*) for non-Judæan Christians (Rom. xi. 13, xv. 27, xvi. 4; Gal. ii. 12—14). But, as its more solemn use included *idolatry* (Matt. vi. 32, x. 18; Acts iii. 45; 1 Cor. v. 1), and as it is so used here, it seemed that ἐθνικοί might express the thought with less ambiguity (Matt. v. 47, vi. 7, xviii. 17). See this point very fully in Reiche, 'Comm. Crit.

taking nothing of the Gentiles. "After verbs of *receiving*, *borrowing*, &c., ἀπὸ has merely the general meaning of *whence*. (Matt. xvii. 25.) In the expression λαμβ. παρὰ τινος the τις denotes the person actually tendering or delivering. In 3 John 7 the Apostle would have used παρὰ and not ἀπὸ (τῶν ἐθνῶν) if the meaning had been that the Gentiles had actually tendered a present." Winer, Part III. § xlvii. 388, note 1.

8. *therefore*] Οὖν occurs with special frequency in the Gospel of St John. (About 220 times, against 50 in St Matthew, 11 in St Mark, 45 in St Luke, 68 in Acts.) The word is probably a contraction from ἔον, *quod quum ita sit* (Kühner's 'Gr. Gr.' by Jelf, § 737), and thus in some measure illustrates the old English argumentative use of *being* (*e.g.* "*being* the object of faith is supposed infallibly true; *being* it is the nature of truth not to hide itself." 'Exposition of Creed,' Bp Pearson, Art. 1.) It is scarcely accurate to speak of it as the most properly syllogistic of the inferential particles with Winer (cf. 'Gr. of N. T. Diction,' Part III. § lxiii. 8 a. with what is said of the ἄρα *conclusivum* of logical inference and other particles of consequence. Donaldson, 'Gr. Gr.' 571, 31; Kühner's 'Gr. Gr.' by Jelf, §§ 787—791). In St John's Gospel οὖν is seldom merely *resumptive* or *continuative*. The instances given by Winer of the continuative οὖν appear to be somewhat questionable. This frequent recurrence of οὖν is the natural and spontaneous tribute of St John's mind to the divine connection of all things in the Redeemer's life to the reasonable, religious, necessary *consequence* of every part and incident of that History which is not "a maze without a plan," but the highest manifestation of law in the region of human history. The narrative of the human development of the life of the Word made Flesh is interlinked throughout by causes more essentially connected with their effects than "the sound of the bell with going to chapel." Hence οὖν is naturally frequent in St John's Gospel to express not merely continuity of narrative, but intervolution of events—not *logical* but *historical* inference. But the same habit of thought which views sacred history in this light is precisely that which in the region of theology is essentially dogmatic. And an inspired dogmatic theologian will write *oracularly*, not *inferentially* like a schoolman. The inferential οὖν of the regular treatise is, therefore, naturally absent from St John's Epistles, until we come at last to an *historical statement* in 3 John *v.* 7, where he draws a moral inference from it in *v.* 8 (ἡμεῖς οὖν ὀφείλομεν). This is probably the sole instance of οὖν in these Epistles. (In 1 John ii. 24 it has no authority—some however in iv. 19.)

12. Demetrius was an *Ephesian* name (Acts xix. 24). An architect called Demetrius is also mentioned by Vitruvius (see Introd. to 1 John). The idea that the silversmith, Demetrius, the agitator of his guild, may have been the very Demetrius, so honourably mentioned in this place, is of comparatively modern origin (Comm. à Lap. 'Comment. in Scrip. S.' xx. p. 646). But the conjecture has nothing in the least improbable. The accurate version of the addresses of the silversmith, Demetrius, to his fellow-craftsmen (Acts xix. 25—28), and of the "town-clerk" to the people of Ephesus (*ibid.* 35—41), would seem to imply the possession of documents or of private information by St Luke, which had been afforded by one or other of the speakers in a spirit friendly to Christianity. The very vehemence of the language of Demetrius against St Paul (*v.* 26) betrays an uneasy sense of the fascinating power of his teaching. And the record of these expressions of Demetrius would be deeply interesting to those readers of the Acts who knew that the maker of the "silver shrines of Diana" had resigned all hope of gaining wealth by his old occupation, and became convinced of St Paul's great principle, "that they be no gods which are made with hands."

ADDITIONAL NOTE on 1 JOHN II. 11.

Since this note was in type, the writer has met with the following sentences in a remarkable paper on the application of the laws of Degeneration and Reversion to Type in the Spiritual world, by Professor H. Drummond, F.R.S.E.

"There are certain burrowing animals—
"like the mole for instance—*which* have taken
"to spend their lives beneath the surface of the
"ground. And nature has taken her revenge
"upon them in this thoroughly natural way—
"by closing up their eyes. If they mean to
"live in darkness, she argues, eyes are clearly
"a superfluous function. By neglecting them,
"these animals make it clear they do not want
"them. And as one of Nature's fixed prin-
"ciples is that nothing shall exist in vain, the
"eyes are presently taken away or reduced to
"a rudimentary state. Similarly, there are
"fishes which have had to pay the same forfeit
"by taking up their abode in dark caverns,
"where eyes are never required. And in
"exactly the same way the spiritual eye must
"die and lose its power by purely natural
"law if the soul choose to walk in darkness
"rather than in light."

ADDITIONAL NOTE on 1 JOHN III. 2.

The writer has been favoured by a correspondent with the following careful note.

"The following may be given as arguments
"in favour of an amended rendering. 'It
"never yet was manifested what we shall be,
"but we know *if it were manifested.*'

"i. The marked antithesis in the Greek
"οὔπω ἐφανερώθη...ἐαν φανερωθῇ.

"ii. The more evident sense in the English.

"iii. If 'when He shall appear' were in-
"tended, should we not expect ὅταν φανε-
"ρωθῇ, as in *v.* 28 of the preceding chapter?

"iv. ἐὰν is used *about* 15 times in St John's
"Epistles, and *about* 30 times in his Gospel,
"and always in the conditional and not the
"future sense. Cf. 3 Epist. 10, ἐὰν ἔλθω, not
"*When I shall come*, but *If I come*, *i.e.* If I
"am able to come. Cf. also John viii. 36,
"ἐὰν οὖν ὁ υἱὸς ἐλευθερώσῃ, viii. 52,
"ἐάν τις τηρήσῃ, xii. 32, Κἀγὼ ἐὰν ὑψω-
"θῶ, xxi. 25, ἐὰν γράφηται. [See also
"Gospel, v. 43, vi. 62, vii. 17, 37, viii. 14, 16,
"31, x. 9, xi. 40, 48, xii. 24, 26, 47, xiv.
"3, 14, 15, 23, xv. 7, 10, 14, xix. 12, xxi. 22.
"Epistle 1, i. 6, 7, 8, 10, ii. 1, 3, 15, 24, 29,
"iii. 20, 21, iv. 12, 20, v. 15.]

"v. On the other hand we find ὅταν used
"exclusively in the future sense. Gospel,
"viii. 28, ὅταν ὑψώσητε, viii. 44, ὅταν λαλῇ,
"xiii. 19, ὅταν γένηται, xv. 26, ὅταν ἔλθῃ.
"Cf. also iv. 25, vii. 27, 31, xiv. 29, xvi. 13,
"xxi. 18, &c., &c."

JUDE.

INTRODUCTION.

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THIS Epistle though brief has been the subject of much controversy. In treating of the points which have come under debate it will be convenient to adopt the following order:

1. The Writer.

The writer calls himself (*v.* 1) "Jude the brother of James." Now in the primitive Christian times, and among the Judæo-Christians for whom this Epistle, from the character of its contents, must have been intended, there was only one person, after the martyrdom of James the brother of John by the order of Herod Agrippa I. (Acts xii. 2), who could have been spoken of simply as "James" without further description, and whom all men from such brief mention might be expected to recognize. This was the James who presided over the Church in Jerusalem (Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18; 1 Cor. xv. 7; Gal. ii. 9, 12), who is usually spoken of as bishop there, and who in Gal. i. 19 is called "the Lord's brother." Thus the writer of the present Epistle claims to be the Judas named among the brethren of the Lord in Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3. He seems (*v.* 17) to state by implication that he was not an Apostle, "Remember ye the words which have been spoken before by the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, how that *they* said to you," &c. But that we cannot base a positive conclusion on such language is evident from Acts v. 29, where it is said, "Then Peter and the Apostles answered," &c., an expression which no one would interpret as excluding Peter from the Apostolic band.

But there are some further considerations which appear to confirm the construction which may be put on the writer's own words. If St Jude was not an Apostle neither would St James be one. Now in St James' Epistle (which is by all admitted to be the writing of the Bishop of Jerusalem) there is the same absence of any claim to be of the number of the Apostles as we find in St Jude. He calls himself merely "James a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ," words which bear a marked resemblance to the form which St Jude employs. If they were both Apostles it is very remarkable that in neither Epistle do we discover anything that gives an intimation thereof, while in one we have words which may fairly be taken to imply that St Jude was not an Apostle. Again, the statement (John vii. 5) that, at a time not long before the Crucifixion, the brethren of Jesus did not believe on Him, points in the same direction. It is true that the "brethren of the Lord" are mentioned (Acts i. 14) as assembled at Jerusalem with the rest to wait for the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. But the way in which they are there spoken of severs them from the

Apostolic body rather than includes them in its number. After the mention of the eleven by name we are told, "These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren." A sentence could hardly be framed which should emphasize more pointedly the distinction between "Apostles" and "the Lord's brethren." The latter are also placed last in the enumeration, as if they had most recently been included among the believers. The change in their feeling towards Jesus since His death and resurrection has been thought to be sufficiently explained by the words of St Paul (1 Cor. xv. 7), that the Lord had been "seen of James" on one special occasion after he was risen from the dead. It has been argued from this verse, and from the language of Gal. i. 19, that St Paul includes this James among the Apostles. But the term Apostle was not restricted by St Paul to the twelve, but is applied in the New Testament to Paul himself, to Barnabas, and apparently (Rom. xvi. 7) to Andronicus and Junias. It seems therefore more in accordance with the evidence which we possess to conclude (1) that the writer of the Epistle of St Jude was a different person from the Apostle Jude, who appears also to have had the names Lebbæus and Thaddæus (cf. Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18, with Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13), and about whom St John (xiv. 22), when he wants to distinguish him, uses the words "not Iscariot;" (2) that he was the brother of James, known in the early Church as the Just, and who presided over the Church at Jerusalem during the period embraced in the latter portion of the Acts of the Apostles, and who was one of the "brethren of the Lord." That neither James nor Jude allude to this close connexion with Jesus may be explained from a natural desire not to seem to lay stress on a position in respect of the Founder of Christianity to which none of the other Disciples or Apostles could have a claim, and this feeling would be the stronger in them because they had so long rejected the teaching of Him to whom in humility they now both alike call themselves (δοῦλοι) *bond-servants.*

2. Persons for whom the Epistle was written.

The Epistle is addressed to Christians who had been Jews. This is the reason why the writer calls himself "brother of James." For we learn from Eusebius ('H. E.' II. 23) that all the Jewish people, not the Christians only, held James the Bishop of Jerusalem in high regard. Moreover all the illustrations that are used in the letter are those of a Jew writing for Jews. The deliverance from Egypt, the fallen angels, the cities of the plain, the legend of Michael's contention with Satan, the references to Cain, Balaam, and Korah, as well as the prophecy ascribed to Enoch, are all found in a very brief space, and are touched upon in such a manner as could be edifying to none save those who were familiar not only with Old Testament Scripture, but also with Jewish traditions.

3. Its Authenticity.

When we consider the brevity of St Jude's Epistle, and that it was, though now called Catholic, addressed in the first instance only to a small section of the Christian Church, we need not be surprised that it did not receive great recognition from the early Christian writers. It is mentioned in the Muratorian Canon, which may be taken as representing the opinion of the Western Church soon after the middle of the second century. Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 165—200) quotes from the Epistle ('Strom.' III. 2. 11), and in a summary of the works of that Father, given by Eusebius ('H. E.' VI. 14), it is said that St Jude was included among the books on which Clement wrote short explanations. Origen (A.D. 186—253) speaks of the Epistle in one place ('Comm. in Matth.' T. X. 17) in terms of high praise, as being "short indeed, but filled with language powerful with heavenly grace," though elsewhere (T. XVII. 30) he seems to have doubts as to its authority. Tertullian (A.D. 200) speaks of the Epistle of St Jude (*De cultu feminarum*, 3) as a portion of accepted Scripture. For he is desirous to uphold the authority of the Book of Enoch, and after several arguments he closes the chapter, "Moreover Enoch is testified unto by Jude the

Apostle." As he calls the Epistle the work of an Apostle, we may be sure that it was held as a portion of the New Testament in Northern Africa in his day. And that this was so is further shewn by a passage in a treatise[1] generally included among the works of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (A.D. 200—258), where Jude 14, 15 is directly quoted.

Again in Eusebius ('H. E.' VII. 30) we have preserved a letter of Malchion, a presbyter at Antioch, written to the bishops of Alexandria and Rome concerning the heretical teaching of Paul of Samosata, and therefore of the date A.D. 260—270, in which he uses the words of Jude 3, 4 in describing the errors against which his letter is directed.

Nevertheless Eusebius (A.D. 325) himself ('H E.' III. 24) classes the Epistle of St Jude among the ἀντιλεγόμενα, by which he means those books about which, though well known and recognized by most, there has been some controversy, and it is not quoted or alluded to by Irenæus, nor included in the Syriac versions of the New Testament, which last fact shews us that in one branch of the Christian Church it was either not known or not received for Canonical in the second century, to the middle of which the Peshito version may be most fairly assigned. But that we may estimate rightly the value of evidence concerning the omission of any quotation from St Jude in the writings of one of the Fathers, even though his works be voluminous, it should be observed that we have no notice of our Epistle in the whole of the writings of St Chrysostom, who died A.D. 407, but yet in a dialogue[2] composed at Rome by Palladius a friend of Chrysostom concerning that Father's life, we have a direct quotation from St Jude. So that in the case of such brief composition the argument from the silence of any of the Fathers ought not to be too closely pressed. The conclusion, which we can draw from such evidence as has come down to us, is that in the Western Church the Epistle won its way to acceptance at an earlier date than in the East. It was known in Italy and the Churches of Northern Africa, and in Alexandria, by the middle or latter part of the second century, while at the commencement of the fourth century its acceptance in the East was not general. Whether any inference can be drawn from these data as to place where it was first circulated, or the Churches to which it was addressed, is not easy to decide. But Jerome writing in the fourth century gives a reason for the non-acceptance of the Epistle which probably had weight with many of the early Christians. He says ('Catal. Scr. Eccl.' 4), "Because in it Jude derives a testimony from the book of Enoch, which is apocryphal, it is rejected by most." But at the Council of Laodicæa (A.D. 363) when the canon of the New Testament was first settled authoritatively, and when there would be more evidence for and against the Epistle accessible than we now possess, it was received among the Canonical Books, as also at the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), and there seems no reason, in spite of the objections raised against it in early times, for questioning its authenticity.

[1] 'Adv. Novat. Hæret.' p. xvii. ed. Baluz.

[2] Included among the works of Chrysostom, T. XIII. p. 68, c.

4. Date and Place of Writing.

Concerning the time when the Epistle was written there is not much to guide us, nor in reference to the place where it was composed. From the notice of the descendants of Jude the brother of the Lord preserved by Eusebius ('H. E.' III. 19, 20) from Hegesippus, we should conclude that they were resident in Palestine and had always lived there. It seems natural therefore to suppose that the Epistle was written somewhere in that country for the Jewish converts to Christianity. If, as seems to be intimated by Hegesippus in the passage just alluded to, St Jude was dead in the time of Domitian, we shall perhaps not be far wrong in assigning the composition to about A.D. 80. The arguments which have been put forward for an earlier date, because it is assumed that in a letter of such a character the writer would not have failed to mention the destruction of Jerusalem as an illustration, had that event already taken place, must not be looked upon as conclusive. For the brevity of the letter is such as to deprive them of their force, and the very recentness of the overthrow of the Holy City

would prevent its destruction from entering as yet into such history as might be used for pointing a moral.

Yet there are words in the Epistle which bear somewhat on the question of date. The writer exhorts his readers to remember *the words which have been spoken* by the Apostles. Now ῥῆμα is specially used of that which is pronounced and heard. We should conclude therefore from its use here, that the writer is addressing those who had listened to the oral teaching of the Apostles. He must therefore have been a contemporary of the Apostles himself. And for it to be possible for him to assume the earnest tone of admonition which he here employs, he must have been a person to whom mature age had given weight of character. It may be also, as the words were spoken, that he himself had been present at such preaching as that to which he alludes. Indeed that the writer had heard such lessons given to those to whom he writes is made very probable by his language in the following verse, "Remember...how that they *said to you*." There is hardly any natural construction to be put on such a reminder except that he who gives it had himself listened to the teaching, the memory of which he desires to revive in his readers. All this is consistent with St Jude being a fellow-labourer with the Apostles in the cities of Palestine, with his living on even past the destruction of Jerusalem, and taking a warm interest in all the Churches which were established in that country. It cannot lead us to any precise date, but it suits only those early days when a generation was alive to whom the Apostles had given oral teaching on the life of Christ and its lessons. As we place the Epistle from grammatical and other considerations after 2nd Peter, its composition must be assigned to the period between A. D. 65—80.

5. Relation to Second Peter.

The relation of St Jude's Epistle to the second Epistle of St Peter has been already discussed at length in the Introduction to the latter Epistle. But it may be added here that if St Peter's Epistle be the later composition and the work of some very clever imitator of that Apostle's style, it is very strange that he drew his material so largely from St Jude, an Epistle which, as we have seen, was among the controverted portion of the early Christian writings. There are beside some portions of St Jude's Epistle which seem to put St Peter's language into an objective form, and so demonstrate that St Jude was the later writer. For example St Peter (ii. 1) speaks of those who deny the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. St Jude having this, as we believe, before him gives an instance of the destruction at which St Peter had only hinted. For immediately after the mention of those "who deny our Lord God and Jesus Christ" he does not continue as St Peter did, but adds "I will put you in remembrance how that the Lord having saved the people out of the land of Egypt, afterwards destroyed them that believed not," thus emphasizing by an illustration the destruction of the ungodly.

It should be noted too that from the exigency under which (as he tells us) he wrote, St Jude was the more likely to adapt materials which lay ready to his hand. He had purposed (verse 3) to write a general Epistle concerning "the common salvation," but learning that there was need for a special and immediate letter of warning, he writes that at once. What more natural than, if he knew St Peter's predictive letter written in anticipation of what was now become an actual fact, that he should take that and use all in it which suited his purpose, only giving to the language such modifications as to fit it to the graver character of the times?

It should also be noticed that there are some passages in St Jude which look like an elaboration of what St Peter had previously written, but can scarcely be understood if the contrary order of composition be maintained. Thus St Peter (ii. 4) speaks merely of the angels when they sinned, as cast down and *kept* (τετηρημένους, A. V. reserved) unto judgment. St Jude elaborates this and by employing the same verb twice over in his sentence, plays upon the sense in a way which, with a knowledge of the Jewish fondness for such antithesis, we cannot believe that a copyist (as some suppose St Peter to have been) would have failed to reproduce. The words of St Jude (6)

are "The angels which *kept* not (μὴ τηρήσαντες) their first estate, but left their proper habitation, he hath *kept* (τετήρηκεν) in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day."

And in like manner in another passage (2 Pet. ii. 12) St Peter's words seem the simple statement in extension of which St Jude has afterwards made a most pointed distinction. What seems to be naturally the earlier sentence speaks of the false teachers as "creatures without reason, mere animal natures, things to be taken and destroyed, railing in matters whereof they are ignorant." On this St Jude dwells and brings into strong contrast the sense which as animals they have by nature, and their want of knowledge in those things about which they speak evil. He writes (as St Peter had written), "These rail at whatsoever things they *know* not," but St Jude alone continues "and what they *understand* naturally like the creatures without reason in these things are they corrupted." It appears in the highest degree improbable that if St Peter had been the later writer he would, in his imitation, have failed to reproduce a passage which is far more pointed than the sentence which we have in his own Epistle.

These are points which are specially noticeable in St Jude's Epistle, and which combined with what has been said in the Introduction to 2 Peter, make it far more likely that St Jude knew and used St Peter's work, than that the opposite was the order in which the Epistles were written.

Examples are not wanting in the Old Testament where writers have copied either from one another or from some common source. Cf. Is. ii. 2—4 with Mic. iv. 1—3, also Joel iii. 16—21 with Amos i. 2 and ix. 11—15, &c.

6. Contents of the Epistle.

The Epistle opens with the salutation and an invocation of a blessing on those to whom it is addressed (1, 2).

The writer was minded to have sent a letter dealing with the general doctrines of Christ's religion, but he is constrained to write at once a special Epistle, for false teachers are risen up against whom they must be warned (3, 4).

He would put his readers in mind that among the people brought up from Egypt faithless men were found whom God destroyed; even angels that sinned God has kept in bonds for judgment; and has left the overthrow of the cities of the plain as a warning for after times lest they should sin in like manner. But the false teachers of whom he speaks do commit like gross sins, and despise all authorities, giving free rein to their mere animal nature (5, 10).

Continuing his description he classes these offenders with sinners like Cain and Balaam and Korah. They are the blemishes on the Christian community, self-seeking, making large promises but with no prospect of performance, disappointing all hope, and shamelessly publishing their own disgrace. Of these and of their judgment Enoch has prophesied (11—16). He turns now to exhortation, and bids his readers remember that such mockers had been foretold by the Apostles, and now they have appeared. But let the faithful hold firm to the end, praying and watching for the mercy of Christ, 17—21.

He then teaches how to act towards the offenders (22, 23), and with a solemn ascription concludes his brief letter (24, 25).

7. The Book of Enoch, &c.

We know the Book of Enoch now only from the Æthiopic versions, copies of which were brought from Abyssinia towards the end of last century by the traveller, Bruce. An edition of this translation, which had been made from a Greek version, was published by Archbishop Lawrence in 1838, and the same editor had previously published three editions of a translation of the Book into English. A most complete edition of the Æthiopic text and also a German translation thereof have been since published at Leipzig (1851 and 1853) by Dr A. Dillmann, and this leaves little to be desired so far as the Æthiopic version is concerned.

But the book was known in the early centuries of Christianity, and passages are quoted from it in the Chronography of Georgius Syncellus, a monkish historian who lived at Constantinople at the end of the eighth and beginning of the

ninth century. His extracts were no doubt made from a copy of the work in Greek, as were those which appear to indicate a knowledge of the book in Justin Martyr and Anatolius, and the quotations in Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, and in the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs. It may also with most probability be assumed that it was from a Greek version that Tertullian and Augustine drew their knowledge. It is, however, most likely that the original was in some dialect of Hebrew, judging from the names given to the angels and the winds, and we have evidence that a work known as the Book of Enoch was in use among the Jews down to a late date in the Christian era, though it is not now to be found. The Book of Enoch is frequently alluded to in the Zohar, and if what Tertullian says (*De cultu fem.* 3), concerning its rejection by the Jews because it spake of Christ, be admitted, the absence of all notice of it in earlier Jewish literature seems to be accounted for. The style of the whole book however is that of the Jewish writings of a date about the time of the Christian era.

From whatever quarters the writer gathered his materials they are all hung on one string, and this stamps the book, even as we have it, with unity in its composition, and the opinion of students now most generally inclines to place its date some short time previous to the Christian era. So that St Jude's words may very well have been a quotation proper.

For a full account of the book the reader must consult Dillmann's 'Liber Henoch,' 1850, and 'das Buch Henoch,' 1853. Much further information may be gathered concerning the whole contents of the book from Dr Westcott's article in the 'Dictionary of the Bible.'

In the notes on this Epistle and 2nd Peter mention has also been made of the Zohar and Jalkut as authorities in Jewish literature, it seems therefore desirable to add a few words about the character and date of these works[1].

Although *the Zohar* became first known in Europe through the Jews in Spain in the 13th century, yet with the exceptions of (*a*) some portions by which the main work is surrounded, and which can without difficulty be distinguished and severed from the original composition, and (*b*) some interpolations by which it is here and there disfigured and damaged, it is a work, at the latest, of the sixth or seventh century of our era. This is proved (1) by the character of the language of the older portion, and (2) by the contents which were current in Palestine and Babylonia before and at the date just mentioned. The language shews that the work was composed in Palestine, and such being the case we can understand why it was not brought to Europe at an earlier date, from the statement (T. J. 'Synhedrin,' III. 9 [ed. princeps III. 10]) where it is forbidden to carry books belonging to Palestine unto places "without the land." The Zohar was no doubt sent by Nachmanides (flor. 1267) to his son and to his disciples in Spain on the principle (oft mentioned in Jewish literature in explanation of Ps. cxix. 126), that one may on certain occasions break the Law, when the non-observance thereof is its best support. (Cf. T. B. 'Menachoth,' 99 a, last line, and 'Berachoth,' 63 a.) Rabbi Shimeon ben Jochai was the author of the Zohar, in the same sense that Rabbi Jochanan was the author of the Talmud Jerushalmi, *i.e.* he gave the first impulse to the composition of the book, though it was no doubt not finished for some hundreds of years after his time. Except by some Jews the Zohar has not been much studied or circulated because to translate it merely (however correctly that may be done) is to succeed in grasping only a very dry morsel; but to read the book with the comments of a teacher who has possession of the traditional explanations is a study which opens up questions of philosophy, and poetical thoughts of the grandest character.

The Jalkut (which as its name implies is a collection made from previously existing materials, and which is not the only

[1] I should have felt unable to speak of these important books as they deserve, had I not been aided in my enquiries by the learning and kindness of my friend the Rev. Dr Schiller-Szinessy, Reader in Rabbinic and Talmudic in the University of Cambridge, my obligations to whom in this and many other matters it gives me much pleasure here to acknowledge.

collection which bears this name) was for a long time looked upon as the work of a German Rabbi of the 14th or 15th century. It is now known to have been completed in the north of France in the 11th century, and the greater portion of its contents (as separate parts of earlier literature) has been traced back to the sixth century A.D. at the very latest, while some pieces reach back to a date before the Christian era.

With regard to the question whether the Epistle was written originally in Hebrew, what has been said in the Introduction to 2nd Peter applies equally to the present Epistle.

THE GENERAL EPISTLE

OF

JUDE.

He exhorteth them to be constant in the profession of the faith. 4 *False teachers are crept in to seduce them: for whose damnable doctrine and manners horrible punishment is prepared:* 20 *whereas the godly, by the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and prayers to God, may persevere, and grow in grace, and keep themselves, and recover others out of the snares of those deceivers.*

JUDE, the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James, to them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, *and* called:

2 Mercy unto you, and peace, and love, be multiplied.

1. **Judas.** This is the Greek form of the name which anciently belonged to Judah the son of Jacob. It was written in Hebrew יהודה, in which form are found all the four letters of the sacred name of God יהוה. Jewish commentators state that this was a prophetic intimation of the future glory of the tribe of Judah. In later times the Jewish reverence for the Tetragrammaton caused them to modify the original orthography of the name Judah, and they wrote it (1) יהודא, (2) they dropped the first ה, writing יודא, of which the Greek Ἰούδας is the representative. It was naturally very common, and is borne by six other persons in the N. T. beside the writer of this Epistle.

a *servant of Jesus Christ.* The word *servant* (more exactly *bondservant*) has sometimes a restricted, sometimes a wider sense, in the New Testament. In the wider sense all the faithful may be called servants of Christ (cf. 1 Cor. vii. 22; Eph. vi. 6, &c.), but on the other hand those are specially so called who devoted their lives to the preaching of the Gospel and the spread of Christ's Church. The latter is the meaning of the word here (cf. Rom. i. 1; Phil. i. 1; James i. 1).

to them that are called, **beloved in** *God the Father, and* **kept for** *Jesus Christ.* The Christians for whom the Epistle was written were no doubt those to whom the description of the writer as "brother of James" was sufficient for his identification. They were therefore, in all likelihood, the Christians in Palestine among whom the bishop of Jerusalem would be well known, and whose name would be the weightiest introduction with which an Epistle could commence These converts are *called* in the same manner as St Paul speaks of the Roman Christians (Rom. i. 7) as "called to be saints," and also to the Corinthians (1 Cor. i. 2) in like terms, though in the latter case he immediately proceeds to rebuke them for their unholy division. They are members of the visible Church of Christ, in that they have accepted the calling of God, and so are added unto those that are in the way of salvation (Acts ii. 47). As an expansion of the meaning of "called" the writer adds the defining clause which follows: *beloved in God,* &c.

The reading *beloved* is to be preferred, having most support from MSS., while *sanctified* (as A.V.) seems to have been adopted because less difficult to connect with the preposition *in. Beloved in God* when in connection with *called* implies most naturally those to whom God's love has been shewn in their call unto the kingdom of His Son. So, but with a different preposition (2 Thess. ii. 13), "Brethren beloved of the Lord." Here love towards His called ones is spoken of as a feeling which dwells in God the Father, and so the preposition has the force of "in respect of." In their relation to God they are beloved, and by God also are they kept for Jesus Christ. This keeping the Lord Himself performed for His disciples while on earth, and when the time of His departure drew nigh he committed them by His prayer to be kept by the Father (John xvii. 11, 12), and their keeping is to be from evil. Of such St Paul prays (1 Thess. v. 23), "May your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." Whence we conclude that the dative of our text is not used of Christ as the agent in the preservation, but is best rendered **for** *Jesus Christ.* The A.V. has carried on the preposition *in* from the previous clause.

2. The prayer with which the salutation closes is much like those in the two Epistles of St Peter. The use of the verb *be multiplied*

3 Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort *you* that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.

4 For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation, un-

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is rather Aramaic than Greek (cf. Dan. iv. 1; and the note on 1 Pet. i. 2). As in the somewhat similar forms (1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 2; Tit. i. 4), the prayer is not that mercy and peace and love may be more abundant among themselves toward one another, but that God may abundantly bestow upon them these gifts from Himself. In the Pastoral Epistles the words "from God the Father" are added in each prayer.

3. *Beloved,* **while I was giving** *all diligence to write unto you of* **our** *common salvation,* **I was constrained** *to write unto you, and exhort you to contend earnestly for the faith which was once* **for all** *delivered to the saints.* From these words we gather that St Jude had in mind some larger and more general address on the salvation wrought for all men by Christ's death, but circumstances forced him to lay aside that first purpose and to send a brief letter relative to those matters on which warning seemed at the moment to be most needed. What circumstances compelled him to this course we can gather from the contents of his letter. He sees that the prophetic words spoken by St Peter about false teachers and their heretical lessons (2 Pet. ii. 1) have received their fulfilment, and not only so, but heretical teachings have resulted in corrupt practice, and this calls forth his impassioned letter. His language is all directed against the sinful *doings* of those against whom he gives his warnings. They are licentious, insubordinate, rebellious, sinners like Cain and Balaam and Korah, they follow their own lusts and have not the Spirit. It may well have been under such circumstances that the more general work of an Epistle which dealt with the great truths and principles of the Christian religion should have been laid aside, and perhaps never again resumed, when the writer saw an immediate need presented to him, and one which called for present advice and exhortation. The words *giving all diligence* do not of necessity imply that the work of writing such a letter was already commenced, but only that this had been the writer's chief care, until his mind was diverted from it by a more pressing occasion for writing.

our *common salvation.* The insertion of the pronoun is on the authority of the earliest MSS. Salvation is called *common* in the same way as St Paul (Tit. i. 4) calls Titus his son "after the *common* faith;" that which has been offered to us all, and which we have all embraced. The constraint laid upon the writer was that which resulted from the sight and knowledge of the corruptions which had flowed forth from false teaching. So it is for pure teaching that he is urgent on his readers to contend. Faith (*πίστις*) here, as always in the New Testament, has no sense of any objective confession of faith already in existence, but means the lessons of Christ as published by His Apostles. But this teaching having once been given by the Apostles, there was to be no addition made thereto, no innovations introduced, as had been done by the teachers of whom St Peter wrote. The pernicious results of such perversions of the faith were now making themselves felt, and so it is not without reason that the writer of this Epistle places in the forefront of his letter that the faith has once for all been delivered to the saints, the belief in Christ which the new teachers had cast off.

Nothing could be more natural under the circumstances than that the writer of such a letter as this is intended to be, a letter of hortatory warning against existing and rampant evils of practice, should turn to a composition already set forth to the Christian world, and which spake with a prophetic insight concerning such evils before they were so glaringly apparent, and that he should ground his exhortations on the words of so eminent a forerunner as St Peter. Accordingly we find that in many parts of the remainder of the Epistle there is much resemblance to that part of the second Epistle of St Peter, in which the rise of false teachers had been foretold. Such repetition of another's words is not without numerous parallels in the writings of the Old Testament (see Introduction, § 5, *ad fin.*), and few things could be more impressive than to point out, as St Jude's Epistle does, the fulfilment of all that had been previously foreseen by a brother Apostle.

4. *For there are certain men crept in unawares,* **even they** *who were of old* **set forth in Scripture** *unto this* **sentence,** *ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying* **our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ.**

The language of St Peter (ii. 1) is, "They *shall* bring in privily destructive heresies, denying even the Master, that bought them." And the whole character of that Apostle's exhortation points to a time before the evil teaching, against which he writes, had culminated in the evil living which ultimately en-

godly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

sued from it. Besides this he deals almost entirely with *teaching:* "the way of truth shall be *evil spoken of:*" "with *feigned words* shall they make merchandise of you:" while St Jude's language is all directed against the corrupt deeds from which he would protect his readers. His fear is of those who turn the grace of God into lasciviousnesss, defile the flesh, feed themselves without fear, who walk after their own lusts and are sensual. Of the stealthy introduction of adversaries into the ranks of Christians, who feigning a partial accord, should use their fellowship as means of working overthrow to the Church, St Paul speaks in similar language (Gal. ii. 4). The liberty which those traitors intended to spy out and abuse is that grace which in the present Epistle the writer declares to have been perverted unto sin. The action is very like that of the heretic Simon Magus (Acts viii. 9 seqq.), whose profession of faith can hardly have been sincere at first or his after conduct would have been different.

In the verb "set forth in Scripture" (προγεγραμμένοι) we are shewn that the previous publication of the judgment upon such men had been made in the Scriptures (γραφαί) of the Old Testament. Their turning back from their first profession was like the faithless conduct of Israel in the wilderness: their fall into sinful lusts like the ways of the fallen angels and the people of Sodom: their self-seeking, greed, and insubordinate lives, like those of Cain and Balaam and Korah. St Paul (Gal. iii. 1) uses the same word of the prophetic declarations which had been made concerning the crucifixion of Jesus.

The words *this sentence* refer to all the various forms of condemnation or punishment set forth in the examples which are afterwards noticed. The want of reverence implied in the word rendered *ungodly* is exactly the characteristic of the Gnostic teachers, who having begun, as it were, to weigh and measure the Divinity, allowed nothing to check their irreverent speculations, but proceeded till they had formed a system which was a caricature of the Christian revelation. But by the time when St Jude's Epistle was written the seeds of irreverence were bringing forth a crop of corruption. These men had turned the grace of God into lasciviousness. The first steps in this perversion arose from a misuse of the freedom of which so much is said in the Apostolic writings, "the glorious liberty of the children of God" (Rom. viii. 21). St Paul had found it needful to speak to the Galatian converts (Gal. v. 13) in warning against the Antinomian tendencies which a false conception of Christian liberty was in danger of engendering. "Use not your liberty for an occasion to the flesh." And St Peter (1 Pet. ii. 16) had given like caution: "Free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of wickedness." And that an unbridled license was the proffer of these heretical teachers we learn from 2 Pet. ii. 19. What they offered was what they themselves practised, and while promising their followers liberty, "they themselves were the bondservants of corruption." In the writings of the earliest Fathers (Justin Martyr, 'Dial. with Trypho,' chap. XXXV.; Irenæus, 'Against Heresies,' I. 6. 3) we find to what corrupt manners the lessons of these early heretics led the way. Some taught that they were superior to the world at large and could not perish owing to the very property of their being. They might therefore indulge in all impurities without restraint, being like gold which is none the worse though it be plunged into the mire (Iren. I. 6. 2). Then some maintained that the soul passed from body to body till its knowledge of all things should be completed. To reduce the number of such migrations as much as possible they taught that the soul must be familiarized during this life with every act of which man is capable, including the basest and most degrading. The consequence of such a teaching was that those who put it to the proof became entangled in the attractions of grovelling vices (Iren. I. 25. 4, II. 32). Another tenet was that good and bad were merely matters of opinion (Just. Martyr, 'Apol.' I. 28), and we can see what the result of acting on such a doctrine must be. Again, *matter* was evil in its nature and not fit to be propagated, therefore marriage was to be repudiated, and such repudiation brought in its train the grossest corruption in life and conversation. The Christian writers who lived nearest to the Apostolic age refer these words of the Epistle to such teachers as these. Thus Clemens Alexandrinus says they were true of the followers of Carpocrates ('Stromata,' III. 2, p. 575), whose teachings cast aside all social traditions and convention, and pointed to a life according to nature as the way to attain true knowledge.

We cannot wonder at the words which follow next in this description of these teachers of error, and followers of unbridled excess, that they *denied our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ.* Holding such opinions on the corruption of the flesh, none of these sects could accept the teaching that the "Word was made flesh," and so they were led in one way or another to deny, some the Divinity, some the Humanity, and all consequently the Atonement of Christ. The first in the list of these teachers of error were the followers of Simon Magus, who, holding their founder to be

5 I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this, how that the Lord, having saved the people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed them that believed not.

as he taught "the power of God, that is called great" (Acts viii. 10), denied Christ as Lord and Master. From them sprung the *Docetæ*, whose teachings subverted the true humanity of Jesus, and opposed to them were the *Ebionites*, whose doctrines went to destroy His divinity. Of the former, Jerome says "that even whilst the Apostles were living, and the blood of Christ had been recently shed in Judæa, his body was asserted to have been a phantom;" and of the latter, he says "that John the Apostle, the last of the Evangelists, was requested by the Bishops of Asia to write his Gospel against Cerinthus and other heretics (of whom Carpocrates already mentioned was an adherent) and the dogmas of the Ebionites, who maintain that Christ did not exist before Mary." These false teachings of the first century are exactly such as would be described by the language of St Jude in this verse, "denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ."

5. The Apostle now begins his enumeration of those characters in Holy Scripture to whom in the last verse he had alluded as prototypes of these later heretics. And in his descriptions he imputes to them seven forms of offence. First they are ungrateful and renegades, like the Israelites when they were brought out from Egypt; they are rebellious and proud like the angels who fell from their glory; they corrupt themselves with fleshly excesses like the sinful inhabitants of the cities of the Plain; they respect no authority but rail against dignities, conduct which is even worse than Satanic; by their teachings they destroy their brethren, and so are murderers in a darker sense than Cain, for they conspire against men's souls; they are slaves of covetousness, the sin of Balaam; and by their self-seeking they are fosterers of division where all should be unity, and in this Korah and his companions are their fitting representations in the older Scriptures. These examples are cited exactly in the way in which comparisons are made in the Jewish writings, and are of themselves a very strong evidence of the Apostolic date of the Epistle. They also help us to understand in what a very free sense the writers in the Gospels employ such expressions as "Thus was fulfilled what was spoken by the prophet." For to a Jewish writer it would have been quite in harmony with what he was constantly hearing, had the Apostle written, instead of the words "they perished in the gainsaying of Korah," "thus was fulfilled what was spoken by the prophet, Ye shall understand that these men have provoked the Lord." One example from Jewish writings will suffice, though they might be multiplied to a very great extent. Two children of Zadok the priest, one a boy and the other a girl, were put as prisoners in the charge of two officers. One of these gave his prisoner to a harlot, the other his to a merchant for wine, and so was fulfilled what is said, Joel iii. 3 (Midrash on 'Echa,' 986). In this sense does St Jude say that these heretical teachers and their corrupt lives were "prefigured" (*προγεγραμμένοι*). The first prefiguration of them is taken from the history of the journey from Egypt. **Now I desire to** *put you in remembrance*, **knowing as ye do all things once for all**, *that the Lord, having saved the people out of the land of Egypt, afterwards destroyed them that believed not.* The first clause of this sentence is no mere expression of a coming action as the A.V. "I will, &c." represents it. The verb signifies an anxious wish on the part of the writer, generated by the sight of those evils against which his admonitions are to be directed. The authoritative readings of the original in the second clause are in some respects different from the received text. (For *τοῦτο* we must read *πάντα*, and the best MSS. omit *ὑμᾶς*.) The sense conveyed is not that former lessons had been in any way forgotten (as A.V., "though ye once knew them"), but merely a reminding that no new lessons are to be bestowed, only the old recalled vividly to mind, for those who are addressed had been fully instructed before in the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints.

Some copies read *Jesus* instead of *the Lord* in this verse, and the statement is thus brought into parallelism with the language of St Paul (1 Cor. x. 4), where he speaks of the rock which followed the Israelites in the wilderness, saying, "that Rock was Christ." And so St Peter (1 Pet. i. 11) calls the spirit which dwelt in the old prophets "the Spirit of Christ."

The *people* seems the best rendering here, though the original has no article. There could however be no doubt of the definite meaning of the word, as referring only to Israel. It is however possible to take the words "a people" as closely connected with *saved*, with the sense, the Lord saved a people, *i.e.* Israel as a whole people, but though he first did so, yet his second act (*τὸ δεύτερον*) was to destroy the unbelieving part of them. That it was unbelief which led to the more gross sins of Israel is the teaching of the Psalmist (cvi. 12—21).

Instead of this example of the Israelites, we have in 2 Pet. ii. 5 the destruction of the antediluvian world by the Flood.

6 And the angels which kept not
‖ Or, *principality.* their ‖ first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.

7 Even as Sodom and Gomorrha, and the cities about them in like manner, giving themselves over to fornication, and going after † strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire.
† Gr. *other.*

6. *And* **angels** *which kept not their* **own dignity,** *but* **forsook** *their* **proper** *habitation, he hath* **kept** *in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.* Another instance of like unfaithfulness ending in licentiousness. The conjunction gives the force of "*Yea and angels too* did God punish." The reference is to the explanation current among the Jews of Genesis vi. 2. There "the sons of God" is interpreted to mean angels. That fallen angels were held to be capable of entertaining amatory desire we can see from the story of Asmodeus (Tobit vi. 14). *Their own dignity*, the position or authority or rule which God had assigned to them. It is clear from such passages as Eph. i. 21 that the celestial world was conceived and spoken of by the Apostles as ranged according to the dignity of its various inhabitants. Of such half-Gnostic speculations of later Judaism concerning the nature and order of the angelic world we have another specimen Col. ii. 18, and it is the knowledge that such speculations were in men's minds that leads the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews to insist on Christ's superiority to all the angels.

The proper habitation which the angels forsook was the position assigned to them in heaven. Of the latter portion of the tradition to which the writer of the Epistle here alludes we have but little trace in the Scriptures. We read in Matt. xxv. 41 and the parallel passages of "everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels," but we cannot conclude from such passages that these are the angels to whom reference is here made. The rebellion of Satan is not connected with the history in Gen. vi. 2, but is implied as having occurred before by the history of the Temptation and Fall of our first parents. Also by St John we are told (1 John iii. 8) "the devil sinneth from the beginning." In Josephus ('Ant.' I. 3. 1), where the history of Gen. vi. 2 is described as a sin committed by angels cohabiting with mortal women, there is nothing stated concerning the punishment of the angels. But in the Book of Enoch (and in that portion of it which bears traces of greater antiquity than the rest, cc. 1—36) allusions to their doom are numerous. The offenders are called at first angels, sons of heaven (vii. 2), and after their transgression Azazel one of their leaders is described as *bound hand and foot and cast into darkness* (x. 6): there shall he remain **for ever**; cover his face that he may not see the light, and *in the great day of judgment* let him be cast into the fire. And of the others who were with him it is afterwards said (x. 15), "*Bind them* for seventy generations *underneath the earth even to the day of judgement.*" And similar mention is made (xxi. 6) of "*the prison of the angels.*" And the same story is referred to, no doubt, by St Peter (1 Pet. iii. 19), where he mentions the spirits in prison. In the Midrasch Ruth (quoted as a marginal note in Zohar, ed. Cremona, 1559, col. 184) it is said, "After the sons of God had begotten children, God took them and led them to a mountain of darkness, and bound them in iron chains which stretch to the middle of the great abyss."

In all these notices and also here in the Epistle there seems to be a contrast between the former position of the angels, beings of authority and dwelling in the light which is before God's throne, and now enslaved and cast into the deepest darkness. And though the punishment for which they are reserved is yet to come, the vast difference between their present state and their former exaltation makes their lot a fitting illustration of what shall come upon those who seduce the peoples into sin.

7. *Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them* **having in like manner with these given** *themselves over to fornication, and* **gone** *after strange flesh, are set forth as an example* **of eternal fire, suffering punishment.** In this verse *these* must, from the position of the Greek pronoun in the sentence, refer to the fallen angels mentioned in the previous verse. The offence of the Sodomites was of the same character as that of the angels to whom the human wives were as σάρξ ἑτέρα, and the same idea is kept up in the participle ἀπελθοῦσαι, which indicates a wandering from the natural laws. In the latter part of the verse it seems necessary to translate *an example of eternal fire.* The rendering of A.V. "suffering the vengeance of eternal fire" cannot be correctly said of Sodom and Gomorrah, though the order of the Greek words may favour such a construction. But the fate of these cities of the plain may with truth be called "an example of eternal fire." A destruction so utter, and so permanent as theirs has been, is the nearest approach that can be found in this world to the destruction which awaits those who are kept under darkness to the judgment of the great day.

8 Likewise also these *filthy* dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities.

9 Yet Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst

In the Old Testament no figure is more common than the use of words indicative of unchastity of life to indicate the unfaithfulness of men toward God. When this Epistle was written the opposite order of expression was required. Unbelief had led to bodily impurities, and the writer seems to have set before his readers three degrees or kinds of such sins, and the punishments inflicted on them. First, an offence exactly like their own, a disbelief among the Israelites which led to their union with the worshippers of Baal-peor and to other foul excesses of like nature, and the offenders wherein were punished by death before the land of promise was reached. The second example speaks of those who are already in enjoyment of a blessed home appointed for them by God, but who by yielding to unlawful desires were expelled, and are still awaiting in darkness their final punishment. The last illustration is of a fouler nature still, and its punishment in consequence is more prompt and more terrible and is still an example to the eyes of all the world. This is expressed by "they lie forth" (προκεῖνται), for all to behold and to be warned by. The cities destroyed with Sodom and Gomorrah were Admah and Zeboim (Deut. xxix. 23; Hos. xi. 8).

8. **Yet** *in like manner these dreamers also defile the flesh*, **and set at naught** *dominion, and* **rail at** *dignities*. The A.V. gives no rendering of the conjunction μέντοι, which expresses that in spite of all these examples and the last-named close at hand, yet they too were guilty of like offences. Such men are fitly called dreamers, who by their sinful excess have been cast into a stupor, and so are most completely enslaved. The Scriptures constantly speak of such men as sunk in sleep and so helpless, cf. Rom. xiii. 11, 12; Eph. v. 14, in both which passages this state of sleep is spoken of in close connexion with "the unfruitful works of darkness." In a like condition are these men, but dream that they are free and independent. So with false thoughts concerning freedom they give rein to their carnal appetites, and thus defile the flesh, which we are taught by Christ's assumption thereof is to be elevated and purified, and not degraded. We have already intimated that the excesses to which the Apostle is here alluding arose from a perversion of those principles of Christianity which were represented by the community of goods, but which these men perverted into a doctrine of other kinds of community which resulted in carnal debauchery. The other offences here mentioned, the setting at naught of dominion, and railing at dignities, might have had their origin from the same source. Where all was to be freely shared with one another, the reprobate mind would soon see its way to disregard all rule and all government in the new society, and when this was done, there would soon follow a rejection of Him in whose name those set over the new-formed society spake. For we can hardly doubt that the writer is in this verse looking back to *v.* 4, in which he describes by other words these ungodly men who had worked their way into the new community. And as there in the first class are placed those "who turn the grace of our God into lasciviousness," a description which in the present verse is represented by those "who defile the flesh," so the setting at nought of dominion, and the railing at dignities, though its first exhibition might be made against the Apostles and those set in authority in the Church, yet went further and resulted in the denial of our only Master, God himself, whose dominion these sinners were disregarding, and our Lord Jesus Christ, whose glory these men speak evil of or rail at, in the words which they employ concerning the corrupt nature of the flesh which He has glorified and taken into heaven. We can discern that this was in the writer's mind if we look on to the use which he makes in verse 15 of the prophecy of Enoch. The original says nothing about hard speeches, yet St Jude not only explains or enlarges and applies the passage which he is quoting to these railers, but specially says that the harsh utterances were *against Him*.

9. The conduct of Michael the archangel himself is brought forward as rebuke to these sinners who rail at dignities. The devil was only a fallen dignity, but yet the prince of the angels did not rail at him in his accusation. The only passage in which this connection of the Archangel with the burial of Moses is mentioned is Targum Jonathan on Deut. xxxiv. 6, where Michael is said to have been made guardian of the grave of Moses. What the circumstances of the dispute were we cannot gather from ancient sources. It has been suggested that Satan wished to secure the body of Moses, that he might make its existence known to the Israelites and tempt them to pay idolatrous worship to it, as they did to the brazen serpent which had been made by him. It is also said (Œcumenius h. l.) that the devil, in his character of the adversary, was charging Moses with the murder of the Egyptian, and desiring to deprive him of the honoured burial which was conferred on him by God. Of neither

not bring against him a railing accu-
[a] Zech. 3. 2. sation, but said, [a] The Lord rebuke thee.

10 But these speak evil of those things which they know not: but what they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves.

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of these statements have we any ancient Jewish record. But it is quite manifest that to the writer of the Epistle the story was a part of some accepted history. This is plain from the historic character of his language. But we can see from other parts of the New Testament how traditional explanations of earlier history had grown round the Old Testament narrative. It will suffice to mention the tradition alluded to by St Paul of the names of Egyptian magicians mentioned 2 Tim. iii. 8, but not specified in the earlier history of the deliverance from Egypt. The speech of St Stephen (Acts vii.) also affords several instances of variation from, or expansion of, the Mosaic records. Of some of these, explanations are to be found in extant Jewish literature of ancient date, but for others we have no such solutions. We ought however to bear in mind that of the Jerusalem Talmud two entire Sedarim are lost and also various tracts of the fourth Seder, and we cannot know what literature was contained in them. It is not unreasonable to suppose, in the case of St Jude's Epistle, that we have an instance where the traditional expansion of the Mosaic narrative has not come down to us. The statement of Holy Writ is that Moses was mysteriously buried. The Targum adds to this that the place of sepulture was put into the charge of Michael. Here we have the basis on which a development was no doubt erected, and of which perhaps we have a trace in the expositions preserved to us by the Fathers. The manner in which the example is cited by the Apostle leaves no doubt that the contest to which allusion is made, was a matter of general knowledge among the Jews and Christians for whom the Epistle was intended, and though time has destroyed all trace of the links which intervened between the statement of Jonathan and the allusion of St Jude, yet such links undoubtedly existed in the Apostolic age, and were accepted as a part of the traditional exposition of Holy Writ, and therefore suitable to be quoted in such a solemn exhortation as St Jude is here giving.

The passage in Zechariah (iii. 1—5) where Satan is described by the prophet as resisting Joshua the high-priest when God was commanding that the filthy garments should be taken away from him, and a change of fair raiment be given unto him, may have furnished the basis on which a similar contest was pictured as having taken place concerning Moses. He had left the robe of the flesh, which might be likened to the filthy garments of Joshua, and the Devil might well be represented as an opponent, striving to hinder his admission to that glorious condition in which he appeared at the Transfiguration. Some accepted development of this kind there was, as on many other Scriptures, and though such writings were excluded very properly from the volume of Holy Writ, yet for purposes of "example of life and instruction of manners" they were employed by the Apostles with as much freedom as we now use the books of the Apocrypha.

10. *But these men* **rail at** *whatsoever things they know not, and what they* **understand** *naturally, like the brute beasts, in these things* **they are corrupted.** The A. V. has omitted to make any distinction in this verse between the two verbs which it renders *know*. The first of these is applied in its earliest sense to the knowledge which is gained by *seeing;* and as the sight is that one among the senses which most readily and most correctly communicates impressions to the mind, the derived senses of the verb are applied to mental comprehension and knowledge. This word is therefore fitly used for such knowledge as can be gained concerning the dominion and dignities at which these men rail. The other verb is first used in reference to skill in handicraft, and the knowledge expressed thereby is such as would have regard to things palpable, and matters of outward sense. The distinction is observed by the writer in his application of this word to that knowledge wherein these men are corrupted. Milton has put words into the mouth of Satan when describing himself ('P. L.' IX. 571), which distinguish the two varieties of knowledge here spoken of, "nor aught but food *discerned* or sex, and *apprehended* nothing high." The reference in both cases is to the description of these offenders given in *v.* 8, and their degradation sinks them to the level of the animal creation from which the Serpent assures Eve that he has risen to higher apprehensions. By the expression "in these things" the writer appears to intend more than "by means of these things," and to intimate that they have sunk deep in the slough of their excesses. It seems better to translate the final verb as a passive rather than middle, "they corrupt themselves." For it is not themselves alone to whom their corruption extends, but they corrupt others. The same word is used of a like corruption (Rev. xix. 2).

11 Woe unto them! for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, and perished in the gainsaying of Core.

12 These are spots in your feasts

11. *Woe unto them! for they have gone in the way of Cain, and run* **riotously in** *the error of Balaam for* **hire**, *and have perished in the gainsaying of Korah.* The denunciation of woe with which this verse begins, so common in our Lord's addresses, and occurring several times in the Revelation, is found only here in the Apostolic writings, the use of the word by St Paul (1 Cor. ix. 16) being of a different character. For an example of the word *ways*, used for *works*, cf. 1 Cor. iv. 17, "my *ways* which be in Christ." The Apostle seems to have intended the words *way*, *error*, and *gainsaying* to form an ascending scale descriptive of the increasing perverseness of these offenders. The verbs employed are also marked by an increasing degree of intensity. At first their conduct is *walking in a way*, then a *riotous running on in error*, then a *destruction in their determined opposition* to truth and holiness. There is a like climax of nouns and verbs in Ps. i. 1. Of the characters chosen by the writer in this verse as examples of the sins against which he gives warning, two were according to Jewish writers closely connected with the Spirits of Evil. Of Cain it is said by them that he was not a son of Adam, but born by Eve to the serpent, and so the representative or incarnation of evil, and Balaam is represented as gaining the knowledge of future events which he possessed from his interviews with the fallen angels. For this reason, they say, it is always related of him that he heard the *words* of God (Numb. xxiv. 4, 16) and not the *voice*, because his knowledge was only derived from the reports of the doomed angels. The gainsaying of Korah is a fitting picture of the position of the teachers against whom this Epistle is directed, for they were setting up an authority of their own as equal if not superior to that of the Apostles, and knowledge was their boast.

In adducing individual examples the writer becomes more precise in the character of his accusations. These new teachers were envious of men and perverse towards God, like Cain; they were teachers of error, and willing to work evil and lead others into it, for gain's sake, as was Balaam; and their ambitious self-seeking led them to resist all authority, after the manner of Korah. We can observe through the whole of these charges, how we have nothing more than the natural fruits of such conduct as we see, in the germ, in the accounts of Ananias and Sapphira, and Simon Magus in the Acts.

The verbs here deserve notice; the tense implies that the conduct described has become habitual with these sinners, and in the last of them is implied not that they are destroyed absolutely, and without hope, but that their destruction is the sure result of persistence in their evil life. The same word with the same shade of meaning is used where Christ speaks of the *lost* sheep of the house of Israel, to preach and recover whom he was just sending forth his messengers (Matt. x. 6).

To walk in the way of is a translation of a common Hebrew expression (1 K. xvi. 26), and very frequently, as here, used in a bad sense. The word rendered *run riotously* implies a complete spending of the energies on any object, and is an apt expression for the licence which marked the conduct of these heretics.

12. *These are* **they who are hidden rocks** *in your* **love-feasts, feasting with you without fear, feeding themselves;** *clouds without water borne along by winds,* **trees of late autumn,** *without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots.* The reading which inserts a relative in the first clause is supported by most authority. In the A.V. *hidden rocks* (σπιλάδες) is, on the strength of a gloss in Hesychius and some patristic authorities, taken to be a cognate of σπῖλοι = spots, which occurs in St Peter's description (2 Pet. ii. 13) of these offenders. But the former word is nowhere found in any sense except that of a *shoal* or *reef*. And the stronger word is very fitly employed by St Jude, if he wrote, as we believe, after St Peter, for now these erring professors were no longer mere blots and blemishes, but were become a source of danger and threatened the overthrow of the infant Church, very fitly therefore are they likened to rocks on which there is danger of making shipwreck. *Feasting with you without fear* is the better connection of the adverb, and not to join it with the succeeding clause. The dread which had prevailed when the first sinners in this matter, Ananias and his wife, were struck dead had passed away; and now it was no longer the case that "of the rest durst no man join himself" to the Apostles, but greedy men feasted themselves at the common board without dread. The love-feasts (*agapæ*) were the outward sign of that principle of brotherly love and that holding of all things as common which united the early Christians so closely, but which at the same time offered such a temptation to the covetous to profess a faith in which they were not sincere. The love-feasts were in early times joined on to the Lord's Supper, and we can see from 1 Cor. xi. 20 how the eagerness with which those

of charity, when they feast with you, feeding themselves without fear: clouds *they are* without water, carried about of winds; trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots;

13 Raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering

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whom St Paul there rebukes for seizing on the provisions made ready for the *agapæ*, robbed the commemorative and sacramental service, which preceded it, of all its solemnity. Every one took before another his own supper, and while one, who reverenced the breaking of bread, was hungry, another, who had no scruples about beginning the more substantial meal at once, was drunken. When we read, as here, *ἀγάπαις*, in 2 Pet. ii. 13, which we ought to do, the text affords us another indication that St Jude's Epistle was written after St Peter's. For the latter writer calls the love-feasts *theirs*, as though this profanation of a sacred meal by gluttony had not when he wrote become so common. He speaks of them as "revelling in *their* love-feasts." But when St Jude wrote they had succeeded in throwing the stain and defilement of their greedy desires over the Christian love-feasts in general, and the writer now has to say, "they are hidden rocks in *your* love-feasts." They have introduced themselves and their evil practices so thoroughly that they are like to work ruin to the whole society.

Feasting with you without fear. This implies a very changed condition from that in which it was said (Acts iv. 34), "there was none among them that lacked," the care was not now for this, but these men were become shepherds, not to the flock, but to themselves, and made the love-feast for themselves a scene of revelry, and were so hardened as to do this without fear. How deceptive was the promise given by such members in their lives is seen by the similes which the writer now employs to describe them. No doubt they had been counted as acquisitions to the Church, but now they are found to be men of promise but no performance. This the Apostle first illustrates by calling them clouds without water, which shew as though they were charged with showers of blessing, but disappoint the expectation of the thirsty land and are borne past by winds. Then he changes his figure and calls them trees of late autumn, those which do not shew signs of becoming productive until the season is well-nigh ended, and when there is no hope that fruit can be brought to perfection. They come into leaf, but bring no fruit, and so may well be called doubly dead, for not only have they nothing to shew as fruit this year, but their habit is such that there is no hope of better things another year. They have no crop now, and no chance of a crop hereafter, and so their doom is pronounced. It may not come at once, but it is sure to come, and they will be, and so in prophetic tone may be even now said to be, plucked up by the roots.

It is likely that in the word *without fear* (*ἀφόβως*) there is contained a degree of rebuke to the Christian congregations for having allowed the evil practices to creep so far and get so bold a front. It is as though the writer said, "Such impunity ought not to have been permitted, the mischief should have been checked at its earlier stages." No doubt also in the comparisons which he employs he has an eye to the original intention of the love-feast. It was to be a token of universal love, and was to have the blessing of the rain from heaven; it was meant to be a cause of much fruit in the whole Christian community, that so they might be known as Christ's disciples. But self-seeking and greed had dried up the refreshment and cut off all hope of growth. We shall presently see (*v.* 16) that these men were of no true Christian spirit, but "loved only those who loved them."

13. Here the writer turns from the disappointment and consequent weakening which the Church experienced by reason of these insincere members, and looks at them in their own character and coming doom. He has in his thought the words of Isaiah (lvii. 20), where the wicked are compared to the troubled sea, and he says of these men that they cast forth to public view the mire and dirt of their excesses, just as the churning waters of a restless surge never allow the sand to sink down to the bottom. So these men foam out their own acts of shame, and cast them forth for all men to see, and so to blame the Church for the ill-deeds of these professors. And this is the thought which seems to have suggested the next comparison. These men have some share of light, they have some degree of knowledge, but they have cast off all regard for the regulation of the Christian brotherhood, and so, though they may be called stars, yet they belong not to the system, they stray at random and without law, and must at last be severed from the lights which rule while they are ruled. Then follows their fate, separated from the source of illumination they shall share the darkness (and at this point the thought of the writer seems to have escaped from the simile and to be fixed on the men) which is spoken of before (*v.* 6) as the abode of the fallen angels. Our Lord's mention of this darkness as prepared for them, and that sinners were only condemned thereto for their persistence in evil, suggest the close connection in the writer's mind between the one doom

stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.

14 And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints,

15 To execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard *speeches* which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.

16 These are murmurers, com-

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and the other. God reserves the angels under darkness, and for the wandering stars the darkness has been reserved.

14. From the Book of Enoch, as we have seen, is taken the substance of what is said (*v.* 6) concerning the angels that fell. And now there is another quotation from the same authority. The mysterious mention of Enoch (Gen. v. 24) and his translation, coupled with the double notice of his walk with God, make him a fitting centre round which prophetic utterances should cluster. To the Jew there was a sacredness in the number *seven*, and therefore Enoch is noticed as seventh from Adam. In the book of Enoch he is represented as saying of himself (xcii. 4), "I have been born the seventh in the first week," from which we can see that his name was connected with the blessing of the Sabbath. The passage from the book of Enoch here quoted as translated by Dr Laurence runs thus (ch. ii.): "Behold he comes with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon them and to destroy the wicked, and reprove all the carnal for everything which the sinful and ungodly have done and committed against him." The form of this prophecy is that of the Old Testament Scriptures, and parallels may be found for the language in Mal. iii. 1, iv. 1; Deut. xxxii. 2.

The expressions used in this verse leave it uncertain whether St Jude derived his quotation from a tradition or from writing existing in his time. But the wide extent to which "the book of Enoch" was known in the second century seems to be conclusive in favour of its existence in St Jude's day. As we have it, there can be no question that it exhibits interpolations of a later time, but cc. 1—36 as well as some other portions may be taken as closely representing the earliest form and that of a date at least a century before the birth of Christ.

Of these **also** implies that not only did the words of Enoch refer to the sinners among whom he lived, but were applicable *also* to the generation in which St Jude was.

15. *To execute judgment upon all and to* **convict all the ungodly of all their works of ungodliness** *which they have ungodly* **wrought**, *and of all the hard words which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.* The phrases in this passage are quite Hebrew in their form and justify a belief that the source from which they are quoted was known to St Jude in that language. The writer of the Epistle seems to have rather paraphrased than translated the latter part of the prophecy, and to have been guided in the language he employs by the circumstances under which he was writing. In the form in which the original has come down to us we have no mention of the *hard words* which were spoken against God. This ought to be noticed in deciding upon the value of this reference to "the Book" of Enoch. If the passage which we find there had been, as some hold, an insertion made in the present text of the Book to give credit to a late post-Christian fiction, the words quoted from St Jude would almost certainly have been given in the full form in which they stand in the Epistle.

To the mind of St Jude there is evidently present, while he employs the passage from the Book of Enoch, the offences of which he had spoken in *vv.* 8, 10, 11. So he fashions his paraphrase here to apply not only to the *defilers of the flesh*, but also to those who *set at naught dominion* and *rail at dignities*, and who are perishing in the *gainsaying* of Korah, and so the passage is made to refer both to the deeds and *words* before spoken of. And how the irreverent godless spirit of these men's actions was conspicuous we may see from the emphatic manner in which he four times over employs the same word in this verse. It was the outcome of that profane and vain babbling of which St Paul had spoken (2 Tim. ii. 16) to Timothy, and the word is of constant use in the Epistles of St Peter and St Jude (1 Pet. iv. 18; 2 Pet. ii. 5, 6, iii. 7; Jude 4, 15).

The A. V. translates, "All that are ungodly *among them*," but the best MSS. omit the pronoun.

The last two words in the original are those rendered *ungodly sinners*, and they seem to be placed out of their proper order so much that it has been suggested that they belong to the next verse. It appears however more likely that they were placed where they are in order to lay that marked emphasis upon the irreverence which the writer is evidently desirous to express. He has mentioned their offence thrice already, but with his mind full of it, he closes the quotation—sinners, ungodly. The contrast is brought out in this way

plainers, walking after their own lusts; and their mouth speaketh great swelling *words*, having men's persons in admiration because of advantage.

17 But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ;

18 How that they told you there

between Him against whom they speak and the ungodly irreverent character of what they say.

16. The next words seem to be an expansion of the last thought in *v.* 15 and a description of the hard words there alluded to. These, he continues, are murmurers, as were those who (John vi. 43) were displeased at Christ when he spake of His heavenly origin, and who saw in Him only *the Son of Joseph*. They are complainers too, ever blaming their own lot, and grasping after what they fancy to be better; for it is according to their own lusts they guide their life, and they are dissatisfied with all things but themselves. Neither God's revelation nor Christ's teaching, nor their condition among their brethren contents them, but they seek to be a law unto themselves. Their self-confidence furnishes pride in their speech, and the great swelling words are the outward sign of their inward character. And when they do depart from their rule and defer to others, such conduct is only dictated by hope of advantage. The expression "having men's persons in admiration" is of the same kind as the more common "respecters of persons," but of a rather stronger character. There is a degree of open admiration of all the external surroundings of those to whom these self-seekers pay their court. The two expressions are found together in the LXX. (Lev. xix. 15), and the shade of difference in sense is fairly given in the A.V., "Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor *honour* the person of the mighty."

17. In the Greek the pronoun stands emphatically at the opening of the sentence, and shews by its position that the writer designed to contrast those to whom he wrote, with the offenders against whom they had been warned. And he enforces his own warning by a reminder of the teaching which they had received from others. These previous teachers he calls "the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ," and the question arises out of these words whether the writer of the Epistle thereby intends to intimate that he himself was not an Apostle. On this point see Introduction, § 1.

18. *How that they said unto you that* **at the end of the time there shall** *be mockers walking after their own ungodly lusts.* The use of the imperfect tense in the original points to such lessons as having formed a frequent portion of the Apostolic preaching. And the similarity of the phrase "at the end of the time" (for which we have the most authority in MSS.) to the words of St Peter (2 Pet. iii. 3), which are literally "at the end of the days," points to a form of exhortation which had become common in the mouths of the early Christian teachers, as does also the substantial agreement of much in the other language of that verse with this. The Apostles expounded the warnings of Jesus by the events in which they were living.

By the words "at the end of the time," and many similar phrases found in the New Testament, there is not a doubt that the early Christians generally understood that some mighty visitation of God, the end of the age, and the coming of Jesus to judge the world was not far distant. And the words of Christ in that discourse (Matt. xxiv.—xxv.) on which most of these phrases are founded lend themselves easily to such an interpretation. But it is evident from St Paul's language to Timothy (2 Tim. iii. 1), "In the last days perilous times shall come," followed as those words are by a list of offences not unlike those described as rife in the days of St Peter and St Jude; but concluding with the assertion that "they shall proceed no further, but their folly shall be manifest unto all men;" that St Paul, while anticipating the rise of heretics and wicked men in the Church, yet expected that the cause of Christ would prosper in the end, and did not therefore view the coming troubles, as many did, in the light of signs that the end of all things was near. St John, who had lived till the evil days were come, says (1 John ii. 18), "It is the last time,.....now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time." With the advance of the first century the mixed character of Christ's sermon which foretold these evil days was becoming unravelled. St Paul lived at the beginning, St Peter and St Jude in the development, and St John at the completion of the period which Jesus had spoken of as typical of the times when the end of all things should come. And the last of them, though he might depart with an impression that the antitype was soon about to follow the type, yet lets that impression supply no word of a paralyzing sort, such as had startled the Thessalonians in the language of St Paul, but closes his exhortation, "Abide in him, that when he shall appear we may have confidence." And so with St Jude. The last times may be near, but their approach is not to lessen Christian activity, but his exhortation is "build up

should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts.

19 These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit.

20 But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost,

21 Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.

yourselves on your most holy faith," and on the erring have compassion and labour for their recovery. The literal translation of the last clause is "walking after their own lusts of ungodlinesses;" and the addition of this word "ungodlinesses," which is not found in the parallel passage of St Peter, as well as its emphatic position at the end of the verse, where but for the stress which we believe the writer intended this marked position to convey it stands very awkwardly, shew how this characteristic of irreverent godlessness was stamped upon the deeds of these false teachers. The occurrence of this addition to the words of St Peter's Epistle bespeaks a later stage of the evil, when this characteristic feature had made itself most prominently visible, and contributes another indication that St Jude's composition was the later in date.

19. *These be they who* **make separations**, *sensual, having not the Spirit.* In some MSS. the pronoun is expressed after the first verb, and this would justify the rendering of A.V., but the best authorities omit it, and the sense thus obtained accords excellently with the tenor of the whole Epistle, which rather relates to those who, while unworthy, have crept *into* the Church, than to men who *separate themselves*. It is true, we might understand it of those who by their corrupt ways sever themselves from the congregation of Christ; but it is far more likely that the reference is to men who cause divisions within the Church. The verb occurs nowhere else in the New Testament.

Sensual (ψυχικός) is here as everywhere else in the New Testament opposed to *spiritual* (πνευματικός). Its first sense is "that which pertains to the life," and so it might be rendered "natural." But the nature which is dealt with in the New Testament is human nature, and this we are taught is ever "inclined to evil," ready to yield to animal appetite, and so hostile to that which is spiritual. Hence comes the opposition between two words which at the outset were as closely related in meaning as are *life* and *breath*. The word is used James iii. 15 of "a wisdom that cometh not down from above, but which is earthly, *sensual*, devilish." And the context in that passage supports the explanation of the first clause in this verse as referring to those who cause divisions within the Church. For the men to whom such wisdom belongs are called by St James those who "have bitter jealousy and faction in their hearts."

If we would see how the true possession of the Spirit promotes unity, we have but to consider the narrative (Acts iv. 31—32) of the primitive Church, where "all were filled with the Spirit," and as a natural consequence it is added, "and the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul."

The word *Spirit* (πνεῦμα) is without the article, but we need not on that account take it as referring to what is spiritual in man rather than to the Holy Spirit. Cf. Gal. v. 16, and the New Testament usage of the word, when opposed as here to ψυχή. But there is no doubt a reference to the language of the Gnostic taunts against the early Christians. They called themselves *spiritual* (πνευματικοί) and asserted that because of their superior degree of knowledge, they had no need to care for the observance of a virtuous life, while the Christians they named mere *natural* men (ψυχικοί), without the exaltation which knowledge (γνῶσις) imparted, and therefore bound to live strict lives, or forfeit their hopes of the world to come. St Jude uses their phraseology, but with a slight difference of sense, and says these are the really natural men, men who follow the dictates of nature only, and have no share of the Spirit of God.

20. *But ye, beloved*, &c. They of whom the Apostle has just spoken by their spirit of division break down the Church of Christ, therefore he urges on his readers a contrary course, that they should build up instead of destroying. And just as St Peter (2 Pet. i. 5—7) urged that on the foundation of faith should be raised a superstructure of the Christian virtues, till they reached the very highest, so here St Jude exhorts to lay the same foundation, "Building up yourselves on your *most holy faith*." And he gives to faith this preeminent title, because its fruits were so different from those which were exhibited in the lives of the men who boasted of their superior knowledge, and lived in consequence in *unholy* freedom.

The building up the edifice of a life of virtue is one of a course of means whereby Christians are to keep themselves in the love of God, but they cannot build without help, and so St Jude adds to his exhortation, *praying in the Holy Ghost*. The expression is parallel to that of St Paul (Eph. vi. 18),

22 And of some have compassion, making a difference:
23 And others save with fear, pulling *them* out of the fire; hating even the garment spotted by the flesh.

"praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit," and its meaning is seen from what the same Apostle says (Rom. viii. 26) of the help which the Spirit gives to our prayers, "for we know not what we should pray for as we ought." So "to pray in the Holy Ghost" is to pray with His aid in our intercessions, that they may be effectual.

21. And the end of this working and prayer is given in the next words, "Keep yourselves thereby in the love of God." These words do not mean "continue in your love towards God, and cease not from it," but as we may see from the next clause, "Take heed that by your life and prayers you continue to be of those whom God loves." For the end of this watchful keeping in the love of God is to be that they may receive "the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ." But this is given to men not because they have loved God, but because He has loved them.

And this mercy (not so often spoken of as the mercy of Christ but as the mercy of God) is constantly to be looked for as something yet to come. It may be shewn from time to time as men live here, but God keeps the good wine to the end, and the full fruition of Christ's mercy will not be known till through it we attain at length *unto eternal life.*

These last words are therefore closely connected both with *mercy* (ἔλεος) and *looking for* (προσδεχόμενοι). Men are to look ever for more and more proof of mercy till eternal life is given, and the mercy itself never fails, but lasts on till that life is gained.

So by his lesson that men should pray in the Spirit, continue in God's love, and look for Christ's mercy, the Apostle gives a view of that faith on which he was moved (*v.* 3) to write, the faith in the Trinity in Unity "which was once delivered to the saints."

22. *And* **on** *some have* **mercy, who are in doubt.** In this verse and the next there is great uncertainty about the correct text.

But here all the MSS. of greatest authority read διακρινομένους as the object, and not διακρινόμενοι agreeing with the subject of the sentence. Moreover if the nominative were read the rendering of the A.V. could not stand, for διακρίνεσθαι does not mean "to make a difference." But "to hesitate" or "to be in doubt" is its meaning, Matt. xxi. 21; Mark xi. 23; Rom. iv. 20, xiv. 23; James i. 6, and in every instance with reference to weakness in faith. For such, then, as are weak in the faith St Jude claims mercy from their brethren, and thus is in harmony with the language of St Paul in Rom. xiv. 1—4, where he asks, "who art thou that judgest another man's servant?"

Another reading, οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε διακρινομένους has good MS. support, and has been adopted by some editors. This would signify "some who are contentious reprove ye," and for this meaning of διακρινομένους may be quoted *v.* 9 of this Epistle, and also Acts xi. 2. But this exhortation does not seem to join on with the verse which follows so well as the exhortation to have mercy. The Apostle is not urging on his readers to play the part of rebukers or reprovers, so much as that by love and labour they should endeavour to rescue from erroneous teaching and its sinful consequences all whom they may be able.

23. *And* **some** *save,* **snatching** *them out of the fire;* **and on some have mercy with fear,** *hating even the garment spotted by the flesh.* This is the translation of the text which is best supported, and which is adopted by Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles. But the variations in the MSS. are so numerous that there must ever be some doubt about what were the exact words of St Jude.

By the readings adopted in these two verses, those who are to engage the love and labours of the Christians for their salvation are divided into three classes, each in worse plight than the one mentioned before them. First come those who are waverers, second those who are all but in the fire of sin, and lastly, those who are so far gone in their evil course that there is some danger in the attempt to save them, and it is only the great love for souls that will prompt men to the labour, for all that surrounds and envelops such sinners must be hateful.

Bishop Wordsworth has pointed out that, as in *v.* 9, so here the Apostle has in his mind the account of Joshua the High-priest, spoken of in Zech. iii. 2. There, in opposition to the buffetings of Satan, Joshua is called "a brand plucked out of the fire," and afterwards (*v.* 4) it is added, "Take away the filthy garments from him. And unto Joshua he said, Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with festival robes."

The two classes of sinners referred to in this verse are in more desperate condition than the doubters of the former clause. These are being consumed by the evil of their ways, and there is peril in the attempt to rescue them. But the Christian is not to shrink from the endeavour, though he will need to be watchful lest he fall into harm by what he does. The first danger is compared to that of a close

24 Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present *you* faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy,

25 To the only wise God our Saviour, *be* glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now, and ever. Amen.

approach to fire. They who strive to save these men will be likely to come off with some burning for themselves, but this is not so serious as the next danger, which is, lest in attempting to save others, men should become entangled in their evil ways, and stained with their defilements. The rescue of such sinners can only be secured, if the whole of their surroundings, even down as it were to their innermost robe, be cast away as hateful, and only the men sought after, while their errors are unrelentingly attacked and cast away as things abominable.

24. The Epistle concludes with a solemn doxology.

Now unto him that is able to **guard you from stumbling.** The commencement of this ascription of praise is like that in Rom. xvi. 25. But the 'Text. Rec.' reads for ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς as though the persons meant were the sinners spoken of in the previous verse. But of them *free from stumbling* (ἄπταιστος) could not be used, for they had stumbled already and some of them grievously. So that ὑμᾶς is the preferable reading, and having good authority has been universally adopted. And it is a very fitting commendation of his hearers after he has been urging on them a course in which there was danger, unless they were safely protected, that they too might fall, to commit them to the guardianship of Him who alone can save.

The A. V. renders "to keep *you*." The αὐτοὺς of the 'Text. Rec.' is taken, therefore, as though the Apostle had before his mind those whom he was addressing at a distance, and so could say of them, αὐτοὺς, though meaning ὑμᾶς. But this is harsh, and the great preponderance of MS. authority is in favour of ὑμᾶς in the text.

ἄπταιστος is found nowhere else in New Testament.

and to **set you before** *the presence of his glory, i.e.* at the last day when Christ shall appear in His glory to judge the world. The thought is the same as that of St Paul (Col. i. 21, 22), "And you hath He [Christ] reconciled...to present you holy and without blemish...before Him."

without blemish in *exceeding joy. Without blemish* (ἄμωμος). This Greek word is constantly used by the LXX. for the victim *without blemish* of the Levitical offerings, and Christ is consequently called (1 Pet. i. 19) a lamb without *blemish* (ἀμνὸς ἄμωμος). And being such Himself, He is able to bring His people to the same purity. As such He presents the Church unto Himself (Eph. v. 27) "as a glorious Church...holy and *without blemish*," "having given Himself for it that He might sanctify it."

in *exceeding joy.* Not the joy of Christ, but the joy of the ransomed and purified believer. So *in* is better than *with* of the A.V.

25. **To the only God our Saviour.** All the best MSS. and editors omit the word *wise*, which is found in A. V. The word is due to some marginal annotation which has crept into the text of later MS. from Rom. xvi. 27, to which doxology, as has already been remarked, this of St Jude's Epistle bears a strong resemblance in form. It is to be noticed that here, as in 1 Tim. i. 1, the word *Saviour* is applied to God the Father. All such interchanges of epithet have their doctrinal lesson. Compare the way in which *Paraclete* (παράκλητος), so constantly employed in reference to the Holy Ghost, is applied to Christ in 1 John ii. 1.

Here the MSS. ℵ, A, B add after "our Saviour" the words "**through Jesus Christ our Lord**," which brings this verse into still closer likeness to the concluding verse of the Epistle to the Romans. There is so strong authority for the words that they are adopted by all the latest editors.

be glory, majesty, dominion and power] The conjunction between the two first nouns (expressed in A. V.) is not well supported, and has probably been added, in such MSS. as have it, that the words might go in pairs.

both now and for ever. Amen.] Here a great consensus of authority reads **before all time, and** *now, and* **for evermore.** *Amen.*

Instead of the imperative *be* in this ascription of praise, it is perhaps better, from a comparison with 1 Pet. iv. 11, to supply the indicative *is*. It is somewhat harsh to say, "*let* all glory *be* to God *before all time*." If these last three words were omitted the imperative might stand correctly enough.

THE REVELATION

OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ 1. *The Authorship of the Revelation.*

Two questions are involved in the inquiry as to the authorship of the Apocalypse:—(1) Was the writer of this Book the Apostle St. John? (2) Were the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel, together with the three Epistles which bear St. John's name, written by one and the same author?

The second of these questions, with which the authenticity of the Apocalypse itself is but indirectly concerned, will be touched upon hereafter, and answered in the affirmative. The discussion of the first question—following the course which the controversy respecting it has taken in recent times—turns, in a great measure, upon the personal history of the Apostle; especially as regards the date of the great prophetical Book of the New Testament.

When entering upon this inquiry it is natural, in the first instance, to ask what does the Book itself tell us of its author?

The author of the Apocalypse describes himself as "the servant" of Jesus Christ (ch. i. 1),—as one "who bare witness of the Word of God, and of

the testimony of Jesus Christ" (ch. i. 2),—expressions which seem designed to identify him with the writer of John i. 14; xix. 35; 1 John i. 2. He is the "brother" of those whom he addresses, "and partaker with them in the tribulation and kingdom and patience *which are* in Jesus" (ch. i. 9). An Angel tells him, "I am a fellow servant with thee, and with thy brethren the prophets" (ch. xxii. 9);—or "with thy brethren that hold the testimony of Jesus" (ch. xix. 10). The writer also names himself John[1] (ch. i. 1, 4, 9; xxii. 8),—a name which often occurs in the Old Testament and in the Apocrypha. In the New Testament it is found twice in our Lord's Genealogy (Luke iii. 27, 30); it is borne by the Baptist; it was the name of St. Peter's father (see the true reading in John i. 43; xxi. 15–17); it was the name of a ruler of the Jews (Acts iv. 6); and "John, whose surname was Mark" (Acts xii. 12), has been forced into the present controversy. In the index to Bekker's edition of Josephus, thirteen persons are enumerated who bore the name of John. Among the bearers of a name so common, there could have been as little doubt in the Church[2] as to who was the "John" of Rev. i. 9, as there was respecting the "John" of Acts xii. 2, where "James the brother of John" is specified. When we ask, therefore, Who is this John?—with one voice the earliest ecclesiastical tradition answers, "The Apostle, the son of Zebedee."[3] The same answer is given by the orthodoxy of Joseph Mede (A.D. 1632), and by the extreme rationalism, in our own day, of the school of Tübingen. It is the verdict of Mede that "the Apocalypse hath more Humane (not to speak of Divine) authority than any other Book of the New Test. besides, even from the time it was first delivered" (*Works*, ed. 1672, p. 602); while Zeller decides that the Apocalypse is "the proper, normal, writing of primitive Christianity; and, among all the parts of the N. T., the only one which can, with any right, claim to have been composed by an Apostle who was an immediate Disciple of Christ."[1] It is important to state in full the evidence which has led to an agreement so remarkable.

§ 2.—a. *External Evidence.*

THE EASTERN CHURCH:

The earliest connected commentary on the Apocalypse which we possess, was the work of Andreas, Bishop of Cæsarea towards the close of the fifth century. In proof of the inspiration of the Book, Andreas appeals to "Gregory the divine [of Nazianzus], and Cyril [of Alexandria], as well as to the more ancient writers Papias, Irenæus, Methodius, and Hippolytus."[2]

Arethas, the successor of Andreas in the see of Cæsarea (*circ.* A.D. 470–500),[3]

[1] The English form John represents the Greek Ἰωάνης or Ἰωάννης. The Hebrew form is יהוחנן (or יוחנן, 1 Chron. xii. 4, 12), *i.e.*, "quem Jehovah donavit" (Gesen.), or "the grace of Jehovah,"—which the LXX renders Ἰωνά (2 Kings xxv. 23); Ἰωνάν (Neh. vi. 18; cf. Ἰωνάμ, Luke iii. 30) [and thus the υἱὸς Ἰωάνου of St. John (i. 42) is equivalent to the Βαριωνᾶ of St. Matthew (xvi. 17)]; Ἰωάναν (Jer. xl. 8, 13); most frequently Ἰωανάν (2 Chron. xvii. 15; cf. Luke iii. 27); once in the *genitive*, Ἰωανοῦ (2 Chron. xxviii. 12); Ἰωαννάν (1 Macc. ii. 2), or Ἰωάννης (1 Macc. xvi. 9; 2 Macc. xi. 17), of which the *genitive* Ἰωάννου is found in 1 Macc. ii. 1; 2 Macc. iv. 11. See Bishop Lightfoot, *On a New Revision of the N. T.*, p. 159; Krenkel, *Der Ap. Johannes*, ss. 7, 116.

[2] See, below, on Melito of Sardis, p. 6.

[3] Even Keim (*Gesch. Jesu v. Nazara*, i. 162) admits that "die Offenbarung, von Justin dem M. bis auf Irenaeus und die grossen Väter, als Buch des Apostels anerkannt worden sei."

[1] It is "die eigentliche Normalschrift des Urchristenthums, und unter sämmtlichen neutestamentlichen Schriften die einzige sey, welche mit einigem Rechte darauf Anspruch machen könne, von einem Apostel, der unmittelbarer Schüler Christi geworden war, verfasst zu seyn."—*Theolog. Jahrb.*, 1842, s. 654 ff. The Apocalypse, says Baur, has evidence so ancient and undoubted for its Apostolic origin as few writings of the N. T. can claim:—see his *Krit. Untersuch. üb. die kan. Evang.*, s. 345.

[2] (1) περὶ μέν τοι τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς βίβλου, περιττὸν μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον ἡγούμεθα, τῶν μακαρίων Γρηγορίου, φημί, τοῦ θεολόγου, καὶ Κυρίλλου, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων, Παππίου, Εἰρηναίου, Μεθοδίου, καὶ Ἱππολύτου, ταύτῃ προσμαρτυρούντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον.—*Prolog.*, ap. Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. i. p. 15; and ap. *Opp.* S. Chrysost., t. viii. *ad calc.*, ed. Fr. Ducæus, Paris, 1609, p. 3.

[3] So Lücke, s. 647. Rettig (*Stud. u. Kritik.*, 1831, s. 735) makes the date not later than A.D. 500; Cave and others, 540; Bishop Wordsworth quotes Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.*, viii. 696; xi. 62), for Cent. x.

—in the preface to his commentary on the Apocalypse which, as he implies, was based upon that of Andreas,—repeats the names in the preceding list, and adds to them the name of St. Basil.[1]

We are here introduced to the name of Papias[2] which fills so important a place in the present controversy. It is not stated what work of his is referred to; but Arethas (*l. c.*, p. 360) quotes Andreas on Rev. xii. 7 [*l. c.*, p. 67] with the remark, that Papias was "a successor of the Evangelist John, whose Revelation lay before him."[3] These words assert distinctly[4] that Papias was acquainted with the Apocalypse; but the only work of his of which we have any knowledge, is the treatise, in five books, entitled, "Narratives of the Lord's Oracles" (*λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*),—see below, p. 408, note [2], No. (6). Eusebius has preserved fragments of this work, and tells us (*H. E.*, iii. 39) that Papias there adds other things as "received by him from unwritten tradition; certain strange parables, too, of the Saviour; and some other things of a rather fabulous character, among which he also mentions a corporeal reign of Christ on this earth, which is to last for a thousand years after the Resurrection from the dead."[1] The doctrine of the Millennium is plainly referred to here; but whether Rev. xx. is to be regarded as the source of what Papias has transmitted, may be considered more than doubtful:—see Ceriani's account of the "Apocalypse of Baruch" quoted below, § 9; and the Excursus on Rev. xx.

Eusebius was an ardent anti-chiliast; and he writes strongly against the Millennarianism of Papias: he was, therefore, not indisposed to undervalue the Apocalypse, on which Papias might have founded his teaching. Having described him as of mean understanding, and yet, on account of his great antiquity, as being followed by Irenæus and others in his opinions as to the Millennium, Eusebius proceeds (*l. c.*):—"He [Papias] has also handed down in his Books other accounts which Aristion has given of the Lord's words; and also traditions of the Presbyter John."[2]

This mention of "John the Presbyter"—whose name is so often quoted in the controversy as to the authenticity of the Apocalypse—renders it necessary to give in full the *locus classicus* on this subject, in the words of Papias himself:—

"I shall not hesitate to set in order for thee whatsoever things I learned at any time from the Elders, and which I have faithfully retained in my memory . . . . But if I chanced also to meet with any one who had been a follower of the Elders, I was always wont to inquire respecting the sayings of the Elders,—what Andrew or what Peter had spoken; or what Philip; or what Thomas or James; or what John or Matthew or any other of the Disciples of the Lord; what things, too, Aristion and the Presbyter John, the Lord's disciples, say. For I did not think that I could profit so much from

[1] (2) *περὶ δὲ τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς βίβλου, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Βασίλειος, καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ θεῖος τὸν λόγον, καὶ Κύριλλος, καὶ Παπίας, καὶ Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Μεθόδιος, καὶ Ἱππόλυτος, οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ πατέρες, ἐχέγγυοι πιστώσασθαι.—Comm. in Apoc.*, ap. Cramer, *Catena*, Oxon. 1840, p. 176.

It may be noted here that Arethas on Rev. i. 9 (*l.c.*, p. 192) repeats the account of Eusebius (*Chron.*, sub an. 96; *H. E.* iii. 18) that St. John was exiled to Patmos by Domitian, —*ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ ὑπὸ Δομετιανοῦ.*

[2] Routh (i. 15) quotes a reference of Anastasius Sinaita (Cent. vi.) to Papias, as "the disciple of that Apostle who lay on the Lord's bosom" (*τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστηθίῳ φοιτήσαντος*). For the title *ὁ ἐπιστήθιος Χριστοῦ*,—frequently given to St. John, and even as early as Cent. ii., see Routh, *l. c.*, p. 42; and cf., below, p. 412, together with the words of Polycrates, No. (14), p. 414, note [1].

[3] (3) *τοῦτο καὶ πατέρων παράδοσις καὶ Παπίου διαδόχου τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, οὗ καὶ ἡ προκειμένη ἀποκάλυψις, διαβεβαιοῦ· Παπίας δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς λέξεως οὕτως φησὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ὅτι "εἰς οὐδὲν συνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν" οἱονεὶ τὴν πολεμικὴν ἐγχείρησιν· "ἐβλήθη γὰρ ὁ δράκων, ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις, ὁ ἀρχαῖος," κ. τ. λ.*

[4] The author of *Supernatural Religion* (vol. ii. p. 392) admits: "It is generally asserted both by apologists and others that this testimony is valid in favour of the recognition by Papias of the authenticity of the Apocalypse."

[1] (4) *ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἥκοντα παρατέθειται, ξένας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ, καί τινα ἄλλα μυθικώτερα· ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα τινά φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης.*

[2] *καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος . . . . τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάνου παραδόσεις, ἐφ ἃς κ. τ. λ.*

books as from the living voice which still survived."[1]

On the former of the two "Johns" in this passage, Hilgenfeld (*Einl. in das N. T.*, Leipzig, 1875) notes: "Evidently the Apostle John" (s. 57); and on the latter: "Not the 'older' John, that is, the Apostle, as Krenkel would have it" (s. 58):—see below, p. 441.

On this quotation it is sufficient, for the moment, to observe, that it is warmly discussed whether Papias had, or had not, himself seen and heard the Apostles, as well as collected and preserved their sayings. Dr. Routh (*l. c.*, p. 23) seems to give the plain and natural meaning of the passage: "In which words [viz. 'But if I chanced also' &c. (εἰ δέ που καί)] Papias seems to indicate that it was his custom to inquire of the disciples of the Apostles, just as it had been his custom to inquire of the Apostles themselves." St. Irenæus—who as the disciple of Polycarp (*Ep. ad Florin.*, ap. Euseb., v. 20) must have known the fact—expressly states that Papias was "a hearer of John, and a companion of Polycarp."[2]

Irenæus is here quoting from Papias an "unwritten saying" of our Lord respecting the Millennium; and in what he thus says the absence of any title indicates the well-known "John." Eusebius (iii. 39) also speaks of Papias as "a man of old time" (ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ).

In the second part of his Chronicle Eusebius, mentioning facts which marked the 220th Olympiad (A.D. 101), writes:—"It is recorded by Irenæus that the Apostle John survived down to the times of Trajan. After whom Papias of Hierapolis and Polycarp bishop of Smyrna were acknowledged to be the Apostle's hearers."[1] Here the words which follow "After whom" ("Post quem") express the belief of Eusebius himself;[2] and Eusebius, in the version of this passage given in his Chronicle as printed among the works of St. Jerome (ed. Vallars., t. viii.), adds to that of Polycarp the name of Ignatius as a "hearer" of St. John. Thus we see that both Irenæus and Eusebius,[3] having mentioned that St. John lived under Trajan (A.D. 96–117), also state that Papias was his contemporary,—"a hearer of John," "a companion of Polycarp." The Paschal Chronicle, too,

[1] (5) οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συντάξαι .... Εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους, τί Ἀνδρέας, ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν· ἢ τί Φίλιππος· ἢ τί Θωμᾶς, ἢ Ἰάκωβος· ἢ τί Ἰωάννης, ἢ Ματθαῖος· ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν· ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν· κ.τ.λ.—*ap.* Euseb., *l.c.*; see also Routh, *l.c.*, p. 7.

[2] (6) ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν αὐτοῦ βίβλων· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα. —*Adv. Hær.*, v. 33, 34. This is the passage which, as Ceriani states, Papias borrowed from the "Apocalypse of Baruch,"—see below, § 9, p. 62.

Polycarp, whose life unites the age of the Apostles with that of Irenæus, was Bishop of Smyrna, the second of the Seven Churches (Rev. ii. 8),—placed too over that church, as many writers mention, by the Apostles, and by St. John himself (e.g. Tertullian: "Sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert."—*De Præscr.* c. 32; Iren. iii. 3, 4; Euseb. iv. 14, v. 20; Hieron., *De Vir. Ill.* 17). He was, as Archbishop Ussher argues, no other than "the Angel of the church of Smyrna" (Rev. ii. 8):—"Who," writes Ussher, "can better inform us than Irenæus? who did not only know those who succeeded Polycarpus in his See" (οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεδεγμένοι τὸν Πολύκαρπον,—*Hær.* iii. 4, p. 177), "but also was present when he himself did discourse of his conversation with St. John."—*The Original of Bishops*, Works, Elrington's ed., vol. vii. p. 50. See below, p. 412.

[1] (7) "Joannem Apostolum usque ad Trajani tempora permansisse Irenæus tradit. Post quem ejusdem auditores agnoscebantur Papias Ierapolitanus et Polycarpus Smyrnæorum regionis episcopus."—*Chron. Bipartit. Græco-Armeno-Latinum*, ed. Aucher, ii. p. 281.

To this passage may be added: "Secundus post Neronem Domitianus Christianos persequitur; et sub eo Apostolus Joannes ad Patmum insulam relegatus Apocalypsin vidit, quam Irenæus interpretatur."—Eusebius, *Chron. ad an.* 14 *Domitiani.* It will be found useful to keep in view the duration of Domitian's reign,—viz., from the year 81 to the year 96.

[2] See, in proof of this statement, Zahn, "Papias von Hierapolis," *Studien u. Krit.*, 1866, s. 649.

[3] Eusebius, however, elsewhere (iii. 39) attempts to set aside the statement of Irenæus that Papias was "a hearer of John," on the grounds that Papias tells us, No. (5), that he is recording what he had heard from others about the sayings of the Apostles,—among whom he names St. John. But may not Papias have both heard that Apostle, and also collected what others reported concerning him? It is impossible to suppose that Irenæus could have been mistaken as to this.

records the martyrdom of Polycarp (ed. Dindorf., i. 480, &c.), and adds that Papias suffered in the same persecution (καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ δὲ ἕτεροι ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Παπίας, κ.τ.λ.);—showing that in death as in life Papias was Polycarp's companion.

At what time Papias lived, may be approximately determined by the date of Polycarp's death:—In the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna (Euseb. iv. 15), which contains the narrative of Polycarp's sufferings, Polycarp's death is placed (*Patr. Apost.*, ed. Hefele, p. 294) in the proconsulship of Statius Quadratus, and on a day which is specified; while Polycarp's well-known words, "Fourscore and six years have I served Christ," &c.—a statement which at all events is to be counted from his baptism —make him to have been, at least, eighty-six years old. M. Waddington[1] has proved from the language of this narrative that Polycarp was put to death on Feb. 23, A.D. 155, under Antoninus Pius; and he points out how Eusebius and others have been mistaken in placing this event some ten years later, under M. Aurelius, when Ummidius Quadratus was consul. Polycarp's birth, or more probably his baptism, would, accordingly, fall in the year 69; and thus the chronological difficulty, as to the fact of his companion Papias having been a contemporary of St. John, who lived till the end of the century, altogether disappears. Bishop Lightfoot (*Contemp. Review*, August 1875, p. 383) considers "that Papias was probably born about A.D. 60–70, and that his work was published about A.D. 130–140." Accordingly, the first direct evidence which we possess for the authenticity of the Apocalypse is given by one who was a contemporary of the Apostle John; who had seen and heard him; and who was bishop of Hierapolis, a city but a few miles distant from Laodicea (Rev. iii. 14) which was one of the Seven Churches.

Other evidence for the authenticity of the Apocalypse which is sometimes adduced from the age of the Apostolic Fathers, may not, perhaps, be deemed equally conclusive. Thus Hengstenberg (*The Rev. of St. John*, vol. ii. p. 393, Eng. transl.) thinks that the Divine title "Almighty" (παντοκράτωρ) used by Polycarp in his Epistle to the Philippians (c. 1) was taken by him from the Apocalypse, where it is found nine times, but elsewhere only in 2 Cor. vi. 18: and he also sees in the words "Let us be imitators of His patience" (μιμηταὶ γενώμεθα τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτοῦ, *ib.*, c. 8), a reference to Rev. i. 9; iii. 10. In the "Shepherd of Hermas," which is "of the same date as Montanism" (*circ.* A.D. 140), the symbolism of the Apocalypse reappears:—"The Church is represented under the figure of a woman (Apoc. xii. 1; *Vis.* ii. 4); a bride (Apoc. xxi. 2; *Vis.* iv. 2); her enemy is a great beast (Apoc. xii. 4; *Vis.* iv. 2)."—Westcott, *The Canon of the N. T.*, p. 181.

The age of the Apostolic Fathers is followed, according to Lücke's division (s. 516), by the age of apologetic literature;—an age which is closed by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and which begins with St. Justin Martyr[1] of whose testimony Lücke (s. 550) pronounces: "Nothing is clearer than what Eusebius (iv. 18) long ago remarked, that Justin in this passage [see below] employs the Apocalypse of the New Test. as a sacred, authentic, Christian writing, and expressly declares it to be the work of the Apostle John";—and he adds (s. 561): "On this point there can be no doubt."

[1] See his *Mémoire* on the life of Ælius Aristides, in the *Mém. de l'Institut*, t. xxvi., 1867, p. 235, &c.; and also Renan's summary of the argument, *L'Antechrist*, p. 566. Scholten (*Der Ap. Johannes in Kleinasien*, s. 65) rejects the account of Polycarp's journey to Rome during the Paschal controversy,—when (A.D. 154) he met Anicetus (Iren. iii. 3, 4; cf. *Ep. ad Victor.*, ap. Eus., *H. E.* v. 24; iv. 16; *Chron. ad ann.* 155),—on the ground that he must have then been too old to have undertaken such a journey: to which Renan justly replies that the voyage from Smyrna to Rome was one of the easiest in that age; and he quotes the case of a merchant whose epitaph states that he had made in his lifetime seventy-two voyages from Hierapolis to Rome:—see Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Gr.*, t. iii., No. 3920. Cf. also Gibbon, ch. ii.

[1] Dr. Hort (*Journ. Class. and Sacr. Philology*, iii. 139), concludes that "we may set down Justin's first Apology to 145, or better still to 146, and his death to 148. The second Apology will then fall in 146 or 147, and the *Dial. with Tryphon* about the same time."

In his famous *Dialogue* Justin M., having explained the words of Isaiah, ch. lxv. 17–25, as applicable to the Millennium, proceeds:—"Among us also a certain man named John, one of the Apostles of Christ, prophesied, in a Revelation given to him, that they who believe in our Christ shall spend a thousand years in Jerusalem; and after this that there shall be, with one accord, at the same time, the universal and (to speak concisely) eternal Resurrection of all men, and the Judgment."[1]

When we recollect that these words form part of a dialogue with *the Jew* Tryphon, the qualification, "a certain man named John," with which it begins, need cause no surprise.

In the passage from Eusebius which Lücke refers to, the historian further states that the dialogue with Tryphon was held at Ephesus,—the chief of the Seven Churches (Rev. ii. 1),—the city where St. John resided until his death [διάλογον . . . . ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως πρὸς Τρύφωνα τῶν τότε Ἑβραίων ἐπισημότατον πεποίηται . . . . μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου ἀποκαλύψεως, σαφῶς τοῦ Ἀποστόλου αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγων]. It may be added that in the expression "Among us" (παρ' ἡμῖν, note [1]), Justin M. clearly implies the residence of St. John at Ephesus, and in Asia Minor.[2]

St. Jerome expressly states (*De Vir. Ill.*, c. 9) that Justin M., as well as Irenæus, had interpreted the Apocalypse, see p. 20, No. (26): and it is to be noted that this is the only Book of the New Testament to which Justin M. refers by name, and St. John the only writer.[3]

Melito (*circ.* A.D. 169) was Bishop of Sardis, one of the Seven Churches (Rev. iii. 1). Melito, as we know, was most zealous in the investigation of the Canon of the Old Test.; and he is stated by Eusebius (iv. 26) and by St. Jerome (*De Vir. Ill.*, c. 24) to have written "concerning the Apocalypse of John, and concerning the Devil," who is so often named in the Book of the Revelation—καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου :—"de diabolo librum unum, de Apocalypsi Joannis librum unum"]. This mention of "John" without any distinguishing title clearly points (see below) to a pre-eminent person of that name; and had Eusebius known that Melito entertained any doubt as to the apostolical origin of the Book, he would not have failed to notice it. This work of Melito is not extant. The authenticity of a treatise ascribed to him, which is styled by Eusebius *The Key* (ἡ Κλείς), by St. Jerome *Clavis*, and which has been given to the world in a Latin version by Dom Pitra (*Spicileg. Solesmense*, vol. ii.), —is perhaps doubtful.[1] In this translation the Apocalypse is constantly quoted.[2]

Apollonius was Bishop (or Presbyter)

[1] (8) καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ, χίλια ἔτη ποιήσειν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ, συνελόντι φάναι, αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν.—*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 81.

[2] In his first Apology (i. 28), Justin refers to Rev. xx. 2 (ὁ ἀρχηγέτης τῶν κακῶν δαιμόνων ὄφις καλεῖται καὶ σατανᾶς καὶ διάβολος). Otto (in his notes) compares c. 45 of the *Dial. c. Tryph.* (ὁ θάνατος καταφρονηθῇ κ. τ. λ.) with Rev. xxi. 4. We may also compare c. 113 and its references to "the new Heaven and the new Earth," as well as its allusion to Christ being the Lamp of the New Jerusalem, with Rev. xxi. 1, 23:—see Hengstenberg, *l. c.*, p. 409.

[3] Tatian, a contemporary of Justin M., in his "Oration to the Greeks" (c. 20), may also be taken to allude to Rev. xxi. Dionysius, who suffered as a martyr, A.D. 176 (Routh, i. p. 177), appears to have been bishop of Corinth at the time of Justin's death (Westcott, p. 173)—see Euseb. iv. 23: of the *three* allusions to the New Test. to be found in the fragment of his works preserved by Eusebius, one is an allusion to Rev. xxii. 18,—"When brethren urged me to write letters, I wrote them; and these the apostles of the Devil have filled with tares, taking away some things, and adding others, for whom the Woe is appointed—ἃ μὲν ἐξαιροῦντες, ἃ δὲ προστιθέντες, οἷς τὸ οὐαὶ κεῖται:" see Westcott, *l. c.*, p. 166.

[1] Labbe (*De Scriptor. Eccl.*, ii. 87) had mentioned a MS. of this work as extant in the College of Clermont at Paris, and of this Dom Pitra has discovered eight copies. Of the copy in the Bodleian Library, the writer in Smith's *Biogr. Dict.*, art. *Melito*, says, "it appears to be much interpolated, if indeed any part of it is genuine. . . . . It is possible that the fourth extract given by Routh (*l. c.*, t. i. p. 124) from the *Catena* is from the original *Clavis* of Melito."

[2] E.g. "In Apocalypsi 'Pedes ejus sicut aurichalci' (Rev. i. 15),"—p. 290; in the section, *De supernis creaturis:* "Angelus,—Prælati vel sacerdotes, 'Et *angelo* Ephesi scribe, (Rev. ii. 1)',"—p. 55; "Folium,—sermo doctrinæ: Et in Apocalypsi, 'Et folia ejus ad sanitatem gentium'" (Rev. xxii. 2),—p. 393.

of Ephesus (see Routh, *l. c.*, i. 465). It was here, where St. John lived and taught, that opposition must have at once arisen to any work ascribed to the Apostle which had not proceeded from his pen. Apollonius wrote *circ.* A.D. 170–180; and this date, as bearing upon recent objections, is of importance. Apollonius (see Euseb., v. 18) composed a treatise against Montanism about forty years after Montanus appeared; and his reference in this work to the public archives of Asia Minor which were preserved at Ephesus, illustrates his familiarity with the affairs of the Ephesian Church [οὐχ ἡμᾶς δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἔχει,—see the note of Valesius *in loc.*]. He wrote, therefore, not only before Irenæus (A.D. 190), and independently of him, but also at a time when no one questioned the identity of the author of the Apocalypse with the Apostle John.[1]

Apollonius mentions, "as if from tradition" [ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως] that the Saviour had commanded the Apostles not to leave Jerusalem for twelve years; and he also testifies that St. John wrote the Apocalypse, — that he resided at Ephesus,—and that he there restored a dead man to life.[2]

This testimony, as Lücke (*l. c.*, s. 567) notes, is also important as proving that the acceptance of the Apocalypse, at this date, was not restricted (as some argue) to Montanists[3] and Millennarians.

Theophilus of Antioch († A.D. 168), the sixth in descent from the Apostles (Euseb., iv. 24), was engaged in controversy with one Hermogenes. His work is lost; but Eusebius, who had read it, assures us that Theophilus there adduced "proofs" (*μαρτυρίαι*) from "the Apocalypse of John,"—evidently as a New Testament authority, and one recognized in the church of Antioch. In his extant treatise *Ad Autolycum* (ii. c. 28), we meet an allusion to Rev. xii. 3, to the effect that Satan is called "a demon and a dragon" [δαίμων καὶ δράκων καλεῖται].

The most valuable testimony, however, from the second century which we possess is that of St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, whose activity extends from A.D. 130 to A.D. 202; and who wrote his great work against the Gnostics, at Rome, during the episcopate of Eleutherus (A.D. 177–199). Irenæus was a Greek of Asia Minor, and subsequently a presbyter of the Gallican Church. He there succeeded, as bishop, Pothinus who was already ninety years of age, and who had associated, like Polycarp, with the generation of St. John.[1] Irenæus tells us of himself, in his treatise on the *Ogdoad* (as we read in Euseb., v. 20), that "he had reached to the first succession of the Apostles." In his well-known "Epistle to Florinus" (*ap.* Euseb. *τὴν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατιέναι* (Rev. xxi. 2). And on the opposite side :—

Agreeing with Apollonius, among other anti-Montanists, the author of the fragment *Adv. Cataphrygas* (Eus., v. 16; Routh, ii., p. 183) says that he was not inclined to accept certain opinions, "fearing lest he should seem to add a new article to the word of the New Covenant of the Gospel,—*ᾧ μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτ' ἀφελεῖν δυνατόν* (Rev. xxii. 18, 19)." Clemens Alex. and Origen (see below, p. 415) were decided anti-Millennarians.

[1] Even Keim (*l. c.*, i. s. 154; *Anm.* 2, s. 164) admits the date A.D. 170–180, merely objecting that Apollonius does not style John "an Apostle," but simply "the writer of the Apocalypse." In order to get rid of this early date, Scholten* (*l. c.*, s. 38) adopts the theory of Schwegler (*Der Montanismus*, s. 255), who identifies Apollonius with the martyr of that name who suffered under Commodus (A.D. 180–194, see Euseb., v. 21). This attempt to make the evidence of Apollonius dependent on that of Irenæus, is refuted by Steitz, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1868, s. 487 ff.

[2] (9) Eusebius tells us that Apollonius wrote: *τὸν Σωτῆρα προστεταχέναι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλοις, ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔτεσι μὴ χωρισθῆναι τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ. κέχρηται δὲ καὶ μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου ἀποκαλύψεως· καὶ νεκρὸν δὲ δυνάμει θείᾳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ἐγηγέρθαι ἱστορεῖ.—H. E.*, v. 18; see Routh, *l. c.*, p. 472; and note [1], p. 426.

[3] Thus, not to speak of Tertullian (see below, p. 17), a Montanist prophetess, referred to by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 49, 1), says: *Χριστὸς ἀπεκάλυψέ μοι τοῦτον τὸν τόπον εἶναι ἅγιον καὶ ὧδε*

[1] In the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna which recounts the martyrdom of Polycarp (c. xxii., ed. Hefele, p. 294), we read at the close: *—ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάϊος, ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίου, μαθητοῦ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου, ὃς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ.* Irenæus became bishop of Lyons, A.D. 177. Polycarp died A.D. 155 or 156 (see above); accordingly Irenæus would have been a pupil of Polycarp, *circ.* A.D. 135–150:—so Bishop Lightfoot in the *Contemp. Review*, May 1875, p. 833. Neander writes: "From the school of John in Asia Minor there went forth an impulse, in opposition to the speculations of the Gnostics, ... which carried into the West Irenæus, who had been trained in the school of the disciples of the Apostle John."—*Kirch.-Gesch.*, i. s. 876.

ib.; compare note [1], p. 431), Irenæus relates that he had met Polycarp (see above, p. 408), whom he had come to know at Smyrna; and that he was wont, when a boy, to hear from his lips concerning "his converse with John and the rest who had seen the Lord." He had not merely, he tells us, seen Polycarp occasionally, but had lived in his society and profited by his instruction; and of this he now writes to another pupil of Polycarp, Florinus, who must have known the fact, and whom he was opposing on a grave matter of doctrine:—see note [2], p. 431. In the passage from which No. (11)—see below—is taken, important details are given respecting St. John and his relation to the succeeding generation. We are told in that passage how Polycarp had been appointed by the Apostles Bishop of Smyrna; and that certain persons had heard from him how St. John on one occasion rushed with horror from the baths at Ephesus, because he had chanced to meet there the heretic Cerinthus. In the Epistle of Irenæus to Victor Bishop of Rome (*ap.* Euseb., v. 24), we also read that Polycarp, when he visited Rome, was not persuaded by Anicetus to give up his practice of keeping Easter on the fourteenth day of the month, as he had been wont to keep it after the manner of "John the Disciple of the Lord," and the other Apostles with whom he (Polycarp) had associated. Indeed the intimate connexion with Polycarp which is manifested throughout his writings, renders the testimony of Irenæus as to St. John virtually that of a contemporary.

Perhaps the most important passage out of many in the writings of this Father is the following (*Hær.*, v. 30, 31; for the Greek text see Euseb., v. 8):—In opposition to the erroneous reading 616, in Rev. xiii. 18, Irenæus supports the true reading 666: this, he observes, is found "in all the correct and ancient copies;" and it has also in its favour "the testimony of those who had seen John face to face"[1] [*τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακότων*]. Having given his own conjectures as to the meaning of the mystic number ("for were it right that it should be proclaimed openly at the present time, this name of Antichrist would have been uttered by him who beheld the Apocalypse"), Irenæus concludes with the statement, that St. John beheld the Vision "almost in our own generation, towards the end of the reign of Domitian."[1]

This statement as to the late period down to which St. John lived, is incidentally referred to again and again:—e.g. (*Hær.*, ii. 22, 5; Euseb., iii. 23) appealing to "all the presbyters who had associated in Asia with John the Disciple of the Lord" [*τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῇ*], and who testify of what he had handed down to them, Irenæus adds that John "remained among them until the time of Trajan; . . . . and some among them have seen not John only, but also other Apostles." And once more (*Hær.*, iii. 3, 4; Euseb., *ibid.*) he writes:—

"Moreover, the Church of Ephesus, which Paul had founded, and where John abode until the times of Trajan, is a true witness of the tradition of the Apostles."[2]

In none of his writings does Irenæus betray the least consciousness that any doubts had ever been entertained as to the authorship of the Apocalypse. He does not, indeed, expressly call the author "an Apostle,"—continually speaking of him as "the Disciple of the Lord" (see above); as "he that leaned on His bosom" (see John xiii. 23; and cf. Euseb. v. 24, as well as p. 407, note [2]); or simply as "John" (No. (6), note [2],

[1] The author of *Supernatural Religion* (vol. ii. p. 393) offers the following characteristic criticism: "We do not attribute any value to his [Irenæus'] testimony. . . . Although he appeals to those 'who saw John face to face' with regard to the number of the Beast, his own utter ignorance of the interpretation shows how little information he can have derived from Polycarp."

[1] (10) *ἡμεῖς οὖν οὐκ ἀποκινδυνεύομεν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ ἀποφαινόμενοι βεβαιωτικῶς· εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοὔνομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐῤῥέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς* (cf. Euseb. iii. 18).

[2] (11) *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων, μάρτυς ἀληθὴς ἐστι τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως.*

p. 408) : but that "John" is the Apostle and Evangelist is clear from the words in which he states that "John the Lord's Disciple, he that leaned on His bosom, published the Gospel at Ephesus during his abode in Asia."[1]

The references to the Apocalypse are in the following forms : "Sed et Johannes Domini discipulus, in Apocalypsi" (*Adv. Hær.* iv. 20, 11); "significavit Johannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi" (*ib.* v. 26, 1); "in Apocalypsi vidit Joannes," (*ib.* v. 35, 2); "Joannes in Apoc. ait" (*ib.* iv. 21, 3).

Akin to the testimony of Irenæus is that which is supplied by the Epistle in which the churches of Lyons, and Vienne inform the churches in Asia and Phrygia of the persecution which they had endured under Antoninus Verus, A.D. 177 (*ap.* Euseb., v. 1, 2). We there learn how deeply the imagery and the language of the Apocalypse had penetrated the thoughts of Christians at that early period :—The martyr Vettius "is a genuine disciple of Christ, '*following the Lamb whithersoever He goeth*'" (ἔστι γνήσιος Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς ἀκολουθῶν τῷ ἀρνίῳ ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγῃ [Rev. xiv. 4]);—Christ is described as "the faithful and true Witness and First Born of the dead" (Rev. i. 5; iii. 14);—and the fury of the persecutors as compared with the patience of the Martyrs, is represented in the words of Rev. xxii. 11, freely quoted with the preface, "that the Scripture might be fulfilled."[2]

Polycrates, a later bishop of Ephesus († A.D. 196), writing, during the second Paschal controversy, to Victor Bishop of Rome (*ap.* Euseb. iii. 31; v. 24), appeals to the great lights of the Church in Asia, —to Polycarp of Smyrna, and Thraseus of Eumenia; to Sagaris, Papirius, Melito of Sardis; and to seven other bishops of his own family. Of the Twelve Apostles, he appeals to "Philip who with two of his daughters (who had remained virgins) was buried at Hierapolis,[3]—a third daughter, who was inspired by the Holy Spirit, being buried at Ephesus;" and to St. John. Polycrates thus describes the latter Apostle :—

"And moreover John, he who leaned on the Lord's bosom, who came to be a Priest that wore the Golden Plate [or Mitre, or Frontlet,—LXX. πέταλον, see

[1] (12) Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος Αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσών, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.—*Adv. Hær.*, iii. 1, 1.

[2] (13, Ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ, ὁ ἄνομος ἀνομησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι.

[3] In the passage No. (5), Papias, who was himself bishop of Hierapolis, refers to Philip as one of "the disciples of the Lord," whose sayings he had collected. This Philip can be no other than *the Apostle*, residing with his daughters at Hierapolis, as Eusebius (iii. 39) understood Papias who, the historian tells us, had heard from Philip's daughters a certain wonderful narration. Philip is mentioned by Papias next to Andrew and Peter; and one who turns to St. John's Gospel will see that what related to these three Apostles had a special interest not only for St. John, but also for his hearers (John i. 40, 43–46; vi. 5–8; xii. 20–22; xiv. 8, 9). Papias does not refer at all to Philip *the Evangelist*. Polycrates, as quoted in the text, mentions—Φίλιππον [τὸν] τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυῖαι παρθένοι· καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη, ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται (*ap.* Euseb., iii. 31; v. 24);—this third daughter, who had the gift of prophecy, being evidently married. This statement is confirmed by Clemens Al. (*Strom.* iii. 6, 25; Euseb., iii. 30) as to the third daughter, although he loosely uses the plural number when he says that Philip gave his "*daughters*" in marriage. On the other hand, the "Dialogue of Caius and Proclus" (Euseb., iii. 31) represents Philip *the Evangelist* as residing at Hierapolis, and with him *four* daughters who had the gift of *prophecy* (μετὰ τούτου δὲ προφήτιδες τέσσαρες αἱ Φιλίππου γεγένηνται); all five being buried in that city. Here the mention of *four* daughters *prophesying* recalls the person spoken of in Acts xxi. 8, 9. Now although the statement of Polycrates as to the Apostle Philip is confirmed by Papias, as we have seen, and by Clemens Al.,—yet, because another later writer, the author of this *Dialogue*, refers to Philip *the Evangelist* as having also resided at Hierapolis, we are told that the evidence of Polycrates is discredited by the confusion into which he has here fallen; and *therefore* that his testimony *as to St. John* is of little worth. It is clear, however, that St. Luke carefully distinguishes between the two Philips :—cf. Acts vi. 2–5; viii. 5–17; xxi. 8, where the "Deacon," or "Evangelist," is evidently contrasted with the members of the Twelve. Can any one, then,—on the sole evidence of a writer (A.D. 212) so much later in time than Papias (born A.D. 60–70, see p. 5), and so much inferior in authority to Polycrates and Clemens Al.,—admit the existence of such a blunder on the part of Polycrates? When Papias, as Eusebius tells us, received information from "the daughters of Philip," are we not to understand that the "Philip" intended was the Apostle whom

below], and a witness, and a teacher, he too has fallen asleep at Ephesus."[1]

And thus, at the end of the second century, we have evidence from Ephesus itself as to the fact of the residence and death of the Evangelist John in that city.

Dean Alford rejects without sufficient cause this testimony to the Apocalypse (*Prolegg.*, p. 207). Hengstenberg justly insists upon this proof. Even Keim (*l. c.*, i. 165), although he pronounces the statement of Polycrates to be "a fantastic picture," nevertheless admits that the language of the passage just quoted is gleaned from the Gospel, and the Apocalypse.[2] Scholten also (s. 75) allows that St. John is here described in words borrowed from the Gospel (John xiii. 23; xxi. 20), and that he is called "a witness" in accordance with Rev. i. 9.

The terms "Priest" and "Plate" of gold, which occur in the passage cited from Polycrates, have been much discussed. The "Plate" of gold [πέταλον, the equivalent of ציץ, (Ex. xxviii. 32 (36); Lev. viii. 9, LXX.), and of נזר (Ex. xxix. 6), "the Frontlet" inscribed "Holiness to the Lord,"—see the note on Ex. xxviii. 36] was the token by which the High Priest was distinguished from the other priests. Neander (*Pflanzung*, ii. 32) sees in these two terms a reference to the rank which St. John held in the Church. We know how continually St. John, throughout the Apocalypse, uses the symbolism of the Old Covenant: may we not then, see in the πέταλον an emblem of the dignity, whether moral or ecclesiastical, ascribed in the Church to the Apostles? May not Polycrates have thus referred to the Apostles as "High Priests," distinguished from the ordinary members of the Church who receive in the Apocalypse itself the title of "priests" (Rev. i. 6; v. 10; xx. 6)?[1] May we not see here, on the part of the primitive Church, a belief in the connexion of the Old and the New Dispensations, and in the maintenance of the Apostolic office in the second, continuing the High Priestly office in the first?[2] Hilgenfeld observes: "Polycrates of Ephesus represents him [John] as a Christian High Priest, or as one of exalted Episcopal dignity . . . . A similar statement respecting James, the Lord's brother, is to be found in Epiphanius."—*Einl.*, s. 392.[3] Godet, to the same effect, concludes from this statement of Polycrates that "John, the last survivor of the Apostolate, had left on the Church of Asia the impression of a Pontiff from whose forehead shone the spiritual splendour of the holiness

Eusebius had just mentioned?—although Eusebius himself seems to have confounded the *Apostle* with the *Evangelist*. It may be added that *The Acts of Philip* in like manner place the Apostle at Hierapolis,—see Tischendorf, *Act. Apost. Apocr.*, p. 75. Those critics who, like Keim (*l. c.*), insist upon charging Polycrates with error, attribute his describing Philip as "an Apostle" to the desire of the Asiatic churches to trace their spiritual descent directly from the Twelve;—on which Bishop Lightfoot well observes: "This solution of the phenomenon might have been accepted if the authorities in favour of Philip the Evangelist had been prior in time and superior in quality."—*Comm. on Coloss.*, p. 46. It is hard to see why two persons named Philip could not have been married and had daughters; even though the daughters of both had the gift of prophecy which, we know, was not then unusual,—see Eusebius (iii. 37; v. 17) on Quadratus, and Ammias; as also the notes of Routh, *l. c.*, vol. ii. pp. 24–26. On this whole subject cf. the note of Bishop Lightfoot, *l. c.*, p. 45.

[1] (14) ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναπεσών, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκὼς, καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος, οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται—(*ap.* Routh, *l. c.* t. ii. p. 14.)

[2] Keim, however, rejects the credibility of Polycrates because he describes Philip as an Apostle,—see the last note.

[1] This symbolical use of the term may be illustrated by the phrase, πέταλον τῆς πίστεως, in the "Testament of Levi," *Test. XII. Patriarch.*, iii. 8, ed. Sinker, p. 142.

[2] To this effect Vallarsius notes on St. Jerome (*De Vir. Ill.* c. 45, vol. ii. p. 872): —"Figurate hoc dici eo sensu quo Horatius de virtute prædicat, '*Nec sumit aut ponit secures, Arbitrio popularis auræ.*' Ut perinde sit auream laminam inter Christianos gestare, ac pontificis dignitatem, cujus illud insigne est, obtinere."

[3] See Epiphanius (*Hær.* 29, 4; 78, 14) and also Hegesippus (*ap.* Euseb., ii. 23), who refer to the fact of James "the Just" wearing the πέταλον. The *Martyrium Marci Evangelistæ* (see Valesius on Eus. v. 24) states that St. Mark wore "pontificalis apicis petalum inter Judæos." Ewald argues from the use of the word γνωστός, in John xviii. 15, that the beloved Apostle was "a kinsman" of the High Priest, and therefore of sacerdotal race (*Die Joh. Schr.*, i. s. 400); and he seeks support for this theory in these words of Polycrates (see, on the other hand, Bleek, *Einleit. in das N. T.*, § 60).

of Christ."—*Comm. on St. John's Gospel* (Engl. transl., vol. i. p. 60).

And thus, already, from the region of the Seven Churches, we have Apollonius and Polycrates in Ephesus, Papias in Hierapolis, Polycarp in Smyrna, and Melito in Sardis, all bearing witness to the Apocalypse as the authentic work of the Apostle John. We are now at the threshold of the third century.

Clemens Alexandrinus flourished A.D. 165–220. He was trained in the school of Pantænus whom Photius (*Cod.* 118) represents as "a hearer of the Apostles" (see Routh, *l. c.*, i. p. 377). Clemens, who had for one of his earliest instructors an Ionian Greek, thus describes his teachers before he met with Pantænus: "Moreover they who preserve the true tradition of the blessed doctrine directly from Peter and James, from John and Paul, the holy Apostles,—son receiving from father,—came with God's help to us also, to deposit that ancestral and Apostolic seed." [1]

Clemens had thus every opportunity of learning the facts bearing upon the life of St. John; and what he narrates is full of interest. He expressly states that, "after the death of the tyrant,"—who could be no other than Domitian,[2]—St. John changed his abode from Patmos to Ephesus.[3] Eusebius (see note [2]) quotes this passage (in which Clemens tells the story of the aged St. John and the young robber), introducing it by saying that "the Apostle and Evangelist John organized the churches that were in Asia when he returned from his exile in the island after the death of Domitian;" [1] and it is in proof of this fact,—namely, that the banishment to Patmos was under Domitian,—that he cites Clemens and Irenæus.

As to the Apocalypse itself, Clemens refers to the description of "Jerusalem which is above," with its foundations of precious stones; and he quotes ch. xxi. 18, as "the utterance of the Apostolic voice" [*καὶ τὰς δώδεκα τῆς οὐρανοπόλεως πύλας, τιμίοις ἀπεικασμένας λίθοις, τὸ περίοπτον τῆς ἀποστολικῆς φωνῆς αἰνίττεσθαι χάριτος ἐκδεχόμεθα.—Pædag.* ii. 12, *l. c.*, p. 242]. Identifying "the Apostolic voice" with that of St. John, he writes of "the faithful Elder" that "he is seated among the four and twenty thrones, judging the people, as John says in the Apocalypse" [*ἐν τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρσι καθεδεῖται θρόνοις, τὸν λαὸν κρίνων, ὥς φησιν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει Ἰωάννης* (Rev. iv. 4; xi. 16). *Strom.* vi. 13, p. 793].[2]

Origen (A.D. 186–253), the pupil of Clemens Al., made the Canon of the New Testament a subject of special inquiry: and when the authority of any of its Books was assailed, he never fails to state the fact. It is noteworthy, therefore, that Origen is ignorant of any doubts entertained as to the Apocalypse, which he quotes as the recognized composition of the Apostle and Evangelist John:[3] e. g.—with the usual formula of quotation—"the Apostle and Evangelist in the Revelation"

[1] ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας σώζοντες διδασκαλίας παράδοσιν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Πέτρου τε καὶ Ἰακώβου, Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύλου, τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενος . . . . ἦκον δὴ σὺν θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ προγονικὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀποστολικὰ καταθησόμενοι σπέρματα.—*Strom.* i. 1, 11, ed. Potter, p. 322.

[2] Eusebius (iii. 23) clearly applies these words of Clemens to Domitian (see *ib.*, c. 21, 22). How well the title "tyrant" suits that Emperor, appears from his character as given by Pliny (*Panegyr.*, c. 48) who calls him "immanissima bellua:"—cf. also Tacitus, *Agricola*, 45. Indeed, Eusebius himself appeals to a heathen writer, Bruttius, in proof of Domitian's cruel persecution of the Christians:—*ἱστορεῖ δ Βρούττιος πολλοὺς χριστιανοὺς κατὰ τὸ ιδ' ἔτος Δομετιανοῦ μεμαρτυρηκέναι.—Chron. Pasch.*, i. p. 468, ed. Dindorf. Scaliger in his notes (p. 205) conjectures that this Bruttius was Bruttius Præsens, father of the wife of the Emperor Commodus.

[3] (15) *ἄκουσον μῦθον, οὐ μῦθον ἀλλ' ὄντα λόγον, περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένον . . . . ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον.—Quis dives salv.* c. 42, *l. c.*, p. 959.

[1] *τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς.*

[2] To give an example of the objections raised against such testimony,—Lücke (s. 590) hints that in his lost work *περὶ προφητείας* Clemens may have thought differently of the value of the Apocalypse; and that here he only follows "the tradition of his church" in ascribing the Book to the Apostle John.

[3] Lücke writes (s. 591): "Origen appears to have known nothing of any important opposition to the Apocalypse"; nor "did he find any valid reason for doubting the apostolical, Joannean authenticity of it, either in the Alexandrian tradition or in the course of his own numerous theological journeys."

[ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ εὐαγγελιστής—*Comm. in Ev. Joann.*, i, 1, 6]. In his *Series in Matth.* (t. iii. p. 867), quoting Rev. xii. 3, Origen promises that he will write an exposition of the Book at some future time ["exponetur autem tempore suo in Revelatione Joannis" [1]]. In his *Comm. in Matth.* (preserved by Eusebius, vi. 25), speaking of "John, who leaned on Jesus' bosom," "who wrote a Gospel, and said that the world itself could not contain the books which tell of the Lord's acts" (John xxi. 25), he adds: "And he wrote the Apocalypse also, commanded to keep silence and not to write the voices of the Seven Thunders" (ch. x. 3, 4) [ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, κελευσθεὶς σιωπῆσαι καὶ μὴ γράψαι τὰς τῶν ἑπτὰ βροντῶν φωνάς.]. (Note that in this place Origen refers to the doubts as to the 2nd and 3rd Epistles of St. John). Again, *Comm. in Joann.* i. 16 (t. iv. p. 16): "John the son of Zebedee, therefore, says in the Apocalypse 'and I saw an Angel flying,'" &c. [φησὶν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου Ἰωάννης· "καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον πετόμενον," κ.τ.λ.] (Rev. xiv. 6, 7). In fine, —chief passage of all,—"And the sons of Zebedee were baptized with that baptism; for Herod slew James the brother of John with the sword; and the king of the Romans—as tradition teaches—condemned John, bearing witness for the word of truth, to the island of Patmos. And John informs us of the things concerning this witness of his, not telling who condemned him, but saying in the Apocalypse 'I John was in the isle that is called Patmos' (ch. i. 9) . . . And he appears to have seen the Revelation in the island." [2]

Eusebius (iii. 1) refers to Origen for the statement that, in the distribution of their different spheres of duty among the Apostles, St. John was assigned Asia Minor, and Ephesus.[1]

Origen, as we know, was a decided anti-chiliast; but he did not, like Dionysius of Alexandria, allow his doctrinal tendencies to influence his judgment as to historical facts. The same may be said of Clemens Alexandrinus.

St. Hippolytus lived early in Cent. iii.[2] (A.D. 220). He was the disciple of Irenæus (see Photius, *Cod.* 48, 121, 202), to whose writings (*Hær.* i. 263) he evidently refers. In his *Refutatio omnium Hæresium* (vii. 36, ed. Dunker, p. 408), occurs a reference to Rev. ii. 6, Hippolytus observing that "the Holy Ghost by the Apocalypse of John convicted the Nicolaitans." [3] This is one of the few passages in which the name of any Book of the New Testament is introduced in the *Refutatio*. In the well-known inscrip-

[1] So also, referring to Rev. xix. 11 (*Comm. in Joann.* i. 42, t. iv. p. 45), he refers to a future work, οὗ τοῦ παρόντος δὲ καιροῦ δεῖξαι ὅτι, κ.τ.λ.

[2] (16) καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐβαπτίσθησαν οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου υἱοί, ἐπείπερ Ἡρώδης μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρᾳ, ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον· διδάσκει δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης, μὴ λέγων τίς αὐτὸν κατεδίκασε, φάσκων ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ταῦτα, Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης . . . . καὶ ἔοικε τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεθεωρηκέναι. — *Comm. in Matt.*, § xvi. 6 (t. v. p. 719).

The name of the Emperor who condemned St. John is not given here,—the reason being stated, viz. because St. John himself has not given it; for Origen is simply commenting on the fulfilment of Christ's words in Matt. xx. 23. The king of the Jews (Herod, who is named here because he is named in Acts xii.) had slain one of the sons of Zebedee; "the king of the Romans" condemned the other. This latter fact "tradition," not Scripture, records; and Origen thus contrasts (as well as by the last words, καὶ ἔοικε) the information imparted by the inspired volume and that imparted by history.

[1] (17) Ἰωάννης τὴν Ἀσίαν [εἴληχεν]· πρὸς οὓς, καὶ διατρίψας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τελευτᾷ.

[2] Hippolytus Thebanus (called "the younger Hippolytus") was a writer of Cent. x. or xi. Fabricius, in his edition of the works of St. Hippolytus, partly in the appendix to vol. i. and partly in vol. ii., has given fragments of the chronicle erroneously ascribed to the earlier writer. These fragments are collected by Gallandius (*Bibl. Vet. Patr.*, t. xiv. p. 106), and assigned to Hippolytus of Thebes, who seems to have drawn much of his information from Symeon Metaphrastes, a Byzantine writer, *circ.* A.D. 900. We there read:—

(*a*) ἐβίωσε δὲ ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος μέχρι Δομετίου [Δομετιανοῦ] βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, ὡς ἐκ τούτου εἶναι τὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον δέκα πρὸς ἑκατόν.—*l. c.*, p. 108.

(*b*) Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δομετιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξορισθεὶς ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον συνεγράψατο, καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθεάσατο, ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.—*De xii. Apostolis*, *l. c.*, p. 117. See below, p. 433, note [2].

[3] οὗ [*scil.* Nicolai] τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐνυβρίζον [so the Paris MS. reads] τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου ἤλεγχε.

tion on his statue, we read that Hippolytus wrote "concerning the Gospel according to John and the Apocalypse" [ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως (St. Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.* 61, says only *de Apocalypsi*)]; see above (p. 406) the testimony of Andreas.[1] In his treatise also on Antichrist he repeatedly cites the Apocalypse as the work of St. John, "who when in the island of Patmos saw the Revelation" [οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ ὢν ὁρᾷ ἀποκάλυψιν (c. 34)]; and he thus apostrophizes the author:—"O blessed John, Apostle and Disciple of the Lord, what sawest thou and heardest thou concerning Babylon" [μακάριε Ἰωάννη ἀπόστολε καὶ μαθητὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, τί εἶδες καὶ ἤκουσας περὶ Βαβυλῶνος (c. 36, p. 18; c. 48, p. 23; c. 49, *ib.*, ed. Fabric.)]. In the remarks of Hippolytus on Daniel's Fourth Beast, Rev. xiii. 1 is distinctly referred to (see Mai, *Scriptt. Vett. Nova Coll.*, t. i., pars ii., p. 206, No. 19).

Methodius († A.D. 311), also mentioned by Andreas (see No. (1), note[2], p. 406), brings us to the fourth century. He was Bishop of Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre. Quoting Rev. xx. 13, he speaks of the writer as the "blessed John" (*De Resurrect.*, ed. Combefis. 1644, p. 326), and in his treatise *Convivium decem Virginum* (*ap.* Galland., t. iii. 677) he refers in a striking manner to Rev. xiv. 1–4, as written by "the Christ-inspired John."[2]

The last authorities appealed to by Andreas (see No. (1), note [2], p. 406), in addition to Papias, Irenæus, Methodius, and Hippolytus, are Gregory [Naz.] and Cyril [Alex.].

St. Gregory († 390) applies to Christ, as being "assuredly spoken concerning the Son" [σαφῶς περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λεγόμενα], the words of Rev. i. 8, "Which is and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty" [καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ.—*Orat.* xxix. 17, t. i. p. 536, ed. Par. 1778]; and he also quotes the Apocalypse, as being an authority of decisive weight, where he is speaking of "the Angels" who preside over churches.[1] These statements, added to the testimony of Andreas and of Arethas (see No. (2), note[1], p. 407), are sufficient to set aside the inference which has been deduced from the two poetical catalogues of the Canon of Scripture contained in the published editions of Gregory's works (of which catalogues the second is, perhaps wrongly, ascribed to Amphilochius of Iconium—see Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* art. *Gregory Naz.*),—viz. that he did not receive the Apocalypse as inspired Scripture.[2]

St. Cyril Alex. († A.D. 444) accepts the Apocalypse without any question.[3] We may also compare the writings of St. Cyril's contemporaries, Isidore of Pelusium (*Ep.* ii. 175, p. 208,—λέων κέκληται ὁ Χριστός: see also *Ep.* i. 13, 188, pp. 4, 56); and Nilus (*de Orat.* 75, 76, p. 494).

In his list of writers who maintain the inspiration of the Apocalypse, Arethas has added to the list of Andreas the name of St. Basil († 378), Bishop of Cæsarea, and, therefore, another witness from Asia Minor. "The Holy Spirit," writes St. Basil, "has spoken to us

[1] "Ebedjesu (Cent. xiv.), in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, tells us:—"Sanctus Hippolytus martyr et Episcopus composuit .... capita adversus Caium; et apologiam pro Apocalypsi et Evangelio Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ."—*ap.* Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, vol. iii. P. i. p. 15. For some account of the recovery of fragments of this commentary on the Apocalypse, see Note B on Rev. xii. 3.

[2] ὅτι δὲ καὶ Ἀρχιπαρθένος .... γέγονεν ὁ Λόγος ἐνανθρωπήσας .... ὁ χριστόληπτος ἡμῖν παρέστησεν ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννης, λέγων· Καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ Ἀρνίον, κ. τ. λ. He also refers to Rev. xii. 1–6, "καὶ ὤφθη μέγα σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ" τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐξηγούμενος λέγει (*ib.*, p. 716).

[1] πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας ἀγγέλους· πείθομαι γὰρ ἄλλους ἄλλης προστατεῖν ἐκκλησίας, ὡς Ἰωάννης διδάσκει με διὰ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως.—*Orat.* xlii. 9, *l. c.*, p. 755.

[2] Note the bearing of this fact on the practice of the church in Asia Minor (see below, p. 425). A similar instance has been pointed out in the writings of St. Cyril of Jerusalem († 386). In his *Catechesis* iv., 35, 36, he seems to exclude the Apocalypse from the Canon; and yet he is familiar with its language, which he uses for the purpose of spiritual instruction (although he does not name the Book itself), and which he quotes as prophetic. E.g. in baptism, he tells the catechumen, καταφυτεύῃ εἰς τὸν νοητὸν παράδεισον· λαμβάνεις ὄνομα καινόν (Rev. ii. 7, 17),—*Catech.* i. 4, p. 18; and he connects with Daniel's prediction of Antichrist the words of Rev. xvii. 11,—ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δέκα τούτων τοὺς τρεῖς ταπεινῶν πάντως ὅτι αὐτὸς ὄψεται βασιλεύσει,—*Catech.* xv. 13, p. 230 (see Lücke, s. 630).

[3] He writes: τὸ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως βιβλίον ἡμῖν συντιθεὶς ὁ σοφὸς Ἰωάννης, ὁ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πατέρων τετίμηται ψήφοις.—*De Ador.*, vi., t. i. p. 188.

by the blessed John that 'In the beginning WAS the Word,'"; and then he adds: "But the Evangelist himself has shown us what is signified by such an expression as WAS, by saying "Which is and which WAS, and the Almighty'" [1] (Rev. i. 8; xvi. 5).

St. Ephræm Syrus—the chief Father of the Syrian Church, styled "Propheta Syrorum"—wrote *circ.* A.D. 370. Although Ephræm specially made use of the Peschito version (Lengerke, *de Ephr. Syri arte hermen.* p. 8; Wiseman, *Hor. Syr.*, p. 107) calling it "our translation;" and although the Peschito omits the Apocalypse, he nevertheless refers to the Apocalypse itself as he refers to any other part of Scripture, ascribing it to the Apostle John. Thus, in the Greek translation of his works (*Opp. Græc.*, ed. Assem., Romæ, 1743), Rev. xxi. 4, 5 is thus quoted: "As we hear the Apostle saying" [καθὼς ἀκούομεν τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγοντος, *De sec. Adventu* (t. ii., p. 248)]; —a reference to Rev. xx. 11 is thus prefaced: "As John shewed before" [καθὼς Ἰωάννης προεδήλωσε, *ib.*, p. 252; cf. p. 214];—and of Rev. i. 7 we read: "As also John the Divine preached, saying, 'Behold he cometh'" [καθὼς καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος ἐκήρυξε λέγων· ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται, *ib.*, p. 194]. In the original Syriac (*Bibl. Orient.*, t. i. p. 141) we read, as Assemani renders:—"In his Apocalypse John saw a great and wonderful Book written by God, sealed with Seven Seals" (Rev. v. 1); on which Assemani notes: "In this discourse the holy Doctor cites the Apocalypse of John as a canonical portion of Scripture which I have noted for this reason, that the judgment of the most ancient Syrians concerning the authority of this Book might be manifest" (cf. t. ii. p. 332 c).

Ephræm seems to have used an early Syriac translation of the New Testament which contained the Apocalypse. The Apocalypse is not contained in the Peschito,—the "simple" Syriac version of the New Testament, "of the most remote Christian antiquity" (Westcott, *l. c.*, p. 204). [1] The inference, accordingly, is plain that Ephræm did not consider this omission any reason for not regarding the Book as inspired Scripture: and we are also to bear in mind, that, as has been already shown, the earliest teachers of the Church of Syria in the second century—Justin M. and Theophilus of Antioch—acknowledged the Divine character of the Apocalypse. Although absent, however, from the recognized Syriac versions, a Syriac translation of the Book was published in 1627 by Ludovicus de Dieu,[2] which scholars generally assign to the sixth century, and of which the superscription runs thus:—

"The Revelation which was given

[1] ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ τοῦ τοιούτου ἦν τὸ σημαινόμενον ἔδειξεν, εἰπών, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ.—*Adv. Eunom.*, ii. 14, *Opp.*, t. i. p. 249; and see *ib.*, p. 282.

Lücke corrects an error of Wetstein and Michaelis as to a passage in the works of Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa († 395), who quotes for a hortatory purpose Rev. iii. 15. Gregory writes:—ἤκουσα τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν ἀποκρύφοις πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους δι' αἰνίγματος λέγοντος, κ. τ. λ. Lücke points out that ἀπόκρυφα here is equivalent to μυστικά or προφητικά (cf. Dion. Areop., *De Eccl. Hier.* iii. 4), and by no means implies that Gregory regarded the Apocalypse, in the modern sense of the word, as an "apocryphal" book.

[1] Neither, apparently, was it contained in the Philoxenian version (A.D. 485–518), nor in the recension of this latter by Thomas of Harkel (A.D. 616). If, as Hug (*Einl.* i. s. 307) maintains, Ephræm did not understand Greek, his references to the Apocalypse *prove* that there must have been an early Syriac translation of that Book, see Smith's *Christ. Biogr.*, art. *Ephræm Syr.* Hug quotes Sozomen (*H.E.*, iii. 16); Theodoret (*H.E.*, iv. 29).

[2] *Apocalypsis S. Johannis, ex Manuscripto exemplari e Bibliotheca clariss. viri Jos. Scaligeri deprompta, charactere Syro et Ebræo, cum versione Latina et notis*, Lugd. Bat. 1627. As to the omission of the Apocalypse from the earlier Syriac versions, Hug conjectures (*Einl.*, i. s. 306) that it may have been originally omitted owing to the Millennarian controversy, or have been afterwards left out in Cent. iv. Walton would assign the Peschito to a period before the Apocalypse was written. Hengstenberg makes the date to be the close of Cent. iii. Lücke concludes that the Apocalypse was not received as canonical till after the Peschito version was made,—*i.e.*, at the end of Cent. ii.; but this, we have seen, is opposed to the whole current of early evidence. From the fact that Manes, who died A.D. 277, acknowledged the Apocalypse (Lardner, *Cred. of the Gosp. Hist.*, Works, iii. p. 404), it has been fairly concluded that the *lacuna* in the Peschito must have been filled up at a very early date. As to the edition of De Dieu, Dr. Tregelles (*The Greek Text of the Book of Rev.*, p. xxviii), thinks that this Syriac version of the Revelation "may perhaps be assigned to the sixth century."

by God to the Evangelist John on the island of Patmos, upon which he was cast by Nero Cæsar."[1] See below, p. 433.

This very distinct testimony of the leading Father of the Church in Asia Minor at the close of the fourth century, is to be set, as Dr. Westcott remarks, against any doubts which may then have existed in that region as to the canonicity of the Apocalypse (see also the cases of Gregory Naz. and Cyril. Hieros., above, p. 417). And Dr. Westcott concludes, as to Asia Minor, that "the Apocalypse was recognized from the first as the work of the Apostle in the districts most intimately interested in its contents" (*l. c.*, p. 340).

Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus († A.D. 403), has no doubt whatever as to the Apocalypse (although his confused statements give rise to certain questions—see below, p. 432). Writing of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, he adds: "Of the number of the holy prophets and the holy Apostles, the holy John also, through his Gospel and Epistles and Apocalypse, imparted from the same gift of the Holy One."[2]

The following statements, however, of this writer which place the banishment of the Apostle to Patmos in the reign of the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 41–54), are remarkable:—St. John wrote his Gospel "after the ninetieth year of his age, after his return from Patmos, which took place in the reign of Claudius Cæsar;" and then, referring to Rev. ii. 20, he adds that the Apostle *prophesied* "in the times of Claudius Cæsar, when he was in the island of Patmos."[3] This statement of Epiphanius will be examined in a future page.

St. Chrysostom's life unites the fourth and fifth centuries. His incidental reference to Rev. xxi. 19–21—to the foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem, to her gates of sapphire and of pearls [*καταμάθωμεν οὖν αὐτῆς τὰ θεμέλια, τὰς πύλας τὰς ἀπὸ σαπφείρου καὶ μαργαριτῶν συγκειμένας, Proœm. in Matt.*, Hom. i.]—proves his familiarity with the Book; a fact which Suidas[1] confirms in his article on the word *John:* "Chrysostom moreover receives both his three Epistles, and the Apocalypse."

The evidence of the Eastern Church may be fitly summed up by that of Eusebius:—

Eusebius, to whom we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of the leading facts as to the Canon of the New Testament, had collected from all quarters, and has preserved for us in his History, the tradition of the Church from the earliest period respecting the Apocalypse. Although an ardent anti-chiliast, he records, with his usual fidelity, the evidence for the Apostolic authorship of the Book. At the same time he is careful to bring together every doubt, and every suggestion of doubt, which had been put forward from the first (see below, § 5, p. 438), promising to submit the whole question afterwards to a final criticism—a promise which he has not kept.[2]

Eusebius, writes Hengstenberg (*l. c.*, vol. ii. 434), "clearly and distinctly recognizes the fact that the Book had the unanimous approval of antiquity, and that the external grounds were entirely on its side. He makes no attempt whatever to invalidate the importance of

[1] (18) "Revelatio quæ facta est Johanni Evangelistæ a Deo in Patamon insula, in quam injectus fuit a Nerone Cæsare."—*ap.* Walton, *Bibl. Polyglott.*, Lond. 1657.

[2] *τὰ χαρίσματα.....τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διηγήσατο· οἵ τε ἅγιοι προφῆται καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χαρίσματος τοῦ ἁγίου μεταδέδωκε.—Hær.* li. 35, t. i. p. 457; cf. *ib.*, 32, p. 455, ed. Petav., 1622.

[3] (19) *μετὰ ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ζωῆς, μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου ἐπάνοδον τὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου γενομένην Καίσαρος.—Hær.* li. 12, t. i. p. 434. And again: *αὐτοῦ δὲ προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀνωτάτω, ὅτε εἰς τὴν Πάτμον νῆσον ὑπῆρξεν.—Ib.*, c. 33, p. 456 (cf. the notes of Petavius, vol. ii. pp. 90, 213):—see below, p. 432.

[1] *Sub voc.* Ἰωάννης,—*δέχεται δὲ ὁ Χρυσόστομος καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τρεῖς, καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν.*

[2] Thus, having noticed (*H. E.*, iii. 24), that the sentiments of many were in suspense (*περιέλκεται*) as to the Apocalypse, he adds,—*ὅμως γε μὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίας ἐν οἰκείῳ καιρῷ τὴν ἐπίκρισιν δέξεται καὶ αὐτή.* And again (iii. 25), when enumerating "the Scriptures confessedly Divine" (*ὁμολογούμεναι θεῖαι γραφαί*), he adds,—*ἐπὶ τούτοις τακτέον, εἴ γε φανείη, τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου περὶ ἧς τὰ δόξαντα κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκθησόμεθα.* And a little further on, he thus contrasts the two opposite opinions:—*ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη, ἣν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις.*

this testimony. . . He does not endeavour by an authoritative declaration of his own to set aside what he cannot disprove. So long as the doubts based on internal grounds could not be successfully disposed of . . . it was right to keep the question still open." The conjecture of Dionysius Alex. (see below, § 5) is all that he can adduce against the Apostolic authorship of the Book; and, even when doing so, he shows how little weight he can have attached to that conjecture. In his comment on the words of Papias already cited (see No. (5), note [1], p. 408), Eusebius dissents from Irenæus by doubting whether Papias was "a hearer of John" the Apostle; and he also argues that Papias speaks of "two Johns," —the former of whom he [Papias] classes with Peter, James, Matthew, and the rest of the Apostles, clearly indicating the Evangelist [σαφῶς δηλῶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστήν]; while he places the other outside the number of the Apostles, ranking Aristion above him, and distinctly calling him a "presbyter" [σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον ὀνομάζει]. Then, following Dionysius of Alexandria, Eusebius refers to the account of "the two graves" at Ephesus, "each of which is still said to be that of 'John;'" and he concludes that it was the second John —"unless, indeed, one should prefer the first,"—who beheld the Vision "which bears the name of the Apocalypse of John":[1]—see below, p. 441.

Dean Alford's remarks on this question (*Prolegg.*, p. 215) are perfectly just: "Certainly," he writes, "Lücke is wrong in his very strong denunciations of Hengstenberg for describing Eusebius as studiously leaving the question open. For what else is it when he numbers the Book on one side among the undoubted Scriptures with an εἰ φανείη ["if it should seem so"], and then on the other among the spurious writings with an εἰ φανείη also: while at the very moment of endorsing Dionysius's conjecture that the second John saw its Visions, he interposes εἰ μή τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον" ["unless one should prefer the first"].

That a writer of the anti-chiliastic leanings of Eusebius should have gone no farther than this, and should have withheld the criticism which he promised, is of itself no slight intimation as to his real opinion: but what places the matter beyond question is the unhesitating manner in which, in his other writings, he cites the Apocalypse as Holy Scripture, and places it among the "Homologumena." Thus, in his *Demonstr. Evangelica* (viii. 2, ed. Gaisford, t. ii. p. 769), he quotes Rev. v. 5, and there finds proof that the Lord had not come to seal up the prophetic Visions, inasmuch as He had unveiled for His disciples the darkest predictions:[1]—"Whence he saith," Behold the Lion of the Tribe of Judah hath conquered, according to the Revelation of John" [ὅθεν ἰδού φησιν "ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰούδα" . . . . κατὰ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου].[1]

Dr. S. Davidson, too, has written with equal justice of Eusebius: "We cannot believe with Lücke that the reason of his hesitation lay in the want of sure historical grounds; it was mainly founded on *doctrinal* views."—*Introd.*, 1848, vol. iii. p. 547.

§ 2.—b. *External Evidence* (continued).

THE WESTERN CHURCH:—

The well known document known as "The Muratorian Fragment," claiming to have been written by a contemporary of Pius, bishop of Rome, cannot be assigned to a date much later than the year 170;—for the episcopate of Pius is variously placed A.D. 127–142, and A.D. 142–157 (see Credner, *Zur Gesch. des Kanons*, s. 84). It may be regarded as a summary of the decision of the *Western*

[1] (20) ὡς καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀληθῆ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁμωνυμίᾳ κεχρῆσθαι εἰρηκότων, δύο τε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα· καὶ ἑκάτερον Ἰωάννου ἔτι νῦν λέγεσθαι· οἷς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, εἰ μή τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακέναι.—*H. E.*, iii. 39. See below, p. 440.

[1] In his 'Life of Constantine' (iii. 33), he borrows from the Apocalypse the idea of the New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 2), which was announced διὰ προφητικῶν θεσπισμάτων. In the *Eclogæ Propheticæ* (iv. 8, ed. Gaisford. p. 187) we read: ἑτάζων γάρ ἐστι καρδίας καὶ νεφρούς (Rev. ii. 23); and also (*ib.*, c. 30, p. 228): διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην, αἰώνιον εὐαγγέλιον [Rev. xiv. 6] ἑορᾶται τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐαγγέλιον.

Church as to the Canon, shortly after the middle of the second century. Its testimony to the Apocalypse is as follows:—"The blessed Apostle Paul himself following the order of his predecessor[1] John, writes to seven churches only by name in this order . . . . For John also, in the Apocalypse, though he writes to Seven Churches, nevertheless speaks to all.[2]

It may be added that, according to this document, the church of Rome, in the second century, while accepting the "Revelation of John," refused to read "the revelation according to Peter."[3]

If the "Muratorian Fragment" was written, as Bunsen (*Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, i. p. 126) conjectured, by Hegesippus (A.D. 170), an important *name* is added to our list of witnesses, and one of the doubts to be considered below is set aside (see § 6, p. 446).[4]

Evidence of a similar nature is supplied by the celebrated Codex Claromontanus (D), a Græco-Latin copy of the Pauline Epistles, which, immediately before the Epistle to the Hebrews, gives a Latin catalogue of the Books of the New Testament, and of the number of their στίχοι, or *versus*. We there read, that "John's Revelation contains 1200 verses," "johannis revelatio ĪCC" [1200]. According to Dr. Westcott (*l. c.*, p. 25) this catalogue is of African origin, and of about the third century ("certe sæculo quarto antiquiorem") :—see also the *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's edition of this Codex (Lipsiæ, 1852); Scrivener, *Intr. to New Test. Criticism*, 2nd ed., p. 151. This manuscript (D), which is to be dated from Cent. vi., "is of great value as a Western witness" (Bleek, *Introd.*, ii. p. 324).

Dr. Westcott has brought forward from a still earlier period evidence of much weight. The history of the *Old Latin* Version (*Vetus Latina*), he observes, cannot be traced before the time of Tertullian. Lachmann shows that in the Latin translation of Irenæus the scriptural quotations were taken from the recension of the *Vetus Latina* (*Nov. Test.*, *Pref.* p. x) :—"In other words, the *Vetus Latina* is recognized in the first Latin literature of the Church. . . . . The beginning of Tertullian's literary activity cannot be placed later than *circ.* 190 A.D.; and we shall thus obtain [we cannot allow less than twenty years for its publication and spread] the date A.D. 170, as that before which the Version must have been made. . . Tertullian and the translator of Irenæus (see v. 35, 2) represent respectively, I believe, the original African and Gallic recensions of the *Vetus Latina*" (*l. c.*, p. 233). "The Canon of the old Latin Version coincided, I believe, exactly with that of the Muratorian Fragment" (*ib.* p. 234).

There is no doubt, observes Lücke (s. 577), that the Apocalypse was regarded by the Montanists (A.D. 140) as the work of the Apostle John (see p. 411, note [3]); and Tertullian (A.D. 160–240), who may be taken as their representative, quotes or alludes to almost every chapter of the Book:—e. g. comparing St. Paul (1 Cor. v. 9–13) and St. John (Rev. ii. 18–22), he calls them both Apostles who enjoy "an equal share of the Holy Spirit" ["æqualitatem Spiritus Sancti," *De Pudic.* 19];—and again: "The Apostle John in the Apocalypse describes the two-edged sword proceeding out of the mouth of God" ["Nam et Apostolus Joannes in Apocalypsi ensem describit ex ore Dei prodeuntem, bis acutum," &c. *Adv. Marc.* iii. 14];—"Ezekiel knew, and the Apostle John saw the Heavenly City" [Cœlestem civitatem et Ezekiel novit, et Apostolus

[1] This expression, "predecessor," as Credner has pointed out, means simply that St. John was an Apostle before St. Paul:—cf. Gal. i. 17 (*l. c.*, s. 86).

[2] "Cum ipse beatus Apostolus Paulus, sequens prædecessoris sui Johannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat ordine tali . . . . Et Iohannes enim in Apocalypsi, licet Septem Ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit." § 6 (*ap.* Credner, *l.c.*, s. 76; Routh, *l. c.*, i. p. 395).

[3] "Quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt," *ib.*, § 10. Muratori notes: "Eusebius (iii. 25) apocalypsim Petri inter dubios quidem libros recenset, non tamen abjicit veluti hæreticorum fœtum" (*ap.* Routh, *l. c.*, p. 426).

[4] Mr. Donaldson's objection to this conclusion is that "if it had been a part of the work of Hegesippus, Eusebius would, in all probability, have quoted it."—*Christian Literature*, iii. p. 210.

Joannes vidit," *ib.* c. 24]. See the numerous citations in Rönsch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, p. 530, &c.

There is no trace, however, of Tertullian having first learned to know or value the Apocalypse through his association with the Montanists; his testimony is the testimony of his church, "an inheritance, not a deduction" (Westcott, p. 233). If, he writes (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 5), "that is acknowledged to be more true which is more ancient, that more ancient which is even from the beginning, that from the beginning which is from the Apostles; it will in like manner assuredly be acknowledged that that has been derived by tradition from the Apostles which has been preserved inviolate in the churches of the Apostles." And having referred to the churches founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, he adds: "We have also the churches nurtured by John: for although Marcion rejects his Apocalypse, nevertheless the Succession of bishops, if traced to its source, will rest on the authority of John."[1] As to St. John's personal history, we have the well-known statement:—

"If you are able to proceed to Asia, you have Ephesus: if you are in the neighbourhood of Italy, you have Rome, . . . where the Apostle John, after he came forth without hurt from the caldron of burning oil, was banished to the island."[2] And further, having spoken of the persecution under Nero,[3] he tells how the persecution of Domitian[1] came to an end; on which, as other writers state, St. John returned to Ephesus.

St. Cyprian (A.D. 250) knows no distinction between the canonical authority of the Gospels and of the Apocalypse:—e.g. "The Lord awakens us by the trumpet of His Gospel, saying 'He that loveth father or mother more than Me,' &c.; and 'To him that overcometh will I give to sit upon My throne'" (Matt. x. 37; Rev. iii. 21).[2]

Victorinus, bishop of Pettau in Pannonia (who suffered as a martyr under Diocletian, A.D. 303), wrote, towards the close of the third century, his commentary on the Apocalypse—the earliest now extant.[3] He naturally paid attention to the leading facts in the life of the author of the Book on which he commented; and accordingly (writing on Rev. x. 11) he gives the information which we might expect:—

"This he says, because, when John saw these things, he was in the island of Pathmos, condemned to the mines by the

[1] "Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit auctorem."

[2] (21) "Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum: si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, . . . ubi Apostolus Joannes, postea quam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur."—*De Præscr. Hær.* 36.

Renan (*l.c.*, p. 198) is disposed to accept this statement of Tertullian.

[3] (22) "Reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam tum maxime Romæ orientem, Cæsariano gladio ferocisse . . . "Temptaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate, sed qua et homo, facile cœptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat." *Apol.*,—c. 5. Here Oehler notes that the words "et homo" signify that, in comparison with Nero ("bellua"), Domitian had *some* feelings of humanity. On the other hand Valesius notes on this passage: "Ait Tertullianus, post Neronem qui primus sæviit in Christianos, Domitianum quoque, upote alterum Neronem, idem tentavisse: sed ut homines levi ac mobili sunt ingenio, cito ab incepto destitisse."

Here there are various readings for the word "portio," viz. "prænomine,"—"pro nomine,"—"præmonitu;" *portio*, however, is supported by the μέρος ὂν τῆς τοῦ Νέρωνος ὠμότητος of the version of these words given by Eusebius (iii. 20). See below, p. 431.

[1] Hegesippus (*ap.* Euseb. *ibid.*) writes that Domitian ordered καταπαῦσαι δὲ διὰ προστάγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωγμόν,—words which seem to confirm the statement that the cessation of this persecution was commanded by Domitian himself:—but see below, on Victorinus, No. (23); see also p. 430.

[2] "Tuba Evangelii sui nos excitat Dominus dicens, 'Qui plus diligit patrem,' &c. . . . . et 'Vincenti dabo sedere super thronum meum'—*Ep.* xxvi. 4. On Rev. xxii. 9 he writes: "Et in Apocalypsi angelus Joanni volenti adorare, se resistit et dicit, 'Vide ne feceris, quia conservus,' &c."—*De Bono Patientiæ*, c. 25. Again, on ch. xvii. 15: "Aquas namque populos significare in Apocalypsi Scriptura Divina declarat dicens, &c."—*Ep.* lxiii. 12. Enumerating the places where the number *seven* occurs, St. Cyprian writes: "Et in Apocalypsi Dominus mandata sua Divina et præcepta Cœlestia ad Septem Ecclesias et eorum Angelis scribit."—*Ib.*, c. 11.

[3] The commentary of Victorinus, as is well known, has been interpolated to a considerable extent; but there is no reason whatever for not accepting the passages here quoted as genuine.

Cæsar Domitian. There, accordingly, he beheld the Apocalypse. And when now, an older man, he supposed that he, by reason of his suffering (?), would receive his recall—Domitian being put to death, all his [Domitian's] judicial sentences were cancelled. And John, released from the mines, afterwards handed down as follows this same Apocalypse which he had received from God."[1]

And, again, commenting on Rev. xvii. 9, 10:—

"It is proper that the time should be understood at which the written Apocalypse was put forth: since Domitian was then Cæsar; but before him there had been his brother Titus, and Vespasian, Otho, Vitellius, and Galba. These are the '*five*' who have '*fallen*.' '*The one is*,' under whom the Apocalypse was written, namely Domitian. '*The other* [who] *is not yet come*,' means Nerva: '*and when he cometh, he must continue a little while*,' for he has not completed the space of two years."[2]

This latter passage has manifestly suggested the rationalistic exposition of the Apocalypse. See the note on Rev. xvii. 10.

Victorinus elsewhere, when referring to the mention of the twenty-four Elders (Rev. iv. 4), thus names the author: "They are called Elders in the Apocalypse of the Apostle and Evangelist John" ["Quos in Apocalypsi Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ Seniores vocat," &c.],—*De Fabricâ Mundi*, *l. c.*, p. 51.: see also Routh, *l. c.*, iii. p. 455, &c., for the numerous references to the Apocalypse in this same treatise.

Dom Pitra (*Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. i.) would assign to A.D. 220–250 an African bishop, Commodianus, of whom mention is first made by Gennadius of Marseilles, A.D. 495 (*ap.* Hieron., *Opp*, ii. 949). In a work by Commodianus entitled "*Instructiones adv. Gentium Deos*"[1] (*ap.* Galland., t. iii. p. 621), as well as in his "*Carmen Apologeticum*," first published by Dom Pitra (*l. c.*, p. 20), the Apocalypse is frequently referred to, and Nero is taken to be Antichrist. The references, however, in this latter treatise, to the capture of Rome by the Goths, render it necessary to place the date of the writer after the year 410.[2] The value of this Commodianus, therefore, as a witness is inconsiderable; if we except this early (whatever be the date) identification of Nero with Antichrist.

Lactantius (A.D. 320) quotes no Book of the New Testament by name, with the exception of St. John's Gospel and the Apocalypse. E.g.: "As John teaches in the Revelation" ["sicut docet Joannes in Revelatione."],—*Ep.* 42.

The evidence of St. Hilary of Poictiers († 368), of St. Didymus († 394), of St. Ambrose († 397), and of St. Augustine († 430) is to the same effect:—'The Apocalypse is to the genuine composition of the Apostle and Evangelist St. John.' Dr. S. Davidson justly observes: "The historical tradition relative to the Apoca-

[1] (23) "Hoc dicit, propterea quod quando hæc Joannes vidit, erat in insula Pathmos in metallo damnatus a Domitiano Cæsare. Ibi ergo vidit Apocalypsin. Et cum jam senior putaret se per passionem accepturum receptionem,—interfecto Domitiano omnia judicia ejus soluta sunt. Et Joannes de metallo dimissus, sic postea tradidit hanc eandem quam acceperat a Deo Apocalypsin" (*ap.* Galland., *Bibl. Patr.*, iv. 59). Cf. p. 415, note [3], No. (15).

[2] (24) "Intelligi oportet tempus quo scripta Apocalypsis edita est: quoniam tunc erat Cæsar Domitianus; ante illum autem fuerat Titus frater illius, et Vespasianus, Otho, Vitellius et Galba. Isti sunt *quinque*, qui *ceciderunt*. *Unus exstat*, sub quo scripta est Apocalypsis, Domitianus scilicet. *Alius nondum venit*, Nervam dicit: *et cum venerit, brevi tempore erit*, biennium enim non implevit" (*ib.*, p. 61).

[1] "In septem annis tremebit undique terra,
Sed medium tempus Helias, medium Nero tenebit,
Tunc Babylon meretrix incinefacta favilla,
Inde ad Jerusalem perget, victorque Latinus
Tunc dicet: Ego sum Christus quem semper oratis."
(See Galland., *l. c.* p. 635, vv. 620–625).
The word "Latinus" refers to the interpretation given by Irenæus (v. 25) of the number 666, Rev. xiii. 18.

[2] E. g. He thus refers to Rev. ix. 11; xi. 13; xvii. 10, 11:
. . . . "Gothis inrumpentibus amnem,
Rex Apolion erit cum ipsis . . . .
Pergit ad Romam . . . .
Exsurgit interea sub ipso tempore Cyrus, ...
Ex infero redit, qui fuerat regno præreptus,
Et diu servatus, cum pristino corpore notus.
Dicimus hunc autem Neronem esse vetustum. . . .
. . . . Decima pars corruit urbis
Et pereunt ibi homines septem millia plena."
(p. 43, vv. 803–853.)

lypse seems to have been interrupted by doctrinal views alone; "had no Montanism or Millennarianism appeared, we should have heard of no voice raised against John's authorship." (*Introd. to the Study of the N. T.*, 1868, vol. i. p. 319.)

From every quarter, indeed, the testimony of the early Latin Fathers to the Apostolic authority of the Apocalypse is decided and unanimous,—testimony which may be summed up in the following statements of St. Jerome (A.D. 330–420):—

"And yet John, one of the Disciples, who is said to have been the youngest among the Apostles, and whom the faith of Christ had found a virgin, remained a virgin. . . . But that we may know that John was then a boy, the ecclesiastical histories most clearly inform us that he lived until the reign of Trajan, that is, that the Prophet fell asleep in the sixty-eighth year after the Lord's Passion; for in the island of Pathmos, in which he had been banished for the testimony of the Lord, by the Emperor Domitian, he beheld the Apocalypse containing the infinite mysteries of future things." [1]

And more expressly still:—

"In the fourteenth year, when Domitian stirred up a second persecution after Nero, [John], banished to the island of Patmos, wrote the Apocalypse which Justin Martyr and Irenæus interpret. But when Domitian was put to death, and his acts were rescinded by the Senate on account of their too great cruelty, under the reign of Nerva [John] returned to Ephesus, and abiding there until the reign of Trajan, he founded and governed all the churches of Asia; and dying in the sixty-eighth year after the Lord's Passion exhausted by old age, he is buried near the same city." [1]

And thus, St. Jerome, whose researches as to the text of Scripture, and labours in correcting its translation had been undertaken at the desire of Pope Damasus,—speaks for the whole Western Church; and his conclusion as to the Apocalypse is supported by the independent testimony of St. Augustine.[2] Wherever Latin was spoken, the authority of the Apocalypse was recognized.

§ 3. *The Canon of the New Testament.*

When we proceed to combine the external evidence which all parts of the primitive Church have contributed to the Apocalypse, it is to be borne in mind that, as in the case of the other Scriptures, the fact of the acceptance of any Book of the New Testament as canonical is to be determined rather by the consentient testimony of different writers to its authorship, and divine character,—and the consequent assent to both of the whole Christian community,—than by any formal decision of the Church on the subject. The Apocalypse, it has been already pointed out, is contained in the "Muratorian Fragment," and in the Version known as the "*Vetus Itala*," as well as in the catalogue inserted in the Codex Claromontanus (see above, p. 421). We have also seen that the evidence of St. Ephræm Syrus, who represents Asia Minor in the fourth century, counterbalances any unfavourable inference

[1] (25) "Et tamen Joannes unus ex Discipulis, qui minimus traditur fuisse inter Apostolos, et quem fides Christi virginem repererat, virgo permansit . . . . Ut autem sciamus Joannem tunc fuisse puerum, manifestissime docent Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ, quod usque ad Trajani vixerit imperium, id est, post passionem Domini sexagesimo octavo anno dormierit . . . . Propheta; vidit enim in Pathmos insula, in qua fuerat a Domitiano principe ob Domini martyrium relegatus, Apocalypsin, infinita futurorum mysteria continentem."—*Adv. Jovinian.*, i. 26, t. ii. p. 280.

[1] (26) "Quartodecimo anno secundam post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano, in Patmos insulam relegatus [Joannes] scripsit Apocalypsin quam interpretatur Justinus Martyr et Irenæus. Interfecto autem Domitiano et actis ejus ob nimiam crudelitatem a Senatu rescissis, sub Nerva principe rediit Ephesum, ibique usque ad Trajanum principem perseverans, totas Asiæ fundavit rexitque ecclesias, et confectus senio sexagesimo octavo post passionem Domini anno mortuus, juxta eandem urbem sepultus est."—*De Vir. Ill.*, c. 9. See pp. 422–3, No. (22), and No. (23).

[2] Dr. Westcott (*On the Canon*, 3rd ed., p. 423) notes that St. Augustine "alludes only once, as far as I know, to the doubts about the Apocalypse":—"Et si forte tu qui ista [Pelagii] sapis hanc scripturam [Apoc. xi. 3-12] non accepisti; aut si accipis contemnis . . . ." (*Serm.* 299).

from the absence of the Book from the Peschito. We have likewise seen that at Alexandria, Origen, at the beginning of the third century, was ignorant of any question or doubt raised, before his time, as to the Apocalypse; and, after doubts had been raised during the course of the century (see below), we are nevertheless given in the famous catalogue set forth by St. Athanasius († 373), the ancient Canon of the Alexandrine Church. In the authoritative document known as his *Festal Epistle* (*Opp.*, t. i. p. 767, ed. Ben.), to his enumeration of the four Gospels, the Acts, fourteen Pauline, and seven Catholic Epistles, Athanasius adds: "And, again, the Apocalypse of John. These are the fountains of salvation" [καὶ πάλιν Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις· ταῦτα πηγαὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου].[1]

If it be objected that the synod of Laodicea (*circ.* 350) does not include the Apocalypse in its catalogue of the Books of the Old and New Testaments, the reply is obvious,—even were this catalogue authentic,[2]—that those Books only are there set forth which were *publicly read* during Divine worship [ὅσα δεῖ βιβλία ἀναγινώσκεσθαι,—*Can.* 59 (60); see Hefele, *Concilien-Gesch.*, i. s. 749]. It is well known that it was not unusual to abstain from the public reading of the Apocalypse,[1] partly on account of its mysterious obscurity, as in the case of the Book of Ezekiel,—and partly from the use made of the Book in the chiliastic controversy. That anti-chiliasts (e.g. Origen and Clemens Al.; see above, note [3], p. 411) should have upheld the Apocalypse as warmly as decided chiliasts (e.g. Tertullian),—is one of the clearest proofs of the strength of the evidence in its favour. The conclusions of Eusebius in his History illustrate this result:—see above, p. 420.

Coming down to the sixth century, Junilius, an African bishop (A.D. 550, *ap.* Galland., xii. 79, &c.), had heard from Paulus, a Persian of the School of Nisibis, that doubts had now begun to be entertained in the East on the subject of the Apocalypse ["De Joannis Apocalypsi apud Orientales admodum dubitatur"]. At this very period, however, in the West, his friend Primasius as well as Cassiodorus expound the Book as Apostolic and Canonical. In the seventh century St. Isidore[2] of Seville († 636), who mentions the doubts entertained in his day as to other Books of the New Testament, says not a word of any doubts as to the Apocalypse. The fourth Council of Toledo, too, at this same period (A.D. 633), in its seventeenth canon, directs that the Apocalypse, in consequence of certain doubts as to the authority of the Book, should be *preached on* in the Church between Easter and Pentecost; pointing, as Dean Alford thinks (*Prolegg.*, p. 217), to the modern Orientals only, as Junilius had done.

It has been mentioned above that the catalogue ascribed to the synod of Laodicea does not place the Apocalypse among the Books publicly read in the

[1] St. Athanasius repeatedly quotes the Apocalypse:—e.g. καὶ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει τάδε λέγει, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος (ch. i. 8).—*Orat.* i. *c. Arian.*, i. 11, t. i. p. 327; cf. *ib.*, iv. 28, p. 506; *Ep.* ii. *ad Serap.*, c. 2, p. 547.

[2] Canon 60, in the printed editions of the canons of this Council, consists of a catalogue of nearly all the Books of Scripture. Canon 59 forbids the public reading in churches of "psalms composed by private persons or of uncanonical books. The canonical Books only of the Old and New Testaments are to be read." There are very cogent reasons for believing that the catalogue of canon 60 was subsequently added, by an unknown hand, as the natural sequel of canon 59. This catalogue does not appear in the early Greek MSS. The printed editions which contain it are based, as Dr. Westcott points out, on MSS., with commentators' scholia, not earlier than the latter part of Cent. xii.; while the earliest MS. which gives the mere text, and which is dated early in Cent. xi., omits the canon. The evidence of the Latin versions of the Laodicean canons is nearly balanced; but the Syriac MSS., in the British Museum, of Cent. vi. or vii., contain canon 59, but without any catalogue added:—"On the whole," writes Dr. Westcott, "it cannot be doubted that external evidence is decidedly against the authenticity of the catalogue as an integral part of the text of the canons of Laodicea."—*On the Canon*, 3rd ed., p. 405; cf. Hefele, *l. c.*, s. 749 ff.

[1] Lücke (s. 361) suggests that this was the practice of Asia Minor at the close of Cent. iv. See the remarks on Gregory Naz. and Cyril of Jerus., in note [2], p. 417.

[2] See Primasius, *Prol.*, *in Comment.*, ap. Migne, *Patrolog.*, t. 68, p. 794; Cassiodorus, *Complex. in Apoc.*, ap. Migne, *l.c.*, t. 70, p. 1406; St. Isidore, *De Officiis Eccl.*, *Opp.* t. vi. p. 374.

services of the Church; and to this it should be added that neither does the last of the "Apostolical Canons" (which includes the Gospel and the three Epistles of St. John) enumerate the Apocalypse among the Books to be counted sacred. Nevertheless the "Quinisext Council" ("In Trullo," A.D. 692), which accepts both the "Apostolical Canons" and the canons of Laodicea, accepts at the same time in its second canon the decisions of the African synods (*Concil. Carthagi*, A.D. 398, and A.D. 419) which distinctly include the Apocalypse as the composition of the Apostle John.[1]

§ 4. *When and where was the Revelation written?*

The evidence which has been already given exhibits how clearly the Church, from the very first, has recognized in the person who wrote "I John . . . . was in the isle that is called Patmos" (Rev. i. 9), the Apostle who in his Gospel describes himself as "one of His disciples whom Jesus loved" (John xiii. 23; cf. xix. 26; xxi. 7, 20).[2] We have next to inquire when and where the Apocalypse was written; and how far the intimations of the New Testament as to St. John's career correspond with what history tells us as to the time and the place. The latter of these inquiries comes first in order.

I. In three of the passages just cited from St. John's Gospel, St. John's name is connected with that of St. Peter. He is also St. Peter's companion wherever he is spoken of in the Acts (ch. iii., iv., viii.); and from the Acts we infer that he continued at Jerusalem for some time after the Lord's Ascension. He seems to have remained there for several years after his return from his mission to Samaria (Acts viii. 25), engaged in visiting, in like manner, the neighbouring churches. Thus, when St. Paul, three years after his Conversion, came back to Jerusalem, St. John is not there (Gal. i. 18, 19),—he is, doubtless, absent on one of these visits. We do not find any further mention of his name until St. Paul "fourteen years after went up again to Jerusalem" (Gal. ii. 1), when we read of the assembling of the Apostles in Council (Acts xv.), where James "the Just" presided as Bishop of Jerusalem (see Hegesippus, *ap.* Euseb., ii. 23). Even here, had we not the incidental mention of St. John's name in Gal. ii. 9, we should not have suspected that, together with "Cephas" and James "the Lord's brother," he occupied a position of personal authority in the Church. Hence, it is by no means certain that he was not still in Jerusalem at the time of St. Paul's last journey thither, A.D. 58 (Acts xxi. 17, &c.): indeed, it is probable that, as long as Jerusalem was the centre of the Judæo-Christian Church, it was the rule that some one, at least, of the Apostles—doubtless one of "the pillars" (Gal. ii. 9)—should remain there;[1] and that St. John continued so to reside until

[1] Thus we read (*Can.* xxiv.): "Sunt autem canonicæ Scripturæ, id est, Genesis . . . Judæ Apostoli, liber i.; Apocalypsis Joannis Apostoli, liber i."; and in the Greek text adopted by the Trullan Council,—εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ κανονικαὶ γραφαὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν γένεσις . . . . Ἰούδα ἀποστόλου μία· ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου βίβλος μία (*ap.* Justell. *Bibl. Jur. Can.*, i. p. 343). See Mansi, iii. 891; and cf. Lücke, *l. c.*, s. 648.

[2] The author of *Supernatural Religion* writes: "We have no reason whatever, except the assurance of the author himself, to believe that Jesus especially loved any disciple, and much less John the son of Zebedee."—vol. ii. p. 431. This allegation seems to be borrowed from Scholten (*Der Ap. Johannes in Kleinasien*, s. 89 ff.), who, relying altogether on the fact that St. John does not name himself in his Gospel, attempts to prove that "the disciple whom Jesus loved" was not the Apostle John, but "an ideal personage" ("eine ideale Persönlichkeit," s. 110),—"no definite historical person;" and that the fourth Gospel, which is to be distinguished from the Jewish Gospel of Matthew, the Petrine of Mark, the Pauline of Luke, is elevated above all the tendencies of the time. On this conjecture, Renan (*L'Antechrist*, p. 568) observes: "Il m'est tout à fait impossible d'admettre cette opinion."

[1] See the statement of Apollonius quoted above (note [2], No. (9), p. 411) that our Lord had commanded the Apostles to remain for twelve years in Jerusalem. Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* vi. 5, p. 762) quotes the same tradition from the apocryphal *Prædicatio Petri*,—μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μή τις εἴπῃ, οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν:—see Routh, *l. c.*, i. p. 484. Were we to accept this tradition as accurate, the Lord commanded the Apostles to remain in Jerusalem until "after twelve years," although the fear of persecution (Acts viii. 1) might tempt others to depart. Even were it obeyed literally, St. John need not have gone to Ephesus for several years afterwards (see Acts xx. 17, &c).

the alarm of the Roman war reached Judæa, shortly before the year 66, and the defeat of Cestius who first besieged Jerusalem (cf. John xxi. 22). Eusebius (iii. 5) tells us that a divine warning now directed the Christians to depart from Jerusalem (cf. St. Luke xxi. 20, 21) to a city of Peræa called Pella, where St. John seems to have organized the church under the Bishop Symeon, who, as Hegesippus records (*ap.* Eus., iii. 32), was put to death by the Proconsul Atticus. And thus Pella may have been the starting-point of the Apostle on his road from Jerusalem to Ephesus.[1]

Renan (*L'Antechrist*, pp. 27, 183), having noticed that "the Apostle John appears in general to have accompanied Peter," remarks—and there is no improbability in the remark, although there is no evidence whatever in support of it—"we believe that the author of the Apocalypse has been at Rome" (see on Rev. xiv. 11). He arrives at this conclusion by assuming (which is also quite possible) that the author has left in chapters xiii. and xvii. traces of the impression which the horrors of the persecution of the year 64 had stamped upon his mind: —"On est porté à croire que l'auteur de ce livre s'était trouvé mêlé aux dits événements, ou du moins qu'il avait vu Rome." "If," continues Renan, "as it is permissible to believe, John accompanied Peter to Rome, we can here find a plausible foundation for the old tradition according to which John was plunged in a vessel of boiling oil near the place where at a later date (A.D. 271) the Porta Latina existed" (p. 198).[2] Renan (p. 207) also suggests that it was on the occasion of this his miraculous preservation (cf. Mark xvi. 18; Acts xiv. 20; xxviii. 5) and after St. Peter had suffered, that St. John made choice of Asia Minor for his future residence. Whatever may be thought of this suggestion, it is clear that it was not until after the death of St. Paul that St. John settled at Ephesus.[1]

Ephesus was the first of the Seven Churches addressed in the Apocalypse (ch. ii. 1): it had been founded by St. Paul, who also addressed to it one of his Epistles, written A.D. 61, or 62 (see Wieseler, *Chron. Synops.*, s. 455). That St. John had not taught there during St. Paul's lifetime follows from the express statements of the latter that, had another Apostle laboured in any church before him, he would not have included it in the circle of his ministrations (see Rom. xv. 20; 2 Cor. x. 16; cf. Gal. ii. 7, 8). From the Epistle to the Ephesians, too, as well as from Col. iv. 15–17, it appears that St. John had not yet been in Asia Minor; and in both 1 Tim. i. 3 and 2 Tim. i. 18 Ephesus is referred to without any reference to St. John's name. St. John's residence in Ephesus, therefore, is to be placed at a date subsequent to St. Paul's death in the year 64. The dispersion of the Apostles may naturally have occurred during the siege of Jerusalem, *circ.* A.D. 68; and thus St. John would be found, about this time, at Ephesus, and in the valley of the Mæander (see above, p. 424).

It was from Ephesus accordingly as a centre, as ancient writers unanimously attest, that St. John thenceforward governed the churches of Asia:—and this office, as the sole survivor of those

[1] Nicephorus (*circ.* 800, *H. E.*, ii. 42) mentions the report (ἱστορεῖται) that St. John remained in Jerusalem until the death of the Blessed Virgin (cf. John xix. 27). The statement made at the Council of Ephesus (Labbe, t. iii. 547), that she accompanied St. John to Ephesus, and that she died and was buried there, is first referred to in Epiphanius (*Hær.* 78, 11):—this bears upon the question of St. John's residence in Asia Minor (see below).

[2] See above No. (21), note [2], p. 422; cf. St. Jerome *in Matth.* xx. 23; *adv. Jovinian.*, i. 26, quoted in No. (25), note [1], p. 424; see also Platner and Bunsen, *Beschreib. der Stadt Rom*, iii. part i. s. 604.

[1] Niermeyer also places St. John's residence in Asia Minor about A.D. 65, shortly after St. Paul's death: the news of that event seems to Niermeyer to be a motive for leaving Palestine more natural than the prevision of the national catastrophe:—see *Revue de Théologie*, Sept. 1856, p. 172.

The conclusion of so calm and learned a writer as Bishop Lightfoot is worth recording: —"When, after the destruction of Jerusalem, St. John fixed his abode at Ephesus, it would appear that not a few of the oldest surviving members of the Palestinian church accompanied him into 'Asia,' which henceforward became the headquarters of Apostolic authority. In the body of emigrants, Andrew and Philip, among the Twelve, Aristion and John the Presbyter, among other personal disciples of the Lord, are specially mentioned."—*Comm. on Coloss.*, p. 45.

"who were reputed to be pillars" (Gal. ii. 9), he naturally filled. This is the express testimony of Justin M. (see p. 410, and No. (8) with the comment of Eusebius, iv. 18);—of Apollonius, Bishop or Presbyter of Ephesus (see No. (9), p. 411, note [2]);—of Irenæus (p. 412, No. (11), note [2], and No. (12), p. 413, note [1]) whose intimate relations with Asia Minor render his testimony on the matter conclusive [1];—of Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus (No. (14), p. 414, note [1]);—of Clemens Al. (No. (15), p. 415, note [3]);—of Origen No. (17), p. 416, note [1]);—of Dionysius Al. (*ap.* Euseb. vii. 25, see below, p. 440);—of Jerome (p. 424, note [1], No. (26); cf. also *Adv. Jovin.* i. 26; in *Ep. ad Gal.* vi.; and Epiphanius, *Hær.* 78, 11);—of Eusebius,[2] who writes (iii. 18), in the passage where he quotes the words of Irenæus (No. (10), p. 412, note [1]) that in the persecution under Domitian, "as is reported, John, at once Apostle and Evangelist, while still continuing in life, was condemned to dwell in the island of Patmos, on account of the testimony which he bore to the Divine Word;"[3] to which Eusebius adds that, after Domitian's death, "the Apostle John coming back from his exile in the island, resumed his residence at Ephesus." For these facts the historian appeals to "the report of those of old time among us:"—by which words, we may note, Eusebius clearly intimates that he had other sources of information, in addition to Irenæus, respecting the fact of which he testifies, viz., the fact of St. John's return from Patmos to Ephesus:—e. g. see his words quoted p. 416, No. (17). Elsewhere he also records of the Apostles how Peter was crucified with his head downwards, and how Paul was beheaded, and how John was banished to an island [καὶ Πέτρος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυροῦται, Παῦλός τε ἀνατέμνεται, Ἰωάννης τε νήσῳ παραδίδοται]—*Dem. Ev.*, iii. 5.

In further proof of the Apostle's residence at Ephesus, one may adduce the statement said to have been made at the Council of Ephesus (see note [1], p. 427), —not to mention the incidental proofs afforded by the reference of Tertullian to Polycarp (*de Præscr.* c. 32 [1]); by the accounts of the Paschal controversy; and by the various narratives of events during the Apostle's abode at Ephesus.[2] This fact, therefore, being established, a considerable interval in all probability elapsed between St. John's first settlement at Ephesus and his exile to Patmos:—see the *Paschal Chronicle*, quoted No. (7), note [1], p. 408.

No less decisive is the testimony of early writers that the Visions of the Apocalypse were seen by St. John "in the isle that is called Patmos," to which he had been banished (whether from Ephesus or before his abode there) "for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus" (Rev. i. 9; on Patmos, see the note *in loc.*). This sentence of banishment was in all respects conformable to the general usage of the Roman Empire, according to which the islands of the Mediterranean were employed as places of exile.[3] Eusebius quotes the testimony

[1] See also *Adv. Hær.* ii. 25; iii. 1, 11; v. 26, 30, 33; *Ep. ad Vict.*, ap. Euseb. v. 24; *Ep. ad Florin.*, ap. Euseb. v. 20.

[2] Cf. also *H. E.* iii. 1, 31; v. 24; *Chron. ad Ann.* 98.

[3] (27) Ἐν τούτῳ κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἔτι τῷ βίῳ ἐνδιατρίβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἕνεκεν μαρτυρίας Πάτμον οἰκεῖν καταδικασθῆναι τὴν νῆσον .... ὁ Εἰρηναῖος .... φησίν, κ.τ.λ. (Iren., v. 30, 3). And further (*H. E.* iii. 20): Τότε [after the death of Domitian] δὴ οὖν καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον φυγῆς, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου διατριβὴν ἀπειληφέναι, ὁ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος.

[1] "Sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert." See p. 408, note [2].

[2] E. g. St. John's composing his Gospel to refute Cerinthus (who, as we should note, came into prominence under Domitian, see Tillemont, ii. 54);—his rushing from the building where he happened to meet Cerinthus (Irenæus, *Hær.* iii. 3);—the story of the young robber (Clemens Alex., *Quis dives salv.* 42);—his raising a dead man to life (Apollonius, *ap.* Eus., v. 18);—his constant use of the exhortation, "Little children, love one another" (St. Jerome, *Ep. ad Gal.* vi. 10);—the fact of his burial;—and the account of the two graves (Polycrates, *ap.* Euseb., v. 24; Dionys. Al., *ap.* Eus., vii. 25);—events which all occurred at Ephesus, as already pointed out. Cf. too the statement of Tertullian, No. (21), p. 422.

[3] The islands usually selected for exile were Gyaros, Pandateria, Pontia, Planasia (see p. 431, note [3]), as having neither harbour nor town. The fact of Patmos not being elsewhere mentioned as a place of banishment leads Renan to reject the notion of an exile properly so called; although, long after St. John's time, Calandion, Patriarch of Antioch, was banished to Patmos, as a Nestorian heretic,—see Eusebius, *Chron.* ap.

to this effect of Clemens Alexandrinus, and of Origen (*H. E.* iii. 18, 23,—see above, Nos. (15), (16). Passages likewise reciting the fact have been also given from St. Hippolytus (p. 417);—Tertullian, No. (21);—Victorinus, No. (23);—Jerome, Nos. (25) and (26);—Epiphanius, No. (19);—the superscription of the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, No. (18);—and from Arethas (p. 407, note [1]):—see also below Dorotheus, p. 431, note [1]. Victorinus, it will have been seen, has added, to the other accounts, that St. John had been condemned to the mines in Patmos; and further, that, after his release, he committed to the Church the record of the Visions which he had received ("de metallo dimissus, postea tradidit hanc eandem quam acceperat;"—see p. 423. [1]

The past tenses in Rev. i. 2 (*ἐμαρτύρησεν*) and in Rev. i. 9 (*ἐγενόμην*) have been adduced in proof that the Revelation was not committed to writing until after the Apostle's return from exile; although the style of the Epistles to the Seven Churches has been urged on the other side. At all events, whether written in Patmos, or at Ephesus after he was restored to liberty, we can trace, in the imagery and in the allusions of the Apocalypse, strong internal confirmation of what history tells us both as to the region in which St. John resided, and as to the scene where he beheld his Visions. "The Revelation," writes Dean Stanley, "is of the same nature as the prophetic Visions and lyrical Psalms of the Old Testament, where the mountains, valleys, trees, storms, earthquakes, of Palestine occupy the foreground of the picture, of which the horizon extends to the unseen world and the remote future. . . . The stern rugged barrenness of its [Patmos'] broken promontories well suits the historical fact of the relegation of the condemned Christian to its shores as of a convict to his prison. . . . He stood on the heights of Patmos in the centre of a world of his own. . . . The view from the topmost peak, or indeed from any lofty elevation in the island, unfolds an unusual sweep, such as well became the 'Apocalypse,' the '*unveiling*' of the future to the eyes of the solitary Seer. . . . Above, there was always the broad heaven of a Grecian sky; sometimes bright with its 'white cloud' (Rev. xiv. 14), sometimes torn with 'lightnings and thunderings,' and darkened by 'great hail,' or cheered with 'a rainbow like unto an emerald' (Rev. iv. 3; viii. 7; xi. 19; xvi. 21). Over the high tops of Icaria, Samos, and Naxos rise the mountains of Asia Minor; amongst which would lie, to the north, the circle of the Seven Churches to which his addresses were to be sent. Around him stood the mountains and islands of the archipelago—'every *mountain* and *island* shall be moved out of their places'; 'every *island* fled away, and the *mountains* were not found' (Rev. vi. 14; xvi. 20). . . . When he looked around, above or below, 'the *sea*' would always occupy the foremost place. He saw 'the things that are in the heavens, and in the earth, and *in the sea*' (Rev. v. 13; x. 6; xiv. 7); . . . the voices of heaven were like the sound of the waves beating on the shore, as 'the sound of many waters' (Rev. xiv. 2; xix. 6); the millstone was 'cast into *the sea*' (Rev. xviii. 21); '*the sea* was to give up the dead which were in it' (Rev. xx. 13; cf. vii. 1, 2, 3; x. 2, 5, 8; xvi. 3)."—*Sermons in the East*, 1862, p. 230.

From Patmos St. John proceeded to Ephesus, where he seems to have resided until his death (Polycrates, No. (14), p. 414; Origen, No. (17), p. 416), engaged in the organization and government of the surrounding churches (see p. 408, note [2]; and Eusebius, p. 415, note [1]), until the reign of Trajan, A.D. 98–117. This date we learn from Irenæus (No. (11),

Mai, *Scriptt. Vett. Nov. Coll.*, t. i. 2, p. 16. (According to other accounts, he was banished to the African Oasis, A.D. 485; see Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biogr.*, art. *Calandio*). St. John, as Renan supposes (*l. c.*, p. 374), retired to Patmos of his own accord, in order to compose his work;—or perhaps he wrote it on his return from Rome to Asia, full of reminiscences of the persecution which he had escaped;—or an accident, or stress of weather may have compelled him to take refuge in the little port: and for this last conjecture a hint is afforded by the *ἐγενόμην* of Rev. i. 9.

[1] Arethas on Rev. vii. (*ap.* Cramer, *l.c.*, p. 286) considers that *ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἐχρησμωδεῖτο ταῦτα ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ τῇ κατ' Ἔφεσον.*

p. 412); and from what Eusebius records on the evidence of Irenæus and of "the ancients" (No. (7), p. 408; No. (27), p. 428) Eusebius is followed by Jerome (No. (26), p. 424), in fixing the date of the exile in the fourteenth year of Domitian (see the *Chronicle* quoted, p. 408, in note [1]). St. Jerome adds that the Apostle returned from Patmos under Nerva (A.D. 96): —he returned, according to Clemens Al. (No. (15), p. 415), "after the death of the tyrant." St. Jerome further states that St. John died in the sixty-eighth year after the Lord's Passion, and was buried at Ephesus: and although Tertullian and Hegesippus (p. 422) seem to place the return from Patmos before the death of Domitian, a passage has been adduced from Dion Cassius (lxviii. 1) to the effect that Nerva, on succeeding to the empire, set at liberty those who had been exiled by Domitian.[1] See on Victorinus, p. 423.

The result, then, of the evidence amounts to this,—that shortly before, or shortly after Domitian's death, A.D. 96, St. John was released from exile, and returned to Ephesus. There he resided until his death in the reign of Trajan, and there his tomb was famous for many years (Eus. iii. 31, 39; v. 24; vii. 25; Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* c. 9; see No. (20), p. 420). The date of St. John's death would thus be some time about the year 98.[2]

II. Such being the facts as to the life of the Apostle John, to determine the *time* when the Apocalypse was written is a problem of the utmost importance,—whether we consider the authorship, the interpretation, or the Divine inspiration of the Book. The date to be fixed upon, while it must evidently suit the circumstances of the writer and must not contradict admitted facts, should, at the same time, be sought for without reference to any arbitrary hypothesis such as modern critics lay down, namely, that the Book must be regarded as an ordinary human composition, containing neither prophetic utterance nor trace of Divine knowledge:—for the "higher criticism" of recent days assumes, as a first principle, that any alleged prediction must be a *vaticinium post eventum.*

a.—*The External evidence* on this matter of the date is as follows:[1]—

The statement which might seem to set all controversy at rest is that of Irenæus, No. (10), who expressly asserts

[1] καὶ ὁ Νερούας τούς τε κρινομένους ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ ἀφῆκε καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε. And Suidas writes,—art. *Nerva:* οὗτος καὶ τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἐκ τῆς ἐξορίας Πάτμου ἀνακαλέσας, ἤγαγεν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

[2] For this result we have, as stated in the text, the authority of Irenæus, *Hær.* ii. 22, 5; iii. 3, 4; of Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* 9; *adv. Jovin.* i. 14; *Comm. in Dan.* ix.; of Isidore Hispal., *De Vita et Obitu SS.* c. 73. Isidore, adopting the words of St. Jerome, No. (26), makes St. John's age to be 89. Pseudo-Chrysost. (*Hom. de S. Joann. theol.*, ap. Opp. Chrysost., ed. Ben. t. vii.); Dorotheus (see below, p. 431, note [1]); and Suidas make the Apostle's age to be 120. The chronicle ascribed to "the younger" Hippolytus (see p. 416, note [2]) makes it 110. The Paschal Chronicle (ed. Dindorf, p. 470) makes it 100,—noting (see p. 461) that after St. John had spent nine years at Ephesus, he was banished to Patmos for fifteen years; and that, his exile being ended, he lived twenty-six years in Ephesus. This would place St. John's death in the seventh year of Trajan's reign.

The Abbé Nolte first published (*Theol. Quartalschr.*, Tübing., 1862, iii. p. 406) a fragment of the chronicle of Georgius Hamartôlus (Cent. ix.), where it is stated that, after the death of Domitian, Nerva recalled St. John from "the island," and permitted him to reside at Ephesus. Being now sole survivor of the Twelve Apostles, and having composed his Gospel, he was counted worthy of martyrdom; for Papias of Hierapolis, being an eye-witness (αὐτόπτης τούτου γενόμενος), relates in the second book of "The Lord's Discourses" (No. (6), p. 408) that John was put to death by the Jews (ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθη). (On this statement Keim (*l. c.*, 3te Ausg., i. s. 42) founds one of his proofs (see below, p. 445) that the Apostle never resided in Asia Minor, because the *Jews* are spoken of, and *therefore* the scene of the alleged martyrdom must have been in Palestine. Here, writes Keim, is "a newly discovered witness, which puts an end to all illusions." As if Jews were not to be found at Ephesus, where the very fragment relied upon asserts that Nerva allowed St. John to reside! (see Godet, *l. c.*, i. p. 63; Krenkel, *l. c.*, s. 31). Renan (*l. c.*, p. 562) rejects the notion that Papias could have accepted this tradition. He notes:—"Georges Hamartôlus ajoute qu'Origène était également de cet avis; ce qui est tout à fait faux. Voir Origène, *In Matth.*, t. xvi. 6. Héracléon met aussi Jean parmi les apôtres martyrs; Clém. d'Alex., *Strom.* iv. 9. Des faits comme le miracle de l'huile bouillante et le passage Apoc., i. 9, suffisaient pour justifier de telles assertions."

[1] It should be noted that the result arrived at here differs from that which is accepted in the Introduction to the Gospel of St. John (p. lxxxvii). It is there assumed that the Apocalypse "is before the destruction of Jerusalem."

that "the Revelation was seen no long time since, but almost in our own generation towards the end of the reign of Domitian" (A.D. 81–96). When we bear in mind what has been already proved (see p. 411, note [1]),—viz. that Irenæus was the intimate associate of Polycarp who suffered martyrdom in the year 155, in the 86th year of his age (see above, p. 409);—when we remember, too, that in his Epistle to Florinus[1] (see above, p. 412) Irenæus does not appeal, as he sometimes does, to the information which he had received from others, but recalls to Florinus the reminiscences of their boyhood concerning their common master Polycarp,[2] of which reminiscences one was that Polycarp was wont often to speak of his personal knowledge of the Apostle John;—in a word, when we perceive that Irenæus had every opportunity of knowing the facts, and no intelligible motive for misstating them, the force of his evidence can hardly be disputed.

Clemens Al., in the passage No. (15), merely speaks of the "death of the tyrant"; but it has been shown (p. 415, note [2]) that Eusebius understood by "the tyrant" no other than Domitian. Tertullian, also, like Clemens Al., does not name the Emperor who banished St. John to "the island"—see No. (21); but his language in the passage No. (22) shows that he intended Domitian. At all events, the latter passage proves that it was the practice of Domitian, imitating the cruelties of Nero, to punish the Christians with exile.[3]

Origen, No. (16) considers that the Revelation was received "in the island," and he is one of the witnesses quoted by Eusebius for the Apostle's death at Ephesus, No. (17). Victorinus, No. (24), as we have seen, is still more explicit as to the time when the Apocalypse was written for the Church,—namely, when Domitian was the Cæsar ("quoniam tunc erat Cæsar Domitianus").

St. Jerome, No. (25), is no less clear as to the fact that the Revelation was given to St. John under the same Emperor; and so, too, the later writers generally (e. g. Sulpicius Severus, *Sacr. Hist.* ii. 31; and Orosius): Eusebius also having three times stated that St. John was banished under Domitian,—(1) in *H. E.* iii. 18 (No. (10); cf. v. 8), where, he quotes Irenæus; (2) in iii. 20, No. (27), where, by referring to "the ancients" (ὁ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων λόγος), he removes any imagination that Irenæus was the only source from which he knew the fact; and (3) in iii. 23, where he quotes Clemens Alex., No. (15),—nowhere suggests that any other opinion existed in the Church either as to the Emperor who sent St. John into exile or as to the *date* of the Apocalypse. There must, therefore, have been perfect unanimity at the beginning of the fourth century[1] as to both these facts,

[1] Renan (*L'Antechrist*, p. 565) shows the weakness of Scholten's attempt (*Der Ap. Johannes in Kleinasien*, s. 63 ff.) to treat the Epistle to Florinus as not genuine. Hilgenfeld also calls this attempt a "desperate undertaking" (*Einleit.*, p. 397).

[2] Irenæus writes (ap. Eus. v. 20): ὥστε με δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος διελέγετο ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος . . . . καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἰδέαν καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ἃς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναστροφὴν ὡς ἀπήγγειλε, καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἑωρακότων τὸν Κύριον καὶ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευε τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν, κ. τ. λ.

[3] That exile was a usual punishment under Domitian is shown by the story of Flavia Domitilla banished by him to Pandateria (Dion Cassius, lxvii. 14; lxviii. 1); and Eusebius (iii. 18), in continuation of his reference to the words of Irenæus, No. (10), mentions Pontia as the place of her exile "in the fifteenth year of Domitian," —τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἔνεκεν. We read in Juvenal (i. 73): "Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris, et carcere dignum;" and Lampe (on St. John i.) quotes Modestius (*Lege* xxx., *Digest.* de pœnis): "Si quis aliquid fecerit quo leves hominum animi superstitione numinis terrentur, Divus Marcus hujusmodi homines in insulam relegare rescripsit" (cf. on Rev. ii. 13):—see p. 428, note [5].

[1] The evidence which would place the exile at a later date need not be considered. Thus in a fragment ascribed to Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre at the end of the third century, it is stated that "John, the brother of James," "who also wrote the Gospel," after he had preached Christ at Ephesus, was banished to Patmos by Trajan on account of his confession of the Christian faith:—see *Selecta ad illustr. Chron. Pasch.*, ed. Dindorf, ii., p. 136; Cave, *Hist. Lit.*, vol. i. p. 169. In the Latin version of this fragment of Dorotheus (ap. *Bibl. Patr. Lugd.*, ed. De la Bigne, t. iii. p. 426) it is added that St. John wrote *his Gospel* while in Patmos; and that, when recalled to Ephesus after the death of Trajan, he published it through "his host and deacon" Gaius (see Rom. xvi. 23; 3 John 1), the Apostle surviving to the age of 120. "But,"

although a *subjective* theory as to the *authorship* of the Book had been put forward in the interest of the anti-chiliasts,—a theory to be considered presently.

The case then stands thus. Before Cent. iv. there is no variation in the historical accounts. All statements support the conclusion that St. John was banished to Patmos by Domitian (A.D. 81–96),—some writers placing the exile in the fourteenth year of his reign,[1]—and all agree that the Visions of which the Revelation is the record were received in Patmos. Clemens Al. and Tertullian, indeed, do not mention in express terms the name of the Emperor by whom St. John was sent into exile (see No. (15), and No. (21) :—but compare No. (22), p. 422); and Origen, No. (16), states as the reason for his own silence as to "the King of the Romans," that St. John has not himself given the name of the person who passed sentence on him;—but nothing that is said, not even the remark of Dorotheus (see p. 431, note [1]), is at variance with the general belief as summed up by Eusebius. If external evidence is of any value at all, it is of value here: no amount of "subjective" conjecture, or arbitrary interpretation, can set aside the verdict of history.

At a later period, indeed, some statements meet us which, at most, are instances of eccentric speculation.[2] Thus Epiphanius mentions Claudius as the Emperor who banished St. John (see No. (19), p. 419),—a statement which few ancient or modern writers deem worthy of acceptance.[1] In fact, according to this statement, St. John returned from his exile "in extreme old age," and when his life had lasted about ninety years; and therefore, seeing that Claudius reigned from the year 41 to the year 54, were we to assign "the return from exile to the last of these dates, we should have St. John aged ninety in the year 54: in other words, thirty-three years older than our Lord, and sixty-three at least when called to be an Apostle: a result which is at variance with all ancient tradition whatever."—Alford, *Prolegg.*, p. 232. Bishop Wordsworth, in his Commentary (*Introd.*, p. 158), suggests—but the suggestion is more ingenious than conclusive—the possibility of a false reading in the passage, viz. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ, for ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥ, the copyist forgetting that Domitian was sometimes called Flavius.[2]

this version proceeds, "Sunt tamen qui dicunt eum non sub Trajano in insulam Pathmon relegatum esse, sed sub Domitiano Vespasiani filio." Theophylact (on St. Matt. xx. 23, t. i. p. 107) also says: Ἰάκωβον μὲν Ἡρώδης ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἰωάννην δὲ Τραϊανὸς κατεδίκασε μαρτυροῦντα τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας.

[1] Godet (*Comm. on St. John's Gospel*, Clarke's transl. i. p. 244) writes: "We fix the composition of the Apocalypse about the year 95."

[2] E.g. Andreas, on Rev. vi. 12; vii. 1, mentions that "some" persons understood these texts of the Jewish war; and Arethas, on Rev. vii. 1–8, would seem to place the date of the Apocalypse before the Jewish war, although on Rev. i. 9, he places the date under Domitian. On Rev. iii. 10, he further writes: ἢ τὸν ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ διωγμὸν λέγει, δεύτερον ὄντα μετὰ Νέρωνα ὡς Εὐσέβιος ἱστορεῖ [*H. E.* iii. 17], ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς εἰς τὴν Πάτμον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ κατεκρίθη, κ. τ. λ. (ap. Cramer, *Catena*, p. 227). See also Züllig, on ch. xvii. 10.

[1] Of the moderns Grotius (followed by Hammond), on Rev. i. 9, takes up the account of Epiphanius, and appeals to Acts xviii. 2, and to Suetonius (*Claudius*, 25); arguing that St. John was exiled to Patmos as being a Jew;—that, when the persecution of the Christians ceased under Vespasian, he was recalled from the island;—and that he was again banished there by Domitian.

[2] E.g. :—

(28) "Cum jam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
Ultimus, et calvo serviret Roma Neroni."
Juven., iv. 37.

Bishop Wordsworth, by quoting the words of Epiphanius in the context of this statement, supplies proof that Epiphanius could not have meant Domitian:—Epiphanius "says that St. John, in the Apocalypse, writing to the Seven Churches of Asia, *predicts* the rise of heresies which did not then exist, and foretells that a woman would appear at Thyatira, who would call herself a prophetess; and he adds that these things came to pass long after the death of John, inasmuch as he prophesied in the times of Claudius Cæsar, when he was at Patmos."—*l. c.*, p. 157. But it is clear that in Rev. ii. 20 St. John is not *predicting* future errors; he is censuring errors already committed. In matters of history, indeed, Epiphanius is no authority whatsoever;—thus, as Bishop Lightfoot has pointed out (*Cont. Rev.*, Aug. 1876, p. 412): "Epiphanius states that Antoninus Pius was succeeded by Caracalla, who also bore the names of Geta and M. Aurelius Verus, and who reigned seven years; that L. Aurelius Commodus likewise reigned these same seven years; that Pertinax succeeded next, and was followed by Severus"; and so on.—See *De Pond. et Mens.*, c. 16.

Still less weight is to be attached to the external evidence for placing the composition of the Apocalypse under Nero. The two solitary witnesses to this effect are the superscription of the Syriac version published by Lud. de Dieu, No. (18), ascribed to the sixth century; and Theophylact († A.D. 1107). As to the former of these two witnesses, it was long ago remarked by Stephen Le Moyne (*Varia Sacra*, Lugd. Bat., 1694) that the Syriac translator probably intended not the first Nero,[1] but a second Nero, viz. Domitian, who was also a persecutor; and he quotes the verses just cited from Juvenal, No. (28), in proof that Domitian was sometimes called Nero.[2] Indeed, that Domitian was popularly known as a second "Nero," was notorious; as may be inferred from the words of Tertullian, No. (22), p. 422.

That the Syriac translator may have meant by "Nero" "Domitian" (compare the various reading "prænomine Neronis" in No. (22) p. 422) is by no means impossible; and it should be remembered that both Nero and Domitian are specially referred to as persecutors and enemies of the Christian faith:—e. g. by Melito of Sardis (*ap.* Euseb., iv. 26), in his Apology addressed to M. Antoninus.[3] See also St. Jerome, No. (26).

Theophylact is the other witness for the alleged fact that St. John wrote in Patmos during the reign of Nero (A.D. 54–68). In the preface to his *Comm. in Joann.* (t. i. p. 504), Theophylact states that St. John wrote his Gospel (not the Apocalypse) in the island of Patmos, thirty-two years after the Ascension,—thus placing the exile of the Apostle under Nero.[1] And yet the same Theophylact, as we have already seen (p. 432, note), asserts that St. John was condemned by Trajan.[2] Theophylact, therefore, is either entirely in error in what he states in his preface to the Gospel of St. John,—as is most probable in so late a writer,—or we not understand the passage.

It has been necessary to dwell upon this evidence—the only evidence which Christian antiquity offers—in support of the opinion that the banishment of St.

[1] Lucius Domitius, afterwards the Emperor Nero, was son of Cnæus Domitius Ahenobarbus, representative of the illustrious Domitian *gens*, and of Agrippina, the sister of Caius Caligula.

The full name of the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 41–54) was Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus. After his adoption by Claudius (A.D. 50), Nero was called, Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus. Domitian (A.D. 81–96) was called, Titus Flavius Domitianus Augustus.

[2] In further proof of this fact, we may also compare the verses of Ausonius:—

(29) "His decimus, fatoque accitus Vespasianus:
Et Titus imperii felix brevitate: secutus
Frater, quem calvum dixit sua Roma Neronem."—*De xii. Cæsaribus.*

[3] Melito writes:—*μόνοι πάντων, ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπό τινων βασκάνων ἀνθρώπων, τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ καταστῆσαι λόγον ἠθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός* (*ap.* Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*, t. i. p. 117).

[1] His words are, *διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου Εὐαγγελίου, ὃ καὶ συνέγραψεν ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ ἐξόριστος διατελῶν μετὰ τριάκοντα δύο ἔτη τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως.*

[2] It may be well to notice in like manner the two statements of "the younger" Hippolytus in note [2], p. 416; especially the word *Δομετίου* in the former of the passages. If by this he intended *Domitius Nero*, the mention of Trajan in the second passage is exactly parallel to the confusion in Theophylact. Guericke (*Einleit.*, s. 285) attempts to prove that the different ancient writers who record that the exile to Patmos took place under *Domitian* really intended *Domitius*, *i. e.*, Domitius Nero. Thus, he understands from the words of Irenæus, as given in No. (10)—*πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς*—that *Δομετιανοῦ* (because the *article* is wanting) is an adjective formed from *Δομέτιος*, and that the sense is "the reign of Domitius." To urge no other objection, we can point to more than one passage in Eusebius which decides the matter; e.g. iii. 23,—*μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτήν*:—iii. 18, *ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ Δομετιανοῦ μετὰ πλείστων ἑτέρων τὴν Φλαβίαν Δομετίλλαν κ. τ. λ.* Would Guericke understand here "the 15th year of *Nero*"? Niermeyer, who assumes that *Domitian* means *Nero*, and who makes St. John arrive in Asia Minor about the year 65, argues thus:—Tertullian, if we may trust Jerome (?) ascribes the banishment of St. John to Nero; Irenæus to Domitian; Epiphanius to Claudius. In the want of positive data, Christian tradition has attached itself to these three names in turn, without seeing that Nero, Domitian, and Claudius are one and the same person. Nero was also called Claudius; and he was a Domitian, being of the *gens Domitia* (*Revue de Théologie*, Sept. 1856, p. 172).

Niermeyer, however, cannot show that Nero was ever *popularly* known as "Claudius;" and Tertullian, as we have seen, in a pointed manner distinguishes Nero from Domitian. St. Jerome makes no such statement as to Tertullian as Niermeyer ascribes to him.

John to Patmos occurred under the Emperor Nero, and that the Apocalypse was written before the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70),—because it is a leading object with rationalistic critics to establish this early date. It is, indeed, manifest that there is nothing in itself contrary to the acceptance of the Apocalypse as inspired Scripture, or to the belief that it was the work of the Apostle John, in admitting that it was written in the age of Nero.[1] But, inasmuch as such a conclusion contradicts the concurrent voice of the most trustworthy writers of the first four centuries, who place the composition of the Apocalypse between the years 95 and 97; and because the rationalistic interpretation of the Book depends upon the dogmatic assumption that it can only refer to events which happened before it was written (*i. e.*, as rationalists assume, before the year 70), it is important for the Christian argument not only to set aside the alleged "external proof" of the early date (as has now been done), but also to examine the "internal reasons" which have been brought forward in support of the same result.

§ 4 (*cont.*). b.—*The Internal Evidence.*

It has become a principle of rationalistic exegesis that St. John refers, throughout this Book, to events in his own age, —events which had already occurred, and which were notorious to all. It is also assumed that the Apostle fully shared in the popular delusion as to the return of Nero, who, we are told, is the Antichrist of the Apocalypse. Thus Hermann Gebhardt (*Der Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse*, Gotha, 1873, s. 432) who allows that the Apostle John was the author as well of the Apocalypse as of the Fourth Gospel and the Joannean Epistles, asserts (s. 234) that the Apocalypse was written under Galba, A.D. 68. He accordingly maintains: "It is incontestable that the author has erred ["geirrt hat"] when he expects that Nero will appear again, in a short time, as Antichrist out of hell, and that then the end will come" (s. 13).

And here it is to be observed that it is in that strange mixture of heathen and Jewish, and, in many parts, Christian superstition known as the "Sibylline Oracles," that we meet in book iv.—which is ascribed to the age of Titus, A.D. 79 (see Note E on ch. ii. 20)—what seems to be the earliest allusion to the survival of Nero.[1]

Under various forms, this is the principle which underlies the rationalistic interpretation of Rev. xvii. :—see on ch. xvii. 9, and the note *in loc.*; cf. also on ch. xiii. 1. Indeed this idea that Nero is Antichrist was, according to Renan, "the parent of the Apocalypse," —"mère de l'Apocalypse" (*l. c.*, p. 351). The "internal evidence," then, which is brought forward to prove the composition of the Apocalypse during the reign of Nero, or shortly after his death, is as follows:—

i. 'The Book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem':—This theory was originally put forward by Lud. Alcasar (see below, § 12), and accepted by Grotius, Hammond, and Lightfoot, as enabling them to apply certain texts to the fate of Judaism. Rev. xi. 1, we are told, proves that the Temple must have been still standing; while verse 2 (cf. ch. xx. 9) informs us that the City was in a state

[1] The evidence of history (as we have seen) proves that the Revelation was written somewhere about A.D. 95–97; and this result is supported by "Dupin, Basnage, Turretin, Spanheim, Le Clerc, Mill, Whitby, Lampe, Lardner, Tomline, Burton, Woodhouse, Elliott, Ebrard, Hofmann, Hengstenberg, Thiersch," and others,—see Dr. S. Davidson (*Introd. to the N. T.*, vol. iii. p. 599). On the other hand, a writer of such genuine piety as Auberlen writes: "The evidence *contained in the Book itself* is more in favour of the view . . . . that it was written shortly *before the destruction of Jerusalem*."—*Daniel and the Rev.*, p. 235. Stier argues that it was written under Nero, from the mention of the "ten days," *i. e.*, the ten persecutions (ch. ii. 10). This result is adopted by Lücke, Neander, Schwegler, Baur, Züllig, De Wette, Düsterdieck (apparently following Zeller, *Vorträge u. Abhandl.*, 1865, p. 212, ff.), Renan, Reuss, &c., &c.:—see also Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, viii. s. 478. The author of *Supernatural Religion* (vol. ii. p. 392) is, of course, of the same opinion.

[1] (30) καὶ τότ' ἀπ' Ἰταλίης βασιλεὺς μέγας,
οἷά τε δράτης,
φεύξετ' ἄφαντος, ἄπυστος, ὑπὲρ πόρον Εὐφρήταο,
ὁππότε δὲ μητρῷον ἄγος στυγεροῖο φόνοιο
τλήσεται, κ. τ. λ.
ver. 119, &c.; cf. vv. 137-139.

of siege, of which the result is stated in Luke xxi. 24. Some writers also argue from ch. vii. 4–8 that the Twelve Tribes were still in existence. In answer to this argument it is sufficient here to say, that this exposition of St. John's words not only assumes that they must apply literally to the literal Jerusalem—an application of which no proof whatever is given; but also takes for granted that language, founded upon the language of earlier prophecy (e.g. Ezek. xl. 3, &c.; Zech. ii. 2), and therefore manifestly figurative, is to be understood in its baldest and most unspiritual sense.

ii. 'The Seven Heads of the Seven-headed Beast, ch. xiii. 1; xvii. 3, indicate seven individual men, that is to say, seven Roman Emperors,—Babylon (ch. xvii. 5) being Rome.' Now in ch. xvii. 10 we are told that *five* have fallen; that the *sixth* is now reigning; that the *seventh* is not yet come. In verse 11, we further read that the Beast "*that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven.*" This must be Nero, argues Reuss[1] (to quote a single writer on this side):—it cannot be Augustus, or Tiberius, or Claudius, none of whom came to a violent end; nor can it have been Caligula, who did not stand in a hostile relation to the Church; there remains only Nero, in whose death the people did not believe, and who was expected from the East, to regain his throne by the aid of the Parthians. We read in ch. xiii. 3 that the deadly wound—the "*death-stroke*" of the Beast—was healed. And thus Nero, the *fifth* Emperor, and who is "of the *seven*," returns to reign as the *eighth*, as Antichrist:[2] see the note on ch. xiii. 3.

Not to urge as an objection to this line of argument, that it assumes the Apostle John to have shared in a popular delusion, and to have written under the influence of ignorance and passion (so Renan, *l. c.*, p. 356);—nor to insist upon the fact that Victorinus, with whom this system of interpretation seems to have originated, begins to count from Nero's successor, Galba (see No. (24) p. 423);—nor yet to dwell upon the shrewd remark of Schleiermacher: "I see no certainty of interpretation here, Nero is at one time one *Head*, but afterwards the entire *Beast*" (*Einleit. ins Neue Testament*, s. 456);—not to urge such objections as these, the historical difficulties are not easy to be overcome. It is to be asked, in the first place, with which of the Cæsars does the series begin? If, as many hold,—e. g. Wetstein, Stuart, Bertholdt, Köhler, Renan (*l. c.*, p. 407),—with Julius Cæsar (and no valid reason can be assigned why the series should not begin with Julius) then Nero is the *sixth*, not the *fifth* Emperor, and the theory at once collapses.[1] But if—as the great majority of this school maintain—the series begins with Augustus, there is the greatest variety of opinion as to who is the *seventh* Emperor, and as to the Emperor under whom the Apocalypse was written. For we have (1) Augustus, (2) Tiberius, (3) Caligula, (4) Claudius, (5) Nero, (6) Galba, (7) Otho, (8) Vitellius, (9) Vespasian, (10) Titus. According to Reuss (*l. c.*): "The sixth Emperor of Rome was Galba, an old man, seventy-three years of age at his accession. The final catastrophe which was to destroy the City and Empire was to take place in three years and a half [*i.e.*, the 42 *months*, the 1260 *days*, the 3½ *times*]. For this one simple reason, the series of Emperors will include only

[1] *History of Christian Theology in the Apost. Age*, by E. Reuss (London, 1872), p. 380.

[2] Bleek (*Einleit.*, Clarke's tr., vol. ii. p. 225), having accepted as true this fiction of Nero returning as Antichrist after the death of the Emperor then reigning, concludes:—The Apocalypse "thus seeks to determine the time and circumstances of the Lord's coming, and thus goes beyond the declarations of the Lord Himself. . . . . It can therefore in this respect . . . . have no normative authority for us."

[1] See, for further proof, the notes on ch. xiii. 3; and the notes on ch. xvii. 10. For the argument founded on the supposed interpretation of the "number of the Beast" (ch. xiii. 18) as signifying Nero, see the notes *in loc.*

The rationalistic theory is not even original. This notion of Nero returning as Antichrist is mentioned very contemptuously by Ambrosius Autpertus, or Ansbertus (*circ.* A.D. 770): "Septem enim Bestiæ capita septem Romanos reges intelligentes, et unum de ejusdem Bestiæ capitibus in mortem occisum Neronem astruentes. . . . . Quem profecto intellectum cuilibet sequi (ut minus sapiens) non facile dixerim, maxime cum et ab ipsis mediocribus quam sit absurdus, possit sciri."—*Max. Bibl. Patrum*, t. xiii. p. 592.

one after the then reigning monarch, and he will reign but a little while. The writer [St. John] does not know him; but he knows the relative duration of his reign, because he knows [!] that Rome will in three years and a half perish finally, never to rise again"[1]:—on similar grounds, Ewald, De Wette, Guericke, Volkmar, Krenkel, Aubé,[2] &c. &c., also fix upon Galba. On the other hand, Lücke, Bleek, Düsterdieck, &c. fix upon Vespasian: Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, they argue, are not to be reckoned at all,—their united reigns being regarded merely as an interregnum. This conclusion they infer from a casual observation of Suetonius;[3] and thus, combining ch. xvii. 10 and ch. xiii. 1–14, the Apocalypse, we are told, was written between the end of December 69 and the spring of A.D. 70, just before Jerusalem was captured:—or, more closely still, if "the Lord's Day" (ch. i. 10) means Easter Day, St. John beheld his Visions on the Christian Easter Day of the year 70 (see Düsterdieck,[4] *Krit. Exeget. Handb. üb. die Offenb.*, s. 51).

Renan (p. 302–355) differs slightly as to the date:—Galba was proclaimed Emperor on the evening of June 8, A.D. 68; and Nero killed himself on the 9th. On January 2, A.D. 69 the Legions proclaimed Vitellius; on the 10th Galba adopted Piso; on the 15th Otho was proclaimed, and on the evening of that day Galba was slain. In this state of confusion, the hopes of the false Nero of Cythnos (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8, 9) were raised; and "it was then (at the close of January, 69) that a symbolical manifesto"—or, as Renan elsewhere (p. 434) calls it, a political "pamphlet," viz. the Apocalypse—"was circulated among the Christians of Asia." It is doubtful, Renan adds, whether St. John knew of Otho's existence; but the Apostle has a full belief that the restoration of Nero will immediately follow the downfall of Galba.

It is worthy of notice that the results which have been just described are deduced solely from "internal" considerations,—Renan and his school discarding the mass of external evidence adduced above for the date under Domitian, although they accept the same evidence when it testifies that the author of the Apocalypse was St. John. If "internal" evidence, however, is to be appealed to here, there is no absence of such evidence on the other side, e.g. see on ch. ii. 4, and on ch. xi. 2; cf. also the arguments of Godet, quoted at p. 437:—and, as to this whole question, see the notes on ch. xvii.

The preceding summary of the opinions of the modern rationalistic school as to the Apocalypse may close with the result given in the *Protestanten-Bibel, N. T.* (Leipzig, 1873),—viz. that the date of the Book admits of being determined with a certainty rarely attainable in the writings of antiquity:—"It was evidently composed between the day of Nero's death, June 9, A.D. 68,

[1] The argument is, that when the Jews (and St. John was a Judaizing Christian) saw the ruin of their Holy City and Temple to be imminent, they still felt persuaded that Jehovah would not forsake His people; while for the Christians the expectation was—"the Lord is at hand." The fiction of Nero's return was now embraced; and men, we are told, believed (and St. John among them) that Nero was to come back with a countless host, from Parthia, to execute vengeance on Rome. See Dio Chrysost., xxi. p. 504, ed. Reiske; St. August., *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 19, 3; Lactantius, *De Mort. Persec.* ii.

[2] M. B. Aubé (*Hist. des Persécutions de l'Église*, Paris, 1875), accepting these conclusions,—as the results "les plus solides de la critique de notre siècle appliquée aux écrits du Nouveau Testament,"—writes: "Ce sixième roi, ou plutôt ce sixième empereur, est Galba, qui régna, comme on sait, de juin 68 à janvier 69. C'est entre ces six mois que l'*Apocalypse* a été écrite . . . . Galba a soixante-douze ans à son avènement; après lui viendra le septième empereur 'qui n'est pas encore venu' et qui tombera bientôt; car Néron reparaîtra et ressaisira le trône . . . . l'auteur de l'*Apocalypse* est ici l'écho de la tradition populaire."—pp. 117–120.

[3] "Rebellione trium principum et cæde, incertum diu et quasi vagum imperium suscepit firmavitque tandem gens Flavia."—*Vespasian*, c. 1.

[4] Düsterdieck arranges thus:—The Seven Heads are Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero (these *five* have fallen, ch. xvii. 10), Vespasian (the *sixth*, who is present), and Titus ("the other [who] is not yet come"). Rejecting the fable of the return of Nero, Düsterd. makes the *eighth* to be Domitian, the second son of Vespasian,—understanding the words of ch. xvii. 11, ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστιν, to mean "filius unius eorum";—cf. Matt. i. 3, 5, 6; Luke i. 27; Rom. ix. 10:—*l. c.*, s. 52.

and August 10, A.D., 70, on which day the Temple of Jerusalem, which John had hoped to see spared, was reduced to ashes by the Romans. After that day, no one could hope (as the writer of Rev. xi. 1 did hope) that the Sanctuary would be preserved on the capture of the City." —s. 997. (For the date A.D. 44–47, see the argument of Züllig and Lakemachers quoted in the note on ch. xvii. 10). If the testimony of history, however, is to have any weight, hypotheses of this nature, proceeding from mere imagination or from total scepticism, will not receive the assent of sober criticism.

In support of the historical evidence, internal arguments are not wanting :—

i. 'The condition of the churches of Asia Minor.' These churches had been founded by St. Paul between the years 55 and 58. Consider the reproaches addressed to Ephesus, to Sardis, to Laodicea. A religious revival, especially when caused by the ministry of a Paul, and that, too, in the most flourishing cities of Asia Minor, does not pass away in ten years. Nay, St. Paul wrote to Ephesus and to Colossæ in the year 63; in 63 or 64 St. Peter wrote to all the churches of that region (1 Pet. i. 1); and neither Apostle hints at any deadness in their religious life. Can we then ascribe to St. John, four or five years later,—*i.e.*, in the year 68,—the language of ch. ii. 5; iii. 3, 16? See Godet, *Études Bibliques*, 2ème série, p. 326; and the note on ch. ii. 4.

ii. 'The ecclesiastical *organization* which the Apocalypse takes for granted, is no less incompatible with a date so early as the year 68.' Hitherto the titles 'presbyter' and 'bishop' are synonymous: compare Acts xx. 17 and 28;—Tit. i. 5 and 7;—Acts xiv. 23 and Phil. i. 1. "It is only toward the end of the Apostolic age that the presbyteral authority is concentrated in the person of a chief of the flock, who assumes specially the name of Bishop. The Epistle of Clemens Romanus, written probably under Domitian; and the Epistles of Ignatius, which date from Trajan, are the first patristic monuments of that form of ministry which we meet in the Apocalypse: 'Write to the *Angel* of the Church of . . . .' This personal term, *Angel*, as well as the responsibility which the reproaches and the praises of the Lord cause to press upon the functionary so designated, do not permit us to see in him a being collective, or abstract; nor yet an Angel properly so called, the invisible patron of the flock. This can be only the Bishop, such as we meet him in all the churches of the end of the first century. The Apocalypse makes us contemplate the transition from the primitive presbyterian constitution to the monarchical organization universally admitted in the second century. This detail, then, excludes as positively the epoch of the year 68, as it agrees naturally with the date indicated by Irenæus." — Godet, *l. c.*, p. 327.

iii. 'An ecclesiastical *usage* is referred to in ch. i. 3, "Blessed is *he that readeth*, and *they that hear*," &c.' These words imply a public, official reading in full religious assembly for worship; and not merely private or individual reading. The contrast between the singular and the plural indicates this; the present participle also (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων) implies an habitual act repeated :—"Now the stated reading of the Apostolical writings in public worship cannot have commenced in the year 68. . . . . This usage did not exist, as a received form, before the ruin of Jerusalem, A.D. 70; and consequently the Apocalypse which here points to this custom cannot have been composed in the year 68."—Godet, *l. c.*, p. 328. On Rev. i. 3, Renan notes: "Il s'agit ici de la lecture dans l'église par *l'Anagnoste*."—*l. c.*, p. 360. The Church supplied, by the public reading of the writings of the Apostles, the want which the loss of their personal ministry left behind.

iv. 'The use of the expression, "the day of the Lord" (ch. i. 10), is unknown, before the destruction of Jerusalem, to the Apostolical writings.' The usual phrase had been, "the first day of the week,"—e.g. Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2. "The Lord's day" belongs to the later Apostolic age, when the Church had broken off all ties with the Synagogue. This fact proves that the date of the Apocalypse indicated by Irenæus, viz.

under Domitian, is that which alone suits such language.—Cf. *l. c.*, p. 329.

v. We know from the Acts of the Apostles that the Judæo-Christian Church still participated, in the year 60, in the worship of the Temple. We are to bear in mind, too, the Epistle to the Hebrews written in the year 67 or 68:—and yet, "In ch. ii. 9; iii. 9, Jews are spoken of as 'the Synagogue of Satan.' . . . . A fact so momentous as the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Jewish nation can alone explain the use of such an epithet applied to the ancient people of God."—Cf. *l. c.*, p. 330.

vi. The banishment of the author of the Apocalypse agrees precisely with the kind of punishment inflicted under Domitian (see above, pp. 428, 431); while under Nero, at the supposed date of the Book, the punishment was death.—Cf. *l. c.*, p. 330.

§ 5.—*Doubts as to the Apostolic Authorship.*

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE:—The testimony of ecclesiastical writers during the first four centuries has established the fact that the Apocalypse was written by the Apostle St. John. We have next to consider the nature of the doubts which were entertained on the subject during that period, and which we have seen reflected in the uncertain utterances of Eusebius (No. (20), p. 420). All such doubts centre in the person of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 247. From the time of Papias, as has been already noticed—see No. (4), Chiliasm of a Jewish type had prevailed more or less definitely in the Church. It has also been pointed out that both Chiliasts and Anti-chiliasts accepted the Apostolic authority of the Apocalypse—see p. 411, note [3]. About the year 254, a work entitled a "Refutation of the Allegorists," and written in defence of a literal Millennium, was published by Nepos of Arsinoe; and his opinions were warmly contested by Dionysius (Euseb., vii. 24). Dionysius, who was a pupil of Origen, regarded this work as tending to degrade the Christian's hope in "the glorious and divine appearance of our Lord;"—as persuading the simple brethren "to look for mean and perishable things, and such as resemble those that now exist in the kingdom of God."[1] The lengths to which the Allegorists of the time pressed their arbitrary interpretation of Scripture, and the dissatisfaction felt at their system of spiritualizing its language led men into the opposite extreme, and favoured the gross literalism which looked forward to a sensual Millennium. Dionysius, who was an Allegorist, naturally opposed the opinions of the Chiliasts; and he unhappily adopted, as the means of refuting their error, the method of doubting whether the Book, on which they rested their cause, had an Apostle for its author. The arguments which were urged in proof of this conclusion were purely internal and subjective; and there is no proof whatever that any historical evidence was brought forward in support of them:—'The doctrine taught in the Apocalypse,' it was said, 'is false; and consequently the Book cannot be Apostolic.'

Dionysius, indeed, implies that he was not the first to urge similar doubts: "Some," he writes (*ap.* Euseb., vii. 25) "of those who were before us rejected and altogether discarded the Book" (Τινὲς μὲν οὖν τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἠθέτησαν καὶ ἀνεσκεύασαν πάντη τὸ βιβλίον). 'These persons,' he proceeds, 'asserted that the inscription of the Apocalypse which ascribes the Book to St. John, is false,—the author being Cerinthus, who, in order to defend his carnal doctrine as to the Millennium, sought to support himself by a name worthy of credit.' Here Dionysius, apparently, refers to the Alogi—a sect which came into existence at the close of Cent. ii.—who were strenuous opponents both of Montanism, and of Chiliasm. From this point of view they rejected all St. John's writings—not the Apocalypse only—on account of his

[1] St. Jerome (*Proem. in Isai.*, lib. xviii. t. iv., p. 767) observes that, if we understand the Apocalypse of St. John, "according to the letter, we must Judaize; if spiritually, we shall appear to gainsay the sentiments of the Latins, Tertullian, Victorinus, Lactantius; and of the Greeks, Irenæus, against whom Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, wrote . . . . ridiculing the fable of the Thousand Years, and of a terrestrial Jerusalem made of gold and gems," &c.

teaching as to the Comforter, and as to the Millennial kingdom; just as the Marcionites rejected other parts of Scripture. Their opinions are described by Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 32, p. 454 ff.):—'How,' argued the Alogi, 'can the Apocalypse profit us, with its tale of the Seven Angels and Seven Trumpets?' Nay, they added, the Book is self-contradictory; for the Seer is ordered to write to the church of Thyatira, where no Christian church exists (*πῶς οὖν ἔγραφε τῇ μὴ οὔσῃ,—ib.*, p. 455). Thus the objections of the Alogi were founded, partly on "internal" grounds; partly on the assertion that the Church had disappeared, in the second century, from Thyatira—a conjecture not difficult to understand from the description of that church in Rev. ii. 18–25. As to such objections, De Wette (*Einl.*, ii. s. 356) and Lücke (s. 578) agree that they had neither critical, nor (in St. John's day) historical grounds to rest upon. The Alogi, however, further asserted, as Dionysius tells us, that Cerinthus was the author of the Apocalypse:—of this Book, they alleged that neither an Apostle nor a Saint was the author; but that the heresiarch Cerinthus desired to prefix a name deserving of credit to a fiction of his own (*Κήρινθον δὲ τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Κηρινθιανὴν συστησάμενον αἵρεσιν, ἀξιόπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὄνομα.—ap.* Euseb., *ib.*). Our modern critics have introduced another witness in support of this opinion:—

Cerinthus forms the point of transition from the Judaizing sects to Gnosticism; and Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 3–11) had heard from Polycarp of his controversies with St. John. At the close of Cent. ii. (A.D. 196–219), Caius, a Roman presbyter,[1]—apparently a friend and companion of Irenæus (see p. 411, note [1]),—writing against the Montanist Proclus (Euseb. iii. 28; cf. Tertullian, *adv. Valentin.*, c. 5) speaks thus of Cerinthus:[1]—"Moreover Cerinthus also [who] through revelations, written as if by a great Apostle, speaking falsely further brings in for us tales of marvel shown to him as if by Angels,—affirming that after the Resurrection comes an earthly kingdom of Christ, and that men dwelling in Jerusalem are again to be the slaves of lusts and pleasures" (Routh, *l. c.*, ii. p. 128),—and so on as to the carnal delights of the Millennium. These words have been taken, without any sufficient reason, to mean that Caius ascribed the Apocalypse to Cerinthus. Why, asks Hug (*Einleit.*, 4te Aufl., ii. s. 511), may not these 'revelations as if from a great Apostle,' be regarded as statements forged by Cerinthus in the name of others besides St. John,—such as 'the Apocalypse of Peter,' or 'the Apocalypse of Paul'? St. John's name is not mentioned; nor do we here read, as is usual in such references, of "the Apocalypse" absolutely, but, in the plural, of 'apocalypses.'"[2] Dean Alford, indeed, would set aside Hug's interpretation that some other book is meant, and not "the Apocalypse of John": because "no such book is to be traced, though we have very full accounts of Cerinthus from Irenæus (*Hær.* i. 26) and Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxviii.),"—*Prolegg.*, p. 210; but, whether Cerinthus did or did not *write* such a book, is not the plain meaning of Caius that which is more clearly expressed by Theodoret[3] (who tells us that Caius wrote against Cerinthus),

[1] Bishop Lightfoot questions the actual existence of the Roman presbyter Caius; and supposes that the *Dialogue between Caius and Proclus* (Eus., iii. 31) was written by St. Hippolytus. At all events, he observes, the author was a Roman ecclesiastic, who wrote probably a quarter of a century after Polycrates.—*Comm. on Coloss.*, p. 46; see *The Journal of Philology*, i. p. 98.

[1] *ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήρινθος [δ]δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει, λέγων μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κ. τ. λ.*

[2] G. Paulus, quoted by Hug, suggests that Cerinthus sought, by his reference to the Millennium (Rev. xx.), to recommend his own false opinions under the shelter of a carnal exposition of the words of St. John,—"suumque plasma ea Canonicæ Apocalypseos similitudine adfecta exornasse."—*Histor. Cerinth.*, § 30.

[3] (31) *οὗτος* [viz. Cerinthus] *ἀποκαλύψεις τινὰς ὡς αὐτὸς τεθεαμένος ἐπλάσατο, καὶ ἀπειλῶν τινων διδασκαλίας συνέθηκε, καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν βασιλείαν ἔφησεν ἐπίγειον ἔσεσθαι· καὶ βρῶσιν καὶ πόσιν ὠνειροπόλησε, καὶ φιληδονίας ἐφαντάσθη, καὶ γάμους, καὶ θυσίας, καὶ ἑορτὰς, ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τελουμένας, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ χιλίοις ἔτεσι τελεσθήσεσθαι.—De Hær. Fabulis*, ii. 3, ed. 1642, t. iv. p. 219.

namely, that Cerinthus claimed himself to have seen certain revelations disclosing the coming of a grossly carnal Millennium?—Cf. also Philastrius of Brescia († 387), *Hær.* 60.

And thus the supposed evidence of Caius against the Apocalypse disappears,—although some, e.g. Dean Alford, still regard it as weighty; and the opinion that the Apocalypse was ever ascribed to Cerinthus, rests upon the unsupported testimony of the Alogi. This conclusion is accepted, among English scholars, by Dr. Routh (ii. 138), and by Professor Westcott, who notes: "I may express my decided belief that Caius is not speaking of the Apocalypse of St. John, but of books written by Cerinthus in imitation of it. The theology of the Apocalypse is wholly inconsistent with what we know of Cerinthus's views on the Person of Christ."—*l.c.*, p. 254.

The evidence of Dionysius himself (*ap.* Euseb., vii. 25) is now to be considered. His reasoning rests altogether on "internal" grounds. From this fact we may conclude that no "external" or historical proof could be urged, in the middle of Cent. iii., against the Apocalypse; otherwise, Dionysius, who was at the pains of quoting the Alogi, would certainly not have failed to avail himself of it. Having referred to the previous doubts of the Alogi, Dionysius proceeds to say that for himself he could not venture to reject the Book; for, though he does not understand it, he suspects that some very profound meaning lies beneath its words (*καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ συνίημι, ἀλλ' ὑπονοῶ γε νοῦν τινὰ βαθύτερον ἐγκεῖσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασιν*): and then, going on to examine what that meaning may be, he concludes that it is not to be understood literally (*ἀδύνατον δὲ αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον ἀποδείξας νοεῖσθαι διάνοιαν*,—is the account of Eusebius, *ibid.*). Dionysius had also found that the objections urged against the Apocalypse by the opponents of Chiliasm were insufficient:—The Book itself declares that its author was named John; and he allows that it is the work of a man "holy and inspired" (*ἁγίου μὲν γάρ τινος καὶ θεοπνεύστου συναινῶ*): but, nevertheless, he cannot admit "that this John was the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, who wrote the Gospel and the Catholic Epistle." He cannot, indeed, tell who was the "John" that wrote the Book, for there were many of the same name as the Apostle (*πολλοὺς δὲ ὁμωνύμους Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ νομίζω γεγονέναι*), who were called after him in token of respect, as the faithful are wont to call their children Peter and Paul. It was not John Mark who is spoken of in the Acts, for he did not accompany St. Paul to Asia (Acts xv. 39):—"but I think it was some other John of those who were in Asia, since men say (*φασίν*) that there were two graves at Ephesus, and that each was the grave of John." (This mention of "the two graves" is the single *fact* which Dionysius can bring forward, in proof of the existence of the second "John"—see No. (20), p. 420). And yet, notwithstanding this theory, in his epistle to Hermammon (*ap.* Euseb., vii. 10) he quotes—just as Eusebius (see p. 420) subsequently quotes—the Apocalypse as prophetical and inspired. This epistle to Hermammon, was written, A.D. 262, under the reign of Gallienus, after the close of the three and a half years' persecution by Valerian which began A.D. 257, and not long before the death of Dionysius: "And to John," he there writes, "is it in like manner revealed, 'And there was given unto him (saith he) a mouth speaking great things and blasphemy; and there was given to him authority, and forty and two months;' [Rev. xiii. 5] (*καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ὁμοίως ἀποκαλύπτεται· καὶ ἐδόθη γὰρ αὐτῷ, φησὶ, στόμα .... καὶ ... ἐξουσία καὶ μῆνες τεσσαράκοντα δύο*)." Both predictions, adds Dionysius, have been wonderfully fulfilled in Valerian.

That the Apocalypse was not written by the author of the Fourth Gospel, Dionysius seeks to prove by the following arguments:—

(i.) 'The writer of the Apocalypse names himself (ch. i. 1, 4, 9; xxii. 8); the Evangelist never does so.' The obvious reply is, that St. John is here writing in the Prophetic style; and in it anonymous prophecy is inadmissible:—cf. Dan. vii. 15; viii. 1, 15; ix. 2; &c.; and the other prophets *passim*.

(ii.) 'The Apocalypse differs from St. John's other writings in style, in the character of its Greek, and by its

barbaric idioms and solecisms' (see below, pp. 454–61).

(iii.) 'The Apocalypse further differs in its tone of thought, and by the absence of the characteristic terms frequent in the Fourth Gospel and the Catholic Epistle':—whoever examines the matter, adds Dionysius, will find, in both, the same words and phrases recurring—"life," "light," "truth," "grace," "joy," "love," and so forth; while the Apocalypse is quite distinct, and, when compared with these two, of an entirely foreign character (see below, p. 451).[1]

The objections (ii.) and (iii.), which form the staple of modern criticism also, are neither stronger nor weaker in the mouth of Dionysius than when employed by writers in this nineteenth century:—as such they will be considered below. Meanwhile it is to be borne in mind that, so far as historical evidence goes, there is absolutely no proof whatever in favour of any other author than St. John. Dionysius does not deny that the author of the Apocalypse beheld the Visions which he describes; or that he was endowed with the Divine gift of prophecy. He was embarrassed by the arguments which the Chiliasts founded upon the Book; and he knew that certain objections had been raised as to its authenticity; but he deliberately rejected those doubts, and accepted the Book as inspired Scripture. Although he could not account for the style of the Apocalypse, he was unable to ascribe it—as he desired to ascribe it—to any other than the Apostle among the many persons who bore the name of "John." And thus, this earliest effort to apply subjective criticism to the Books of the New Testament, utterly failed to establish itself in opposition to adequate historical proof. The positive testimony of Clemens Al. and of Origen (see above p. 415), predecessors of Dionysius in the school of Alexandria, may fairly be adduced as conclusive against the subjective theory of that writer.

Eusebius, indeed, has attempted, as we have already seen (p. 420), to found an argument on the "conjectures" of Dionysius. Adopting the singular reasoning which finds proof of the non-apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse in the mention of the two graves at Ephesus[1] (No. (20), p. 420), Eusebius proposes to disinter from the words of Papias, No. (5), the mysterious form of "the Presbyter John,"—of whose existence Dionysius seems to have had no knowledge at all,—and suggests that this was the unknown "John" whom Dionysius had failed to discover. No writer between Papias and Eusebius has mentioned the name of this enigmatical personage, who has furnished the theme of such protracted controversy in modern times. It has been argued with much force, by Hengstenberg and others,[2] that no such person existed; and that "John the Presbyter" is no other than the Apostle himself, who styles himself "Elder" in the superscriptions to his second and third Epistles. Still, when one examines the words of Papias, No. (5); and notices there the occurrence of the name "John" twice,—once, in conjunction with other Apostles, and once, in conjunction with Aristion (all, however, being apparently styled "disciples of

[1] εὑρήσει τὴν ζωήν . . τὸ φῶς . . τὴν ἀλήθειαν . . . τὴν χάριν, τὴν χαράν, τὴν ἀγάπην . . Ἀλλοιοτάτη δὲ καὶ ξένη παρὰ ταῦτα ἡ ἀποκάλυψις. . . Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς φράσεως τὴν διαφοράν ἐστι τεκμήρασθαι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν. Dionysius had just before "conjectured" as to the writer,—τεκμαίρομαι γὰρ ἔκ τε τοῦ ἤθους ἑκατέρων . . καὶ τῆς τοῦ βιβλίου διεξαγωγῆς λεγομένης, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι,—*ap.* Euseb., *H. E.* vii. 25.

[1] St. Jerome writes: "Nonnulli putant duas memorias ejusdem Apostoli Joannis esse."—*De Vir. Ill.* c. 9.

[2] E. g. Zahn, "Papias von Hierapolis," *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1866, s. 649; Lange; Guericke; Riggenbach; &c. Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, 13me éd., p. lxxiii.) also writes: "L'existence de ce *Presbyteros Johannes* n'est pas suffisamment établie. Elle semble avoir été imaginée pour la commodité de ceux qui, par des scrupules d'orthodoxie, ne voulaient pas attribuer l'Apocalypse à l'Apôtre. L'argument qu'Eusèbe tire en faveur de cette hypothèse d'un passage de Papias n'est pas décisif. Les mots ἢ τί Ἰωάννης dans ce passage ont pu être interpolés (?). Dans ce cas, les mots πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, sous la plume de Papias, désigneraient l'Apôtre Jean lui-même (Papias applique expressément le mot πρεσβύτερος aux Apôtres; cf. 1 Pet. v. 1); et Irénée aurait raison contre Eusèbe en appelant Papias un disciple de Jean. Ce qui confirme cette supposition c'est que Papias donne *Presbyteros Johannes* pour un disciple immédiat de Jésus."

the Lord")[1]; and further, when one notices the different tenses used,—"what Andrew or Peter, &c., *said*" (εἶπεν); "what Aristion and the Presbyter John *say*" (λέγουσιν),[2]—it is hard to avoid the conclusion adopted by Eusebius, that Papias had in mind two persons named "John," one the Apostle, the other "the Presbyter." To infer, however, from the mere fact of the existence of such a person that he was the author of the Apocalypse, is perhaps the most daring venture which subjective criticism has ever assayed. We have seen—indeed Dionysius (see p. 440) has noticed the fact—how common was the name "John" (see p. 406, note [1]): and this of itself affords a strong presumption that the writer who speaks with such authority to the churches of Asia (Rev. ii. 7, &c.);—whose name was sufficient to show who was that "James the brother of John," whom Herod "killed with the sword" (Acts xii. 2);—who was content to announce himself simply as "I John" (Rev. i. 9);—was one so well known and pre-eminent in the Church as to need no distinguishing title: in a word, one who could be no other than the Apostle. Only arrogance, indeed, or a deliberate intention to deceive, can account for the assumption of this simple title by a different writer. Were a forger to have desired to appropriate the name of one of the original Twelve, is it likely that, when assuming a name so common, he should have given no clearer intimation of the person for whom he wished to be taken, than the unambitious address, "John to the Seven Churches" (Rev. i. 4)? If the author was not a forger,—and neither Dionysius nor Eusebius imply that he sought to deceive,—must he not have given some note of identification such as St. Luke has given (Acts i. 1), or as St. Jude has prefixed to his Epistle? "The Presbyter John," on the other hand, seems to have been a person so obscure that no early writer, except Papias,—neither Polycarp the contemporary of St. John (see p. 409), nor yet Polycrates of Ephesus (see p. 413) when enumerating those who were eminent (μεγάλα στοιχεῖα) in Asia,—has referred even by a distant allusion to his existence. The conclusion, therefore, seems to be established, that the "Presbyter John"—admitting that he ever existed—was a person too insignificant to leave any trace behind him;[1] and that to ascribe to him the authorship of the Apocalypse, is the most arbitrary and the most improbable of hypotheses. Lücke (s. 657) thus sums up the verdict of antiquity: "The oldest and the universal tradition of the Church—if you will, the orthodox opinion—is that the Apocalypse is a work of the Apostle John, the undoubted author of the Fourth Gospel and of the three Catholic Epistles which stand in the Canon under his name."

§ 6.—*The present stage of subjective Criticism.*

The subjective doubts suggested by Dionysius of Alexandria, and developed by Eusebius, have fructified; and every possible combination of the different aspects of the problem has found its advocates in modern times. The question as to the relation of the Apostle John to the two principal works which bear his name, admits of four answers:—

[1] The same may be said of the word "elders." On the word "elder" in the passage No. (5) (Eus., *H. E.* iii. 39), Bishop Lightfoot observes: "What class of persons he (Papias) intends to include under the designation of 'elders' he makes clear by the names which follow. The category would include not only Apostles like Andrew and Peter, but also other personal disciples of Christ, such as Aristion and the second John. In other words, the term with him is a synonym for the Fathers of the Church in the first generation." — *Contemp. Review*, August, 1875, p. 379.

[2] Bishop Lightfoot (*l. c.*, p. 583), however, thinks that, here, "the tense should probably be regarded as a historic present introduced for the sake of variety."

[1] The "Apostolical Constitutions" (vii. 46), indeed, mention, in connexion with the Aristion (Ariston) of Papias, a John bishop of Ephesus, successor of Timothy and of the Apostles, and chiefly of the Apostle John who installed him in his office—τῆς δὲ Ἐφέσου Τιμόθεος μὲν ὑπὸ Παύλου, Ἰωάννης δὲ ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου—on which Le Clerc notes: "Est quidem Johannes hic meâ conjecturâ Johannes ille Presbyter apud Eusebium, atque ex eo apud Hieronymum."—*ap.* Coteler., t. i. p. 387, ed. 1724. The mention of Aristion (*ibid.*) as Bishop of Smyrna adds some weight to this interpretation of the statement of the Apostolical Constitutions.

The Apostle John has written

I. The Apocalypse as well the Gospel;

II. Certainly the Gospel, but not the Apocalypse;

III. Certainly the Apocalypse, but not the Gospel;

IV. Neither the Gospel, nor the Apocalypse.

After the settlement of the Canon of the New Testament (always excepting the doubts, already considered, which were founded upon the misuse of the Apocalypse by the Millennarians) this question was not reopened until the age of the Reformation.[1] The verdict of antiquity, as represented in the answer No. I., was universally accepted. In the sixteenth century, however, Erasmus (followed by Carolostadt), having reproduced the doubts suggested formerly by Dionysius, and at this period by Luther and Zwingli, declared himself in favour of the answer No. II. During the rest of Cent. xvi., and during Cent. xvii., criticism was silent; but at the beginning of Cent. xviii., doubts once more arose,—called forth, perhaps, by the numerous expositions of the Apocalypse which had appeared in Cent. xvii. The first attempt in England, writes Lücke (s. 496), at a "more fundamental critical inquiry" as to the Apocalypse, was that of "the unknown author" of 'The New Testament in Greek and English, form'd agreeably to the illustrations of the most learned commentators,—London, 1729.'[2] The more important treatise of F. Abauzit, 'A Discourse historical and critical on the Revelation ascribed to St. John,—London, 1730,' first appeared anonymously in its English translation; and called forth from Dr. Leonard Twells the third part of his 'Critical examination of the late new text and version of the New Testament' (*i. e.*, the version of W. Mace). This treatise of Twells Lücke (s. 498) describes as "unquestionably the first comprehensive and fundamental attempt to defend the Johannean authenticity of the Apocalypse, as well on internal as external grounds;" and by it an end was put to the controversy in England. Semler and Oeder took up the question in Germany about the year 1769, and alleged that the Book was a forgery by Cerinthus who ascribed it to St. John. This revival of the opinions of the Alogi has received no countenance from subsequent critics, however extreme their scepticism; although the theories that the author was "John whose surname was Mark"[1] (Acts xii. 12); or "the Presbyter John;" or a fictitious "Johannes Theologus" of later date than the Apostle (Ballenstedt, *Philo u. Johannes*, Göttingen, 1812); or "a rabbinically learned Christian of Laodicea" (Lützelberger); or, generally, an unknown writer named "John,"—were variously maintained. This last theory is supported by Ewald, Credner, De Wette, Neander, Lücke, Düsterdieck, and others: its stronghold is the alleged discrepancy in style between the Gospel and the Apocalypse, together with other "internal" grounds (see below, § 7); and its motive is an anxiety to uphold the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel.

The next stage of criticism, represented by the answer No. III., is that of Baur and the school of Tübingen. For the first time, in the year 1820, K. G. Bretschneider[2] suggested doubts as

[1] Thus, Nicephorus Callistus (Cent. xiv.) accepts as an admitted fact that St. John, when in exile in Patmos under Domitian, wrote his Gospel and his ἱερὸν καὶ ἔνθεον ἀποκάλυψιν (ii. 42). In his enumeration (ii. 46) of the Books of the Canon he observes that some persons imagined (τινὲς ἐφαντάσθησαν) that the Apocalypse was written by the Presbyter John:—here he is clearly referring to Eusebius (see above p. 441). See Alford, *Prolegg.*, p. 220.

[2] The author of this Arian Version of the New Testament, now known to be W. Mace (see Cotton's 'Editions of the Bible,' p. 87), relies upon the precedent of Dionysius Alex.; and asserts as to the Fathers who bear testimony to the Apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse, that "Justin Martyr was remarkable for his illiterateness; Irenæus for his credulity; and Tertullian for his atheistical philosophy. The credibility, therefore, of a fact founded upon such evidence is less than nothing."—p. 1022.

[1] So Beza in his annotated New Testament:—"Quod si quid aliud liceret ex stylo conjicere, nemini certe potius quam Marco tribuerim, qui et ipse Joannes dictus est."—*Prolegg. in Apoc.*, ed. Cantab. 1642, p. 744. In modern times Hitzig also (*Ueber Joh. Markus u. seine Schriften*, 1843) has revived the hypothesis rejected by Dionysius Alexandrinus.

[2] *Probabilia de Evangelii et Epp. Joannis Apostoli indole et origine.*

to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and prepared the way for the theory of Baur and Zeller (p. 406, note [1]). The difference of style, so much insisted upon, gave rise to the dilemma,—"Either the Fourth Gospel is the authentic work of St. John, and, consequently, the Apocalypse is not an authentic work of the same author; or the converse is true, and the Apocalypse was written by the Apostle, and the Gospel was not." Heretofore, the former member of the dilemma had been usually adopted by critics, following Dionysius Alex.; but the school of Tübingen—in its turn taking up the dilemma—has adopted the latter member. Writers of this school insist upon the early and definite decision of ecclesiastical tradition in favour of the authorship of the Apocalypse by the Apostle John, and of his residence in Asia Minor; they usually dwell on the testimony of Justin M. who, as they argue, was unacquainted with St. John's Gospel; and they also rely upon the genuinely Apostolical (that is to say, "genuinely Jewish") type of thought presented by the Apocalypse. Hence they conclude that this Book alone is the work of the Apostle John; and they consequently assert, on account of the alleged difference of style, that the Fourth Gospel and the three Epistles did not proceed from him.

A distinct theory has been proposed by Volkmar,[1] in holding which he seems to stand alone; viz., that the Apocalypse is a forgery by a Christian versed in the Scriptures, devised during the lifetime, and in the name of St. John,—"under his shield," as Volkmar expresses it ("unter dem Schilde des letzten Hauptes der 12 Apostel," s. 42),—and with the design of carrying out that hostility to Pauline doctrine (see Note A on ch. iii. 19) which it is a favourite assumption of modern rationalists to ascribe to the Apostle John. This theory is a sort of compromise between the attempt to deny that the Christology of the Apocalypse proceeded from one of the original Twelve Apostles, and the wish, at the same time, to maintain that an original Apostle was opposed to the teaching of St. Paul.[1]

The unsatisfactory results of either member of the dilemma presented by the answers No. II. and No. III., has led to a partial return to the answer No. I.,—although by no means in the sense in which any system of orthodox theology accepts it. Hase in his *Leben Jesu* (4te Ausg., s. 5), and Réville, in two articles in the *Revue de Théologie* (vol. ix. p. 329; vol. x. p. 1), entitled *Jean le prophète et Jean l'évangéliste*, admit, on the one hand, the authenticity of the Apocalypse; and, on the other, the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles: but they assert that an essential divergence distinguishes these writings,—a divergence which they account for by the hypothesis that, in the interval between the composition of the Apocalypse and of the Fourth Gospel, a profound transformation took place in the faith of the Apostle John:—"When the Apocalypse was written, Jerusalem," argues Hase, "was still standing; and thus the passage from this Book to the Gospel must have been a transition from a lower to a higher point of view:—a progress in religious conception, and also a progress in style, manifested when the Apostle John found himself at Ephesus, where Paul had laboured before him." When assailed on account of this theory by the chief of the School of Tübingen, Hase answered by contending that the transformation in St. John's opinions was caused by his sense of the Divine judgment which fell on the Jewish Sanctuary, and also by the normal development of the Christian mind:—"The Gospel," he writes, "is the Apocalypse spiritualized."—*Die Tüb. Schule*, s. 26–30. The same theory has been proposed in Holland, by Professors Scholten and Niermeyer. It is evident, however, that whatever can be urged in answer to the imaginary contradiction between St. John and St. Paul (see below, and on ch. ii. 2) will equally hold good in answer to this

[1] *Commentar zur Offenbarung Joannes*, von Dr. Gustav Volkmar, Zürich, 1862.

[1] "Der Verfasser, gleichviel welcher Johannes, gehört zu dem Kreis der ältesten Christenheit, welche den Paulinismus, der das Gesetz aufhebt, als einen Verrath am alten Bund betrachtet."—Volkmar, *l.c.*, s. 25.

imaginary contradiction between St. John and himself.

Yet again, the controversy has veered to a different point:—we are now asked to adopt the answer No. IV.; and, in order to see that St. John wrote neither the Fourth Gospel nor the Apocalypse, to disbelieve the fact of the Apostle's residence at Ephesus; nay, of his having ever been in Asia Minor, a fact which Strauss (*Leben Jesu*, P. ii., v. § 74) fully admitted. The ministry of the Apostle John in Asia Minor was first called in question by Vogel in 1800, and in 1826 by Reuterdahl who suggested that the accounts of St. John's residence at Ephesus and exile to Patmos, were derived from Rev. i. 9, and from it alone. The question was taken up by Lützelberger in 1840, who contended that St. John died before the Epistle to the Galatians was written in Palestine; and, accordingly, that he had never been at Ephesus. The hypothesis of Lützelberger has been revived and defended by the late Dr. Theodor Keim.[1] Keim, as we have already seen (p. 406, note [3]), admits that "from Justin M. to Irenæus and the great Fathers, the Revelation of John was recognized as the work of the Apostle;" and he also allows that the Book "clearly enough refers its own composition to Asia Minor and Ephesus" (B. i. s. 164):—but he nevertheless attempts to prove that, "according to all historical evidence, the residence of the Apostle John in Asia Minor is set aside; and this in such a manner as to determine the question not only concerning the Gospel, but also concerning the Revelation; . . . . and thus the last support left to the composition of the Gospel by the son of Zebedee is removed" (*l. c.*, s. 156). An earlier writer, Bleek (*l. c.*, ii. p. 232), while maintaining that the Apocalypse was the work of "John the Presbyter," had admitted that such a theory is not without its difficulties, if the Apostle John was then living in Asia Minor and in the region where the Book appeared. In order, therefore, not to contradict the historical evidence which so clearly proves that St. John was a resident in Ephesus, Bleek had conjectured that he did not come there until after the Apocalypse was written. This conjecture seems to have suggested his system to Keim (B. i. s. 156 ff.), who seeks to prove, (1) that all the Apostles died long before the end of Cent. i.; (2), that St. John never resided and laboured in Asia Minor; (3), that the account, usually accepted, of his residence at Ephesus is not more ancient than Irenæus; and that Irenæus, through a mistake, changed "the Presbyter John" of Papias, No. (5), into the Apostle John,—erroneously connecting with the latter what he had heard in Asia Minor, when a boy.

(1) As to the early removal by death of the Apostles, Keim relies on Rev. xviii. 20; xxi. 14. These texts give no support to his conclusion: for ch. xviii. 20 can only refer generally to the persecution of the Church—ver. 24 speaking merely "of the blood of prophets and of saints," without any article to restrict the meaning, and without any mention of Apostles; while in ch. xxi. 14, the Twelve Names on the Twelve Foundations symbolize those who had founded the kingdom of God, without any allusion to their death or their survival. That some, at least, of the Apostles did survive the destruction of Jerusalem, may surely be gathered from such texts as Matt. xvi. 28 and the parallel passages; to which we may add the "when ye shall see (ἴδητε) Jerusalem compassed with armies," of Luke xxi. 20. See below, p. 449.

(2) Keim urges the silence of the earliest Christian writers as to the residence of St. John in Asia Minor. We are here to bear in mind how scanty the writings are which remain from this period; and that even these are nearly all hortatory, controversial, or apologetic:—when the New Testament itself is quoted, the names of the writers are seldom given. Where, one may ask, was that positive necessity which the *argumentum a silentio* requires, for any mention of St. John? If we omit the New Testament, how little do we know of St. Paul? Polycarp addressing the Philippians (c. iii.) speaks of St. Paul who had written an Epistle to that church; but the church of Philippi had no relations with St. John. Men like Ignatius, writing in fear of their

[1] "Geschichte Jesu von Nazara," Zürich, B. i. 1867; B. ii. 1871; B. iii. 1872.

lives, naturally confined themselves to the burning questions which agitated the Church, unconscious of the historical demands of posterity:—Thus, writing to Rome, Ignatius (c. iv.) refers to the connexion of that church with St. Peter and St. Paul; he addresses Ephesus (c. xii.) as the city through which the saints passed to a martyr's death;[1] his epistles to Smyrna and to Polycarp are occupied with the dogmatic and other interests of the time. The Epistle of the church of Smyrna relates to the persecutions of the Christians; and was written to the neighbouring churches which needed no information as to St. John. Keim's chief reliance, however, is placed on the silence of Hegesippus (*circ.* A.D. 170). Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 32; cf. Routh, *l. c.*, i. 205, &c.) has preserved a few fragments of this writer's "historical memorials" (ὑπομνήματα), in which he tells us that the Church was at peace till the time of Trajan; that the Apostles had gradually died off, and been succeeded by others who had heard with their own ears the Divine Wisdom; and that errors had now sprung up because there was no Apostle to correct them. Hegesippus accordingly places the death of the last Apostle in immediate causal connection with the outbreak of Gnostic error; he assigns both facts to the reign of Trajan, and is thus in perfect agreement with Irenæus and the others (see p. 430) who state that St. John survived till that period.[2]

(3) "But among the silent," writes Keim (s. 161), "there rises one who speaks," Papias bishop of Hierapolis near Ephesus, the friend of Polycarp bishop of Smyrna — see No. (6). From the passage No. (5) Keim infers that Papias neither personally knew the Apostle John, nor even presupposes, in those words, his existence in Asia Minor; Papias having merely been connected in his early days with one Aristion, and a Presbyter or "Elder" named John, who were both "disciples of the Lord." And the reason given for such an inference is, that, in this enumeration of seven Apostles, St. John—had he really been bishop of the neighbouring city Ephesus—could not have been placed by Papias so low as sixth.[1] The Apostle, accordingly, was never in Asia *Minor* at all; and the positive assertion of Irenæus—with whom the error first arose—and of others, that St. John lived and died at Ephesus, originated in the desire cherished in Asia, as well as at Corinth and Rome, to claim an Apostle as transmitter of the pure Christian tradition in opposition to Gnosticism. And thus it has come to pass that the Apostle John has taken the place in history of "the Presbyter John"—a personage of whose existence we know absolutely nothing, except from this casual mention of his name by Papias. Keim's contention, then, amounts to this, that what Irenæus had heard in his boyhood respecting "John the Presbyter," he falsely ascribed to John the son of Zebedee; and this with such success as to impose on all succeeding writers down to the present day. When the evidence, however, as to St. John's history which has been examined in the foregoing pages is borne in mind, it is hard to avoid the conjecture of Ewald (*Götting. gel. Anzeig.* 1867, s. 41) that Keim could not have meant seriously to defend such a conclusion. As a matter of fact, Keim is

[1] There is a hint (c. xi.) that St. Paul was not the only Apostle who had laboured at Ephesus:—the receivers of the Epistle are those οἱ καὶ ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνῆσαν ἐν δυνάμει Ἰ. Χ.

[2] If the 'Muratorian Fragment' (see p. 421) was written by Hegesippus, as Bunsen holds, Keim's objection is still less forcible. On this argument that, if St. John had been at Ephesus at all, Papias and Hegesippus must have mentioned it, and Irenæus and Eusebius have quoted them to that effect,—Mr. Matthew Arnold observes: "As if the very notoriety of John's residence at Ephesus would not have dispensed Irenæus and Eusebius from adducing formal testimony to it, and made them refer to it just in the way they do!"—*Contemp. Review*, May, 1875, p. 988.

[1] As to the position here assigned to the name of the Apostle John, Bishop Lightfoot writes:—"No rational account can be given of the sequence, supposing that the names are arranged 'in order of merit' . . . . The two names, which are kept to the last and associated together, are just those two members of the Twelve to whom alone the Church attributes written Gospels. As *Evangelists*, the names of John and Matthew would naturally be connected."—*Contemp. Review*, October 1875, p. 839.

mistaken when he asserts that Irenæus was the first to announce the residence of the Apostle John in Asia Minor; for we have the distinct evidence to the contrary of Apollonius who, as we know, lived in the days of Polycarp and Papias, and who wrote before Irenæus: even Keim allows that Apollonius wrote A.D. 170–180.[1] Apollonius, moreover, was free from any controversial bias in favour of the Apocalypse, for he wrote against Montanism (see p. 411); and he was able, as being himself an Asiatic, to bear testimony to St. John's residence and work at Ephesus, and to a special miracle which was there performed by the Apostle—see No. (9). Again, Keim assumes that Polycrates (see note [3], p. 413) was in error as to the Apostle Philip; and hence he concludes that Polycrates shared in the general confusion as to the Apostle John—although he was himself bishop of Ephesus, and for forty years a contemporary of Polycarp. See also p. 430, note [2]. In fine the theory of Keim requires us to believe that four independent witnesses —Apollonius at Ephesus, Irenæus in Gaul, Clemens at Alexandria, and Tertullian in Africa,—shared in the same misconception; and that this misconception has come to be accepted as history, while every trace of the true facts has been obliterated.[2]

And thus it may easily be seen how groundless is this latest attack on the Apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse, founded as it is upon the denial of St. John's residence in Asia Minor. Hilgenfeld without hesitation concludes: "John is, with full certainty, to be upheld as the Apostle of Asia" ("Johannes als Apostel Asiens ist mit voller Sicherheit zu behaupten," *l. c.*, s. 395). The evidence for the fact of the Apostle's residence in Asia has been already stated (pp. 427–30): and the epistle of Irenæus to Florinus (pp. 8, 27); the passage from Polycrates (No. (14), p. 414); and the opening chapters of the Apocalypse itself—to go no farther —will ever remain three solid bases on which our belief may rest with full historic certainty.[1]

§ 7. *Doubts as to the Apostolic Authorship.*

INTERNAL EVIDENCE. — We have seen how the current of modern Rationalism has set in the direction of fully admitting the composition of the Apocalypse by the Apostle John, the son of Zebedee,—the conclusion which it has been the chief object of this Introduction to prove. This admission, whatever its value may be, is to be placed to the credit of the present argument, without accepting in any sense the result which is thereby aimed at, namely the rejection of the Fourth Gospel on the ground of its internal discrepancies from the Apocalypse. As scholars, on the other hand, of the stamp of Lücke, Düsterdieck and Ewald, who accept the Fourth Gospel as the composition of St. John, seek to overthrow the authenticity of the Apocalypse by means of the same alleged discrepancies, it is necessary to examine whether such discrepancies really exist.

It is evident at a glance that the

[1] *L. c.*, i. s. 154; *anm.* 2, s. 164. Keim (s. 169) also allows that the Apostle was confounded with, or exchanged for, the author of the Apocalypse, before the confusion arose between John the son of Zebedee and "the Presbyter John"; because Justin Martyr, some time before Irenæus, was a witness to that error,—see No. (8), p. 410.

[2] See Mr. Sanday's remarks on Keim, in *The Academy*, July 1, 1871.

[1] This result, given in his own words, is *almost* admitted by Renan (*l.c.*, p. 569). Luthardt, on the Fourth Gospel (1874, s. 122), thus sums up the answer to Keim:—(i.) Irenæus cannot have confounded the Apostle John with "the Presbyter John," since he carefully distinguishes between the Apostles and other disciples of the Lord; and since he appeals, in controversy, to facts which cannot be rejected by those against whom he urges them;—(ii.) Nor can the supposed error of Irenæus as to St. John's residence at Ephesus be ascribed to this confusion, since, independently of Irenæus, the same tradition existed in Asia Minor as well as in Rome, and with Clemens Alex. (see above, p. 415);—(iii.) Had St. John not been at Ephesus, Polycarp could never have appealed to his example in the Easter controversy, as we know that he did,—*οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πεῖσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἅτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων, οἷς συνδιέτριψεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα.*—*ap.* Eus. v. 24.

Apocalypse presents wide divergences in structure and form from the other writings of St. John; but it is equally evident that such divergences are implied in the nature of the Book itself. From first to last the Book is a reflexion of the Old Test., echoing the prophetic voice, and exhibiting all the severity of the prophetic language. The style and manner, too, of the Apocalypse, as of any other composition, must, of necessity, be influenced by the position of the author throughout:—one need only call to mind the hymns of Mary, and Zacharias, and Simeon, differing as they do from the usual style of St. Luke. Some writers seem to think that St. John could write in only one style, and that, a style fixed and unchangeable; forgetting how different the subjects are on which the Apostle has written, as well as the influence of the prophetic state on a prophet's utterances. The fact is that the divergences in form and structure between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel present themselves as natural and inevitable; while, at the same time, the analogies which may be traced between the ideas and the language of both writings, are too numerous, and are often marked with too great subtilty, to be fortuitous.[1] The Gospel, no less than the Apocalypse, is marked by its dependence on the Old Test. The Apocalypse, indeed, as well as the Gospel, is throughout full of allusions to, as distinct from direct citations of, the earlier Scriptures,—allusions which are interwoven, as if unconsciously, with the author's style. For example, let Rev. i. 10; iv. 2; xvii. 3; xxi. 10, be compared with Num. xxiv. 2; 2 Chron. xv. 1; Isai. lxi. 1; Ezek. xi. 5;—Rev. iv. 3, with Ezek. i. 28;—Rev. vii. 1, with Dan. vii. 2;—Rev. xiv. 10, with Jer. xxv. 15. See also the Messianic allusions in Rev. iii. 7; v. 5; xxii. 16. So in the Gospel, let John i. 51 be compared with Gen. xxviii. 12;—John ii. 16, with Jer. vii. 11;—John v. 29, with Dan. xii. 2;—John ix. 39, with Isai. xlii. 7;—John x. 16, with Isai. lvi. 8. The Messianic allusions are no less clear:—Christ must first "be manifest unto Israel," John i. 11, 31;—Nathanael addresses Him as "King of Israel," John i. 49;—"Salvation is of the Jews," John iv. 22;—and finally, the "Hosanna" of John xii. 13.

But the question must be considered more systematically.

I. And first of all as to the reasons derived from *internal characteristics*, against the composition of the Apocalypse by an Apostle, the great majority of "doubts" founded upon such grounds almost carry with them their own refutation:—

(α) 'The entire history of the exile of the Apostle John in Patmos under Domitian is, we are told, a fiction founded on Rev. i. 9, which is the record of an unreal vision:'—so Eichhorn, Neander, Bleek. Not to mention the positive evidence already adduced, Winer (*Real-Wörterbuch*, i. 592) justly observes that the ecstatic condition of the Seer does not commence until ver. 10,—the ninth verse bearing all the marks of a plain historical narrative in which, under the circumstances of the time (see note [3], p. 431), there is not the least improbability.

(β) 'The author does not call himself an Apostle; he does not speak of himself as an Apostle, or in the manner in which an Apostle might be expected to speak:' so Lücke, Keim, &c. But why should the title "servant" (δοῦλος) Rev. i. 1 (cf. ch. x. 7; xi. 18) prove that he was not an Apostle, when we find the same title assumed by St. Paul, Rom. i. 1; Gal. i. 10; Phil. i. 1; Tit. i. 1? Or again the title "partaker" (συγκοινωνός), Rev. i. 9, which is also used by St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 23; Phil. i. 7;—or "brother" (ἀδελφός) Rev. i. 9 (cf. ch. xix. 10; xxii. 9), a mode of speech which occurs in Rom. i. 13; 1 Cor. i. 10; Gal. iii. 15; &c.? The writer is naturally referred to as a "prophet" (as in Rev. xxii. 9; cf. ch. x. 7), just as were Ezekiel and Daniel. The style, moreover, and manner throughout the Book agree in all respects with the character of the "son of thunder" (Mark iii. 17) as depicted in the Gospels, e.g. Luke

[1] On this whole subject, see articles in the numbers of the *Revue de Théologie* for June, July, and Sept. 1856, entitled "De l'authenticité des écrits johanniques d'après Antonie Niermeyer, par M. Busken-Huet."

ix. 54. Cf. also p. 428, note [2]; and see paragraph (ε) below.

(γ) 'The Author speaks of the Twelve as he would not have done had he belonged to their number,'—e. g. in Rev. xviii. 20; xxi. 14 (on these texts see also p. 445). When Keim argues here, that in ch. xviii. 20 the Apostles are spoken of "*objectively*," he forgets that they are similarly spoken of in 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iii. 5; while Rev. xxi. 14 does no more than reflect the teaching of such passages as Matt. xvi. 18; xix. 28[1]; Eph. ii. 20,—passages which also set aside the objection that it is inconsistent with the humility of an Apostle, as prescribed in Mark x. 43, 44, to call himself and his fellow Apostles "Foundations." The remark of Ewald, that it is likewise inconsistent with Apostolic humility to record these promises of future blessedness, may be answered by referring to the far plainer words of St. Paul, Phil. i. 21–23; 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8; not to mention Dan. xii. 13; or St. John's styling himself in the Gospel "the Disciple whom Jesus loved."

(δ) 'The reflexion of the language and imagery of ancient prophecy which marks the Apocalypse, shows that the Visions recorded by its author are not original; but a mere repetition of the words of earlier Seers, in which he clothes his own anticipations of the future.' This is an argument really directed against the whole prophetic Volume, where we find successive prophets employing the very expressions of earlier predictions and developing their sense (see Lee on *Inspiration*, 4th ed., p. 326, &c.): it is also a denial of that progressive character which marks all Revelation, as set forth in Heb. i. 1.

(ε) 'The Christ of the Apocalypse is not the Christ of the Gospels:—in the Apocalypse He is "the Lion of the Tribe of Judah" (Rev. v. 5); He "shall rule the nations with a rod of iron" (Rev. xix. 15); He leads His armies "clothed with a vesture dipped in blood" (Rev. xix. 13). Is this,' we are asked, 'the Jesus of Matt. xi. 28–30; xii. 18–20?' The answer is clear: The Christ of the Apocalypse *is* the Christ of the Gospel,—Christ in His character of King (Matt. xxv. 31–46),—Christ in His character of Judge (John v. 22–29; cf. Ps. ii.; Isai. lxiii. 1–6). See also the note on Rev. iii. 21.

II. Again, it is urged that 'the Apocalypse differs from the other writings of the Apostle John by *the severity of its spirit, and temper, and tone*.'

Is this conclusion, however, borne out by facts?

The fiery spirit of St. John (cf. Mark iii. 17; Luke ix. 54) has, no doubt, left its impress on the Apocalypse. The loving words of the Epistles to the Seven Churches are mingled with stern tones of reproof to Ephesus (ch. ii. 5), to Pergamum (ch. ii. 16), to Laodicea (ch. iii. 16). Of those who worship the Beast, "the smoke of their torment goeth up for ever and ever" (ch. xiv. 11; cf. vv. 10, 20). They who are not written in the Book of Life are "cast into the lake of fire" (ch. xx. 15). But with all their gentle and loving utterances the other Joannean writings present the same aspect of severity,—see John iii. 36; vi. 70; viii. 44; xv. 6; 1 John ii. 19; v. 16; 2 John 10. If it is said in Rev. xvi. 5, of the avenging justice of God, "Righteous art Thou" (Δίκαιος εἶ),—so in John xvii. 25, God is addressed "O righteous Father" (Πατὴρ δίκαιε). And yet with all this, the principle that "God is love" is deeply stamped upon the Apocalypse. Although the Book, as describing the Divine judgments, dwells on the wrath of God (cf. John v. 22–29), still we never lose sight of His mercy and loving-kindness. The thought contained in ch. vii. 17, which is repeated in ch. xxi. 4,—that "God shall wipe away every tear from the eyes" of men—is also implied in ch. xxi. 7, where the idea of "son" includes that of "Father." This same thought reappears in another form in ch. xxi. 3: "God himself shall be with them, and be their God," where the words "their God" at once recall John xx. 17. If in John iii. 17, God comes in Christ not to judge but to save; in the Apocalypse, God comes in

[1] When discussing this question, Scholten (*l. c.*, s. 129) asserts that Matt. xix. 28 is spurious. There is, however, really no more doubt as to the genuineness of this verse than as to the genuineness of any other verse in the New Test.:—see Tischendorf, 8th ed., *in loc.*

Christ to *judge*—but, only after the work of mercy has been accomplished, ch. xix. 11; xx. 11–15. The judgment of the world, indeed, and the conflict between Christ and the world are the constant theme of the Fourth Gospel, e.g. John xii. 31; xv. 19, 20; xvi. 11; nay, that peculiar feature of the Apocalypse —the First Resurrection—is not obscurely foreshadowed in John v. 25–29: see on Rev. xx.

Let the following passages also be compared; Rev. i. 5; iii. 4; v. 9, with 1 John i. 7;—Rev. ii. 17 with John vi. 32;—Rev. iii. 20 with John xiv. 23;—Rev. vii. 16 with John vi. 35;—Rev. xxi. 6; xxii. 17 with John iv. 10, 14; vii. 37.

III. The question as to *the identity of doctrine* is next to be considered. And first of all, as to the Christology of the Book:—

(*a*) The Christology of the Apocalypse perfectly reflects that of the Fourth Gospel. The Ancient Church styled the Author of the Apocalypse *Theologos* (see the remarks introductory to ch. i.), because he taught the Godhead of the Logos; and this fact Scholten (*l. c.*, s. 9) turns into the objection that the "Apotheosis of Jesus is stated too strongly to be ascribed to a contemporary and disciple of Jesus,"—see e.g. ch. iii. 21.

The title Logos, "The Word," describes as an exclusive attribute the Person of Christ:—In the Fourth Gospel we read (i. 1) "The Word was God" (Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος). In Rev. xix. 13 He is called, at His Second Coming, "the Word of God;" as in 1 John i. 1, He is called "the Word of Life." When He is called absolutely "the Word," in John i. 1, the genitive (τοῦ Θεοῦ) underlies the sense;—just as when "The Life" (ἡ ζωή, John i. 4), also taken absolutely, is applied to Him: cf. John v. 26. Accordingly, in the Apocalypse (ch. xix. 13), where Christ appears as the supreme and final Revelation of Jehovah, the genitive (τοῦ Θεοῦ) is added to the absolute ὁ Λόγος. The titles, too, which paraphrase the name Jehovah, are, with but slight notes of distinction, applied to God and Christ:—"Alpha and Omega," "the First and the Last," "the Beginning and the End," "the Holy and True," "the Amen," He that is "alive for evermore" (Rev. i. 8, 17; iii. 7, 14; xxi. 6; xxii. 13). In Rev. iii. 14 Christ is "the Beginning of the Creation of God" (ἡ ἀρχή, see John i. 1; cf. Col. i. 15). In this passage of the Apocalypse, the title (ἡ ἀρχή) cannot mean a being prior to all others, "the first created," any more than "the Last" (ch. i. 17) can mean, 'One who comes *last* or after others:' it means 'the Beginning,' 'the primal Source'—*principium* not *initium* (see *in loc.*)—from Which all Creation flows; just as "the Last" means the *end* to which all Creation returns. Through Christ all things created are connected with God:—and this is the thought which "the Word," as represented in the Fourth Gospel, conveys, see John i. 3; cf. Rev. iv. 11. The pre-existence of Christ is also implied,—see John xvii. 5; and cf. Rev. xiii. 8 with John xvii. 24.

The name "Jesus Christ" occurs in Rev. i. 1, 2, 5; and in the Fourth Gospel in ch i. 17; xvii. 3. The title "Son of God," which is frequent in the Fourth Gospel, is found in Rev. ii. 18; and similarly the title "Son of Man" occurs *eleven* times in the Fourth Gospel, and appears in Rev. i. 13; xiv. 14. Throughout the Apocalypse Christ is styled "the Lamb,"—e.g. ch. v. 6; and the title is applied to Him twenty-eight times. In the Fourth Gospel He is "the Lamb of God," John i. 29, 36 In John xix. 36—"a bone of Him shall not be broken"—the reference to Ex. xii. 46 proves that "the Lamb of God" is the Paschal Lamb, the "Lamb slain" (a phrase more than once to be found in the Apocalypse, ch. v. 6, 9, 12; xiii. 8), by Whom and by Whose blood the sins of the world have been taken away,—see John i. 29; 1 John i. 7; ii. 2; Rev. i. 5;[1] vii. 14. (On the Greek word rendered "Lamb," see below, p. 457). The idea of "redemption" is also *expressed* in Rev. v. 9; xiv. 3, 4; cf. John vi. 51; x. 15; xv. 13. In Rev. iii. 21 Christ sits *in*

[1] In Rev. i. 5, a few authorities give the reading λούσαντι in place of λύσαντι. Cf. the former with the use of λούειν in John xiii. 10.

the Father's throne; in John i. 18 He is the Son who is in the bosom of the Father;—in Rev. i. 4, 5, as in 2 John 3, "grace and peace" come from Christ as well as from God. Like God, the Lamb is the Temple and the Lamp of the heavenly City (Rev. xxi. 22, 23); He receives worship at the same time, and in the same manner as the Father (Rev. v. 11–13); and that worship belongs to Him which may not be rendered to Angels (ch. xix. 10; xxii. 9):—all this but reflects the thought expressed in John v. 23, "that all may honour the Son, even as they honour the Father."

In the Fourth Gospel, God revealed in Christ is *Life*, *Light*, *Love* (e.g. John i. 4, 5, 9; xv. 9, 10; xvii. 2, 26; cf. 1 John iv. 8, 16),—abstract terms which express the three characteristic thoughts of St. John. In the Apocalypse, God is He "that *liveth* for ever and ever," ch. iv. 9; x. 6; xv. 7; cf. vii. 2:—God is *Light*, ch. xxi. 23; xxii. 5; cf. ch. iv. 3:—while the words of ch. i. 5; iii. 9, reflect all that the Fourth Gospel and the Joannean Epistles declare as to the Divine *Love*. (See above the objection urged by Dionysius of Alexandria, (iii.), p. 441).

If we compare Rev. v. 9 with John xvii. 4, 5 (observe καὶ νῦν,—"And now," *i. e.*, 'My work being accomplished'), we at once perceive that the Apocalypse and the Gospel present the death of Christ from the same point of view. In Rev. xii. 11, we read that when Christ's kingdom was founded, the Dragon was subdued and his power broken:—this is also the doctrine of John xii. 31; xiv. 30; 1 John iii. 8. Christ speaks of God as "My Father" (John ii. 16; xiv. 2), as "My God" (John xx. 17):—and so also in Rev. ii. 27; iii. 2, 5, 12, 21 (in Rev. xiv. 1, God is called "His [the Lamb's] Father"). In John vi. 51; viii. 12; x. 7, 11, He uses the emphatic "I am;"—and so too in Rev. i. 8, 17; ii. 23; xxi. 6; xxii. 13, 16. Compare also the formula "I will give" ["water," "bread]," in John iv. 14; vi. 51, as in Rev. ii. 7, 17; xxi. 6. As a shepherd He *feeds* His flock, *leads* them, and they *follow* Him, Rev. vii. 17; xiv. 4: this image occurs in John x. where it is transformed into a complete parabolic discourse,—cf. John xxi. 16. He leads to "the fountain of the water of life," Rev. vii. 17; xxi. 6; xxii. 17;—cf. this thought with John iv. 10, 14; vii. 37. As a Bridegroom He receives the Church as His Bride, Rev. xix. 7; xxi. 2, 9;—cf. John iii. 29. Compare in like manner Rev. i. 7, with John xix. 37;—Rev. ii. 7, with 1 John v. 11;—Rev. ii. 11, with John xi. 26;—Rev. iii. 7, with John x. 9;—Rev. iii. 20, with John xiv. 23; xvii. 21–26;—Rev. xxi. 23, 24, with John viii. 12;—Rev. xiv. 4, with John xiii. 36.

Christ is placed in the same rank with God in Rev. vi. 16; xii. 10; xiv. 4; xxi. 22;—and so He is placed in John v. 17–26; viii. 19; x. 15; xvii. 1; 1 John ii. 23. The doxologies in Rev. v. 13; vii. 10; xi. 15, where the same expressions are applied to Christ and to God, merely reflect such texts as John viii. 16; xv. 23; xvi. 3; xvii. 3; 1 John i. 3; ii. 22; 2 John 3, 9. Such passages, indeed, as Rev. xx. 6; xxii. 1, 3, are founded on the great principle announced in John x. 30, "I and the Father are one" (cf. xiv. 9). As God is worshipped in Rev. iv. 8–11, so is Christ in Rev. v. 12, 13:—Angels and men "honour the Son even as they honour the Father," John v. 23.

Acts of the same kind are ascribed to God and to Christ. The "sending" of the Angel "to show unto His servants the things which must shortly come to pass,"—an act ascribed to God in Rev. xxii. 6, and ascribed to Christ in Rev. i. 1; xxii. 16,—corresponds to the "sending" the Comforter by the Father in John xiv. 26, and by Christ in John xv. 26. If both God and Christ are the light of the Heavenly City in Rev. xxi. 23; xxii. 5, the presence of both is the recompense of the faithful in John xiv. 18, 23, and their protection in John x. 28, 29.

If Christ is "He which searcheth the reins and hearts" in Rev. ii. 23, we read to the same effect in John ii. 24, 25:—cf. John vi. 61, 70.

In both the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse the "Tabernacle" of God, or of Christ is with (or among) men, John i. 14; Rev. vii. 15; xxi. 3:—in the former He speaks of His body under the figure of a Sanctuary (ναός), John ii. 19; in the latter He is Himself the

Sanctuary of the New Jerusalem, Rev. xxi. 22.

The references to the Resurrection in Rev. i. 17, 18; ii. 8, are parallel to those in John ii. 19; x. 17, 18:—compare, too, Rev. i. 18, where Christ has "the keys of death and of hell," with John v. 21; vi. 39; xi. 25;— Rev. i. 5 ("the first born of the dead"), with John xiv. 19; xx. 17;—Rev. xii. 5, (the "Man Child Who . . . was caught up unto God"), with John vii. 33; xiii. 3; xvi. 16. In Rev. i. 18, Christ is "the Living One,"—He "that is alive for evermore;" in John xiv. 6, 19, He names Himself "the Way, the Truth, and the Life;" and declares "Because I live, ye shall live also."

In fine,—the doctrine of the "subordination" of the Son, expressed in Rev. i. 1, is the reflection of what is taught in John v. 19, 26; x. 29; xiv. 28.

The Gospel, in short, presents Christ, in His state of humiliation, as the object of faith; the Apocalypse reveals Him in His state of Glory, as a King carrying out the scheme of redemption, and executing judgment. Each Book is the complement of the other; and both, by their union, make up one perfect whole. The Evangelist looks to the past; and brings to light those features of the life of Christ which set forth the glory of the Word made flesh:—the writer of the Apocalypse studies with the same care the future; and unfolds the progress of the Kingdom of God.

(*b*) The doctrine of the Holy Spirit:—

The *Personality* of the Holy Ghost is an admitted doctrine of the Fourth Gospel; so also in the Apocalypse, the Divine Spirit is a distinct Person:—(1) He appears, in the entire fulness of His being, distinct both from God the Father and from Christ, symbolically represented as "the Seven Spirits which are before the throne," Rev. i. 4; iv. 5 (cf. John xv. 26); and then as "the Seven Spirits of God" which Christ "hath," Rev. iii. 1; v. 6. In the last of these passages we may discern an analogy to the statement of John iii. 34, that the Spirit is given "without measure" to Christ,—a fulness distinct from that of any gift to man, as the absence of the *article* in John xx. 22, of itself, indicates. (2) "The Spirit" appears absolutely in Rev. ii. 7 (and the *six* parallel places); xiv. 13: xxii. 17. In this sense "the Comforter" teaches and reminds the Disciples (John xiv. 26); and when He comes, will testify of Jesus (John xv. 26). Compare, too, 1 John iv. 1, with the references to "the Spirit of prophecy in" Rev. xix. 10; and "the spirits of the prophets in" Rev. xxii. 6.

(*c*) The Ministry of Angels—of which the Apocalypse from beginning to end testifies—is taught by Christ in John i. 51; is confessed by the people, John xii. 29; is represented as a matter of fact, John xx. 12, 13.

(*d*) The Christian life:—

(1) The formula, "to keep the commandments" of God or of Christ, so continually employed by the Apostle, is variously expressed (*τηρεῖν τὰ γεγραμμ.*, *τὰ ἔργα*, *τὸν λόγον*, *τὰς ἐντολάς*, *τὰ ἱμάτια*, &c.) in Rev. i. 3; ii. 26; iii. 8; xii. 17; xvi. 15;—the verb is used absolutely in ch. iii. 3, but always in this moral sense. With the exception of John ii. 10, this is always the sense of *τηρεῖν* (24 times) in the Fourth Gospel, and in the first Epistle of St. John. (2) We read in Rev. xxi. 27; xxii. 15 of him that "doeth (*ποιῶν*) a lie;"—in John iii. 21; 1 John i. 6 of him that "doeth the truth." (3) In Rev. i. 9 (cf. ch. iii. 10), of "the patience which is in Jesus" (*ὑπομονή*);—with which cf. the "abiding" (*μένειν*) in Him, John xv. 4; 1 John ii. 6; 2 John 9. (4) If the "beloved" are commanded "to prove (*δοκιμάζειν*) the spirits," in 1 John iv. 1,—the Church of Ephesus is commended (Rev. ii. 2) for having "tried" (*πειράζειν*) "them which call themselves Apostles." (5) The use of the verb *ἀρνεῖσθαι*, "thou didst not deny my faith," or "my name," Rev. ii. 13; iii. 8, is entirely parallel to its use in John xviii. 25–27; 1 John ii. 22, 23. (6) And so is the mention of the trials of the faithful, Rev. ii. 10; iii. 10, to such passages as John xv. 18–21; xvi. 1–4; 1 John iii. 13. Compare also Rev. iii. 11, with 2 John 8;—Rev. ii. 9, 19, with John xv. 2, 5;—Rev. vii. 14; xxii. 11, 14, with 1 John iii. 3. (7) "To walk" (*περιπατεῖν*) is used to denote moral action in Rev. iii. 4; xvi. 15; xxi. 24;

John viii. 12; xii. 35; and ten times in the three Epistles,—e. g. 1 John i. 6; 2 John 4; 3 John 3. (8) The verbs διψᾶν, πεινᾶν are used to denote the profound cravings of the soul—and in this sense only—in Rev. vii. 16; xxi. 6; xxii. 17; John iv. 13, 14, 15; vi. 35; vii. 37; xix. 28. (9) In fine, the full conception of the Christian life is summed up by St. John in the thought of "overcoming the world." In expressing this thought the verb νικᾶν is used to denote the triumph over evil, not only absolutely,—as throughout the Seven Epistles, Rev. ii.; iii.,—but also with an *object:* compare especially Rev. xii. 11; xiii. 7; John xvi. 33; 1 John ii. 13, 14; v. 4. See the note on ch. ii. 7.

To be excluded from eternal life is represented in Rev. ii. 11; xx. 14; xxi. 8, as "the second death;" and this same figurative sense of "death" is found, in the New Test., only in John xi. 25, 26; 1 John v. 16, 17:—on the idea of spiritual death, cf. John v. 24, 1 John iii. 14. And finally, the judgment of men "according to their works" is expressed alike in Rev. xx. 12, 13, and John v. 29 (cf. Rom. ii. 6).

(*e*) Eschatology:—

The doctrine of the Apocalypse properly so-called, as revealing the Second Advent of Christ,—His "Coming," His "Presence," the "Parusia" (1 John ii. 28; cf. Matt. xxiv. 27, 37, 39),—and especially the future perfection of the kingdom of God, has been termed "Eschatology" (see Lücke, *l. c.*, s. 23). This, the leading theme of the Book, is brought forward exactly after the same *manner* as is the leading theme of the Fourth Gospel. From the very first, in ch. iii. 12, we meet "the New Jerusalem" of ch. xxi.;—already in ch. xi. 7, we meet "the Beast" of ch. xiii. So in the Gospel also:—from the outset (John i. 29, 51; vi. 71), the Saviour's death and betrayal, and resurrection and glory are placed in the foreground; while the Lord's future return to judge and to recompense is referred to in the Gospel and the Epistles in such a manner as to recall the various aspects of Apocalyptic Eschatology,—John v. 28, 29; vi. 39, 40, 44, 54; xi. 24; xii. 48; 1 John ii. 18, 28; iv. 3, 17; 2 John 7. The First Advent of Christ in the Spirit is, indeed, the great theme of the Fourth Gospel; but still His Personal return is the chief thought with which He comforts the disciples—see John xiv. 2. In John v. 28, 29, moreover, the Gospel points to His visible return; and on this subject, as Luthardt[1] observes, we must neither spiritualize the Gospel, nor materialize the Revelation. In the Gospel the ordinary forms of language are used to express the thought; in the Revelation all is conveyed by figures. In the former, the standpoint is the presence of the Spirit; in the latter, the issues of history. The Apocalypse, at each instant, recalls and reflects the prophetic language of the Old Test.; while it also sums up the Eschatology of the New. Thus, the teaching of St. Paul as to the "Parusia" (1 Cor. xv. 23; 1 Thess. iv. 15; cf. Rev. xxii. 20),—and "the Israel of God" (Gal. vi. 16; cf. Rev. vii. 4),—and the "Jerusalem which is above" (Gal. iv. 26; cf. Rev. xxi. 2),—is repeated in the symbolism of the Apocalypse. Eschatology is, by its very idea, the history of the future,—the history of the building up of the kingdom of Christ, on the ruins of the kingdom of Satan. In a word, the history of Christian hope is re-echoed, throughout the ages, in the central thought of the Apocalypse—"The Lord is at hand."

(*f*) Demonology:—

In the kindred texts of the Apocalypse, ch. xii. 9 and ch. xx. 2, the chief titles of the spirit of evil are accumulated:—indeed, the epithets, Devil (διάβολος, Rev. ii. 10; John viii. 44; 1 John iii. 8, and Satan (Σατᾶν), Rev. ii. 9; John xiii. 27), are common to all St. John's writings. The remarkable designation of the evil one as, "the Prince of this world" (ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, John xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11), is reflected in the statements that Satan and his agents "deceive the whole world" (Rev. xii. 9; xiii. 14; xix. 20; xx. 3, 8, 10);—that "a throne" is given

[1] *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, Clark's tr. p. 273.

him (Rev. ii. 13);—that the Dragon bears "seven diadems" (Rev. xii. 3);—that his agent, the Beast, bears "ten diadems" (Rev. xiii. 1), and receives from the Dragon "his throne" (Rev. xiii. 2; cf. ch. xvi. 10). In both the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel we read how the effects of the evil principle are ascribed to Satan personally: e. g. murder and lying,—Rev. ii. 13; iii. 9; John viii. 44; 1 John ii. 21, 22; iii. 12. In 1 John iii. 10, the wicked are "the children of the Devil," while in Rev. ii. 9 they are "the synagogue of Satan." Compare Rev. xii. 11 with 1 John ii. 13, 14;—Rev. xii. 7–9, with John xii. 31; xvi. 11 (cf. also John xiv. 30; xvi. 33). See Note A on ch. xiii.

IV. *The Language and style* of the Apocalypse:—

The objection which, at all times, has formed the principal argument against our ascribing the Apocalypse to the Apostle John, rests upon its style,—a style which Lücke and others affirm to be so distinct from that of the Fourth Gospel and the Joannean Epistles, as to compel us to infer a different author. The peculiar style of the Apocalypse is recognized on all hands: it results naturally from the excited condition of prophetic ecstasy. The distinction is clearly defined between one who speaks "in the Spirit" (*ἐν πνεύματι*, Rev. i. 10; iv. 2, &c.) and one who speaks "with the understanding" (*τῷ νοΐ*, 1 Cor. xiv. 15). We know how St. Paul describes the former state in 2 Cor. xii. 2–4; and we can trace the effect of this spiritual exaltation in the contrast between the historical and the predictive portions of a Prophet's utterance:—cf. Isaiah xxxvi.; xxxvii. with the rest of the Book (see Lee *On Inspiration*, p. 180, &c.). To explain, on "rational" grounds, this phenomenon of the diversity of style and language presented by writings of the same author, various theories have been started. Some tell us that St. John's old age deprived his diction of its wonted force and vigour; while others, who place the date of the Apocalypse before the date of the Gospel, consider that his residence at Ephesus affected and softened the Hebraistic peculiarities of his earlier style.[1] Harenberg has even suggested that the Apocalypse was originally written in Aramaic.[2]

So early as the third century, it has been already pointed out [see (ii.) and (iii.), p. 441], the peculiarities of style which mark the Book were used as an argument to prove that the writer of the Fourth Gospel and of the First Epistle of St. John could not have been the author of the Apocalypse. Of the Gospel and Epistle Dionysius Alex. writes that they were composed "not only without blemishes, but in elegant and polished Greek; their author evidently possessing the gift of both knowledge and expression (*τῆς γνώσεως, τῆς φράσεως*). He who beheld the Apocalypse, on the contrary, had the gift of knowledge, but not that of expression:—his Greek is not accurate; it abounds in barbarous idioms and sometimes even in solecisms;"[3] and so forth.

[1] Milton's critics argue in exactly the opposite way. *Comus* appeared in 1637; *Paradise Lost* in 1667; *Samson Agonistes* in 1671, three years before the poet's death. The melodious versification of *Comus*, the sublime richness of *Paradise Lost*, the rugged grandeur of *Samson Agonistes*, harmonize respectively with the age of Milton when he wrote these works. In the case of Shakspere, "harshness and obscurity" are placed by his critics "among the notes of his third manner;" nor would his style in this last stage, "even were it possible by study to reproduce it, be of itself a perfect and blameless model:"—see *Fortnightly Review*, 1876, p. 30, "*The three stages of Shakspere*."

[2] "*Erklär. der Offenb. Johannis*," s. 72:—see Lücke, s. 441. That the Book was originally written in Greek, is evident, not only from the fact of its having been addressed to Greek-speaking communities, but also from the familiarity with the Greek language which the work displays:—for example, in such instances as the Greek names of precious stones, ch. xxi.; the Greek measures of weight and length, ch. vi. 6; xiv. 20; xxi.; the Greek rendering of Hebrew words, ch. ix. 11; the symbolism of Greek letters, ch. i. 8; xxi. 6; xxii. 13,—especially ch. xiii. 18; not to mention the use of classical expressions such as *πυρρός, ἡμιώριον, μεσουράνημα, ὑακίνθινος, ταλαντιαῖος ξύλον θύϊνον, τετράγωνος, διαυγής*, &c. One may add, too, the use of the LXX. when reference is made to the Old Test.:—cf., e.g., ch. vii. 9; xi. 9, with Dan. iii. 4, 7, 29; v. 19; vi. 25;—ch. v. 5, with Isai. xi. 1, 10, &c. (see below).

[3] Dionysius writes that the Fourth Gospel and First Epistle were written:—*οὐ μόνον ἀπταίστως κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογιώτατα ταῖς λέξεσι, τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς, ταῖς*

As will be seen presently, this description unduly exaggerates the anomalies and diversities of style: meanwhile, the attempt of Beza and Hitzig (see p. 443, note [1]) to prove, from the resemblance in diction between the Apocalypse and the Second Gospel, that the writer of the former was the Evangelist John Mark, illustrates how frail is the support which this line of argument supplies to any theory of authorship.[1] Let this aspect of the objections urged be now considered.

The Apocalypse, we are told, as contrasted with the Fourth Gospel, and the Joannean Epistles contains:—

(*a*) 'Hebraisms or Aramaic idioms.'

In reply to this statement, if urged as an objection, an analogous instance may be adduced:—The style of Josephus, when he writes the history of the Old Test., is more decidedly Aramaic than when he describes the events of his own time, and does not refer to a foreign model (see Winer, *Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms*, 6te Aufl., 1835, § 3, s. 31). Doubtless, the Hebrew element in the Apocalypse[2] where St. John delineates the bright or the gloomy outlines of the future, after the manner of the Hebrew Prophets, is far more conspicuous than in those earlier compositions of his in which he too, as well as other New Test. writers, calmly records his own reminiscences. In the former his thoughts flow *ἐν πνεύματι*, in the latter *ἐν νοΐ*. Indeed, it is evident of itself that the historical portions of the New Testament would naturally depart far more from the style and manner of the Old than the prophetical; and this fact may be illustrated by what Matthiæ notes in his grammar (vol. i., *Introd.* p. 11, Kinrie's ed.) of Athenian Tragedy, where the lyric choruses approach the Doric dialect,—the more impassioned parts being distinguished by the predominance of Doric, and the calmer by the use of Attic. The language of the Apocalypse, in fact, is more akin to the Hebrew than to the Greek; and while the Fourth Gospel proceeds in propositions of the usual historical and narrative character, the Apocalypse is occupied with Visions and imagery corresponding to the Hebrew diction of the Old Test., especially to its prophetic and sacred forms of speech[1]:—Thus we find in the Apoc. for "Jerusalem" only the form Ἱερουσαλήμ[2] (ירושלם), which is always used in the LXX. version of the Canonical Books; while in St. John's Gospel, as in St. Matthew's (with one exception,—Matt. xxiii. 37), and St. Mark's, the Greek and civil form, Ἱεροσόλυμα, alone is found. And yet, as Bishop Lightfoot observes (*Cont. Rev.*, May 1875, p. 860), the Apocalypse, "after all allowance made for solecisms, shows a very considerable command of the Greek vocabulary, and (what is more important) a familiarity with the intricacies of the very intricate syntax of this language."

συντάξεσι τῆς ἑρμηνείας (*ap.* Euseb. vii. 25); but in the Apocalypse—*διάλεκτον, καὶ γλῶσσαν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἑλληνίζουσαν αὐτοῦ βλέπω, ἀλλ' ἰδιώμασι μὲν βαρβαρικοῖς χρώμενον, καί που καὶ σολοικίζοντα* (*ib.*).

[1] The similar attempt of Hartwig according to Ebrard (*Krit. d. Ev. Gesch.*, s. 855), has paved the way for the correct method of demonstrating the authenticity of the Apocalypse.

[2] E. g., the instances of pleonasm in the case of the redundant pronouns in relative sentences, as in Rev. iii. 8; vii. 2, 9; xx. 8; which occur much more frequently in the LXX., in accordance with the Hebrew idiom,—see Ex. iv. 17; 1 Kings xi. 34; Ps. xxxix. 5; Isai. i. 21, &c.: compare Winer, § 22, 4, *a*, s. 134. Compare too the case of the "relative adverb," Rev. xii. 6, 14,—see Deut. iv. 5, 14, 26; 1 Macc. xiv. 34.

[1] E. g. the Hebrew words, *Abaddon*, ch. ix. 11; *Har-Magedon*, ch. xvi. 16; *Amen*, *Hallelujah*, ch. xix. 1, 3, 4, 6;—such phrases as, "He that hath the key of David," "the root and offspring of David," "the Lion of the tribe of Judah" (ch. iii. 7; v. 5; xxii. 16);—the names of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, ch. v. 5; xxi. 13. The Apocalypse "does not, indeed, mention any one of the Hebrew Prophets by name. It knows nothing of Isaiah, or Daniel, or Zechariah, as individuals. But nearly in every line it breathes their spirit, and almost utters their words."—Bishop Wordsworth, *Intr. to the Book of Rev.*, p. 150.

[2] Grimm notes: "Hæc forma constanter ap. LXX.; in N. T. ubi in ipso nomine tanquam sancto vis quædam reponitur, ut Gal. iv. 25, 26; Heb. xii. 22; Ap. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10; coll. Jos. c. Apion. i. 22; ita in compellationibus Mt. xxiii. 37; Lc. xiii. 34. Promiscue utraque forma usurpatur in apocryphis V. T., in Lucæ et Pauli scriptis."

When this Hebrew colouring is urged as an objection, it is not difficult to point out that here also the Apocalypse resembles the Fourth Gospel. It is pretty generally admitted by modern critics that the style of the Gospel of St. John is that of a born Jew, and certainly not that of an educated Greek:—the result is given below in the words of Mr. Sanday.[1] A few illustrations may be added here:—In Rev. ix. 11 we read "his name in Hebrew is Abaddon" (ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἀβαδδών) followed, after the manner of the Fourth Gospel, by the addition of the Greek equivalent for the Hebrew term,—see John i. 38, 42; iv. 25; ix. 7; xi. 16; xx. 16, 24; xxi. 2. In the case of Rev. iii. 14—"the Amen, the faithful and true Witness" (ὁ Ἀμήν, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ὁ ἀληθινός)—one may note the formula of assurance, peculiar to St. John's Gospel, and used only by our Lord, "Verily, verily, I say unto you," (Ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν, λέγω ὑμῖν). Compare the Hebrew idioms, John i. 12, 18; vi. 39; vii. 38, with "he that overcometh to him will I give" (ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ), Rev. ii. 26; iii. 12, 21; vi. 8. As in Rev. i. 6 (βασιλεία ἱερεῖς), a substantive in apposition supplies the place of an adjective,—so in John xii. 3. The verb commonly precedes its subject:—e. g. "saith he that holdeth" (λέγει ὁ κρατῶν), Rev. ii. 1 (cf. vv. 8, 12, 18; iii. 1, &c.); a usage frequent in the Gospel,—ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰωάννης, John i. 26 (cf. vv. 50, 51; ii. 3; v. 7, &c.).

(*b*) It is further objected that 'The Author of the Apocalypse and the Author of the Fourth Gospel, differ in their use of the LXX.':—

On the contrary, a striking parallel may be noted. Both writers follow the LXX.,—although both sometimes abandon this Version in order to approach more nearly to the Hebrew text. Thus, in Rev. ii. 27 (cf. ch. xix. 15)—"He shall rule them . . . . as the vessels of the potter, are broken to shivers." (ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς . . . . ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται)—the variation is insignificant from the LXX. version of Ps. ii. 9 (ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς . . . . ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς)[1] and is owing to the nature of the context.

[1] *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 28: "Representatives of such different schools as Luthardt, Ewald, Wittichen, and Keim, all speak to the same effect. . . . . 'The language of the book,' says Keim (i. 116, 117), 'is a reconciliation of the parties (Jew and Greek) in itself, so marvellously does it combine the facility and address of genuine Greek with the childlike simplicity, the figurativeness, yes, and the *gaucherie* (Unbeholfenheit) of Hebrew.' Ewald expresses himself similarly (pp. 44-47). It is Hebrew in a Greek dress—easily worn. The Greek has been learnt somewhat late in life, and has been fitted on to a framework of Hebrew. Luthardt (pp. 61, 65) describes this by a different metaphor: he says that 'a soul of Hebrew lives in it.' 'The imagery and modes of thought in the Fourth Gospel are rooted in the Old Testament, and have grown up out of the prophecy of the Old Testament.' M. Wittichen . . . . has gone carefully into this part of the subject; and gives a list of expressions which betray a specifically Hebrew origin'—(*Ev. Joh.* 5-7)." E. g.:—

"*Hebraistic words and phrases:* σκανδαλίζειν (xvi. 1), γεύεσθαι θανάτου (viii. 52), φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα (xviii. 28), ὑψωθῆναι ἐκ τῆς γῆς (xii. 32), ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν (xix. 18), σφραγίζειν, 'approve' (iii. 23), σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα (iv. 48), ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου (xii. 19), ἄξιος ἵνα (i. 27), περιπατεῖν trop. (viii. 12). *Figures of speech:* the woman in travail, xvi. 21 (cf. Iasi. xxi. 3, Hos. xiii. 13); living water, iv. 10 (cf. Ecclus. xv. 3, Baruch iii. 12); the lamp, λύχνος, v. 35 (2 Sam. xxi. 17, Ecclus. xlviii. 1). *Special Theological terms:* βασιλεία θεοῦ (iii. 3), ὀργὴ and κρίσις (iii. 18, 36), δικαιοσύνη (xvi. 8), ἁγιάζειν (xvii. 19)."—See Sanday, *l. c.*, p. 289.

[1] So, too, comparing Rev. xv. 4, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν, with Isai. lxvi. 23, ἥξει πᾶσα σὰρξ τοῦ προσκυνῆσαι. Compare John xv. 25, ἐμίσησαν, with Ps. xxxv. 19, οἱ μισοῦντες, and John xix. 36, ὀστοῦν οὐ συντριβήσεται αὐτοῦ, with Ex. xii. 46, ὀστοῦν οὐ συντρίψετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Cf., also, Rev. vi. 8, Ezek. xiv. 21;—Rev. x. 5, 6, Dan. xii. 7;—Rev. xviii. 23, Jer. vii. 34;—John ii. 17, Ps. lxix. 10;—John vi. 31; Ps. lxxviii. 24: see p. 455, note [2].

At times the author of the Apocalypse shows himself independent of the LXX.: e.g. Rev. ii. 17, τοῦ μάννα τοῦ κεκρυμμένου,—Deut. viii. 3, τὸ μάννα ὃ οὐκ ἤδεισαν οἱ πατέρες σου. Compare also Rev. xiv. 8; xvi. 19; xviii. 3, with Jer. xxv. 15, 16; Isai. li. 17, 22. (Note the various reading of Rev. xviii. 3, πέπτωκαν, as compared with τὸ ποτήριον τῆς πτώσεως, Isai. li. 17). The same independent mode of citation is followed in the Gospel: cf. John vi. 45 with Isai. liv. 13;—John xii. 40 with Isai. vi. 10;—John xiii. 18 with Ps. xli. 10; &c.

The most remarkable quotation of this class is that of Zech. xii. 10 in Rev. i. 7; John xix. 37,—in both of which passages the κατωρχήσαντο of the LXX. is changed into ἐξεκέντησαν, and ἐπιβλέπεσθαι into ὄπτεσθαι: see the note on Rev. i. 7.

The absence of direct quotations accounts for the fewness of the instances in which the Apocalypse, as in the case of Rev. i. 7, abandons the LXX. in order to return to the Hebrew original. In the Gospel also such instances are rare.

(*c*) 'Differences in language and manner' afford another ground of objection:—

There are certain peculiarities characteristic of the Apocalypse, on the one hand, and of the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of St. John, on the other, which cannot fairly be taken into account; inasmuch as such peculiarities result from the different subjects with which these writings are severally occupied. Thus, the spiritual tone of the Gospel and Epistle is reflected in such phrases as to "be born anew," or "from above"[1] (John iii. 3); while, for whatever reason, the Apocalypse has its own peculiar forms of words and phrases:—e.g. the form of the word "Jerusalem"[2] (see above, p. 455). Nor does the objector's standing argument prove any real diversity,—viz. that, in John i. 29, 36, where our Lord is styled the "Lamb," we find one form (ἀμνός), instead of the other form (ἀρνίον) which alone is found in the Apocalypse. In the Gospel, John the Baptist twice employs the former (ἀμνός), because that form occurs in the LXX. version of Isai. liii. 7, to which he is referring;—just as it (ἀμνός) is found in Acts viii. 32, and in 1 Pet. i. 19, where the same words of Isaiah are quoted or referred to. In these four places only does ἀμνός appear in the New Test. On the other hand, in John xxi. 15, the latter form (ἀρνίον) is employed by the Evangelist *when himself recording a saying of Christ*; and in this place only, and in the Apocalypse, does this word (ἀρνίον) appear in the New Test. The result, therefore, is that—while the Baptist borrows from the LXX. one form (ἀμνός)—the other form (ἀρνίον) is the term which St. John himself uses in the Fourth Gospel to express "a lamb." There is, accordingly, no divergence here, but perfect agreement: see the note on ch. v. 6.

Leaving out of sight the nature of the different writings, Lücke (s. 670) further objects that words characteristic of St. John's manner, or of frequent occurrence in his Gospel and Epistles, occur but rarely in the Apocalypse. Thus, ἀγαπᾶν is found only in Rev. i. 5; iii. 9; xii. 11; xx. 9; and ἀγάπη only in Rev. ii. 4, 19;—μένειν only in Rev. xvii. 10;—φωνεῖν only in Rev. xiv. 18;—οὖν, of such constant recurrence in the Fourth Gospel, only *six* times in the Apocalypse, viz., ch. i. 19; ii. 5, 16; iii. 3 (twice), 19. (As to the case of οὖν, it may here be observed that, in the abrupt narrative of the Apocalypse, there does not exist that close connexion of sentences which would admit of the frequent use of οὖν; and οὖν, it is to be noted, is found only in the first three chapters. Hengstenberg gives, as a parallel case, the use of τε only eight times in St. Luke's Gospel, while it occurs more than 160 times in the Acts). Again, it is objected that πιστός, which is found eight times in the Apocalypse, occurs only in John xx. 27; 1 John i. 9; 3 John 5;—that πίστις, which is found *four* times in the Apocalypse, occurs only in 1 John v. 4;—that while θεᾶσθαι and θεωρεῖν are frequently used in the Fourth Gospel, as well as in 1 John i. 1; iii. 17; iv. 12, 14, θεωρεῖν alone is used in the Apocalypse, and there, only in Rev. xi. 11, 12 (ὁρᾶν, βλέπειν, εἶδον, continually employed in the Gospel and Epistles, are the verbs which appear in the Apocalypse).

Of a similar character are the following objections, also urged by Lücke among many of the same kind:—

The phrase "to have part" (ἔχειν μέρος) occurs, it is true, both in the Fourth Gospel and in the Apocalypse; but in the former (John xiii. 8), it refers

[1] For example, εἶναι ἔν τινι (e. g. John xiv. 10),—γεννηθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ (1 John iii. 9), μένειν ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ (1 John iii. 14),—κ. τ. λ.

[2] Compare also ψευδής (Rev. ii. 2; xxi. 8) for ψεύστης (John viii. 44);—εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων (Rev. i. 18, &c.) [cf. the *v. l.* εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ch. i. 6] for εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (John vi. 51, &c.);—ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ (Rev. ix. 11) for Ἑλληνιστί (John xix. 20). Some divergences are merely apparent:—e. g., the case last quoted; for in Rev. ix. 11; xvi. 16, we find Ἑβραϊστί in full agreement with John v. 2; xix. 13, 17, 20. If in Rev. xxi. 6 we read τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ζωῆς, and in John iv. 10 ὕδωρ ζῶν, nevertheless in John vi. 35 we read ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς.

to a person, and is followed by the preposition "with" (*μετά*),—while in the latter (ch. xx. 6; xxi. 8) it does not refer to a person, and is followed by "in" (*ἐν*). The Apocalypse has, no doubt, the phrase characteristic of the Fourth Gospel, "to keep the commandments of God" (*τηρεῖν τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ*); but, in Rev. xiv. 12, the words "and the faith of Jesus" (*καὶ τὴν πίστιν Ἰησοῦ*) are added, which are not found in the Gospel. The name "Satan" (*ὁ Σατανᾶς*), which is found eight times in the Apocalypse, occurs once only in the Gospel (John xiii. 27); but the Gospel never combines "the Devil and Satan" (*διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς*), as in Rev. xii. 9; xx. 2. [The verse Rev. xii. 9 sufficiently answers the question,—'Why do we not find in the Apocalypse the phrase "the Prince of this world" (*ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*), John xii. 31?].

It is difficult to understand why a hard and fast rule, such as this form of the objection points to, should be imposed on any author; and why he should be expected to use the same word an equal number of times in his different writings. May there not also be, in all cases, valid reasons for his selection? When we are told for instance that, instead of *κόσμος*—so repeatedly used by St. John (e.g. John i. 9; iii. 16), and which also appears in Rev. xi. 15; xiii. 8; xvii. 8—the Apocalypse more frequently employs *τὰ ἔθνη, πᾶν ἔθνος* (e.g. ch. ii. 26; xiv. 6: cf. John xi. 48–52; xviii. 35), the reason is, as Godet observes, "because, in the struggle which constitutes the object of that Vision, the nations are 'the heathen' who represent, in a concrete manner, the worldly principle."—*On St. John's Gospel*, i. p. 268.

(*d*) Irregular constructions:—

In the often quoted words, Rev. i. 4—"Grace to you, and peace from Him which is and which was, and which is to come" (*εἰρήνη ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων, κ. τ. λ.*)—the writer is certainly not ignorant that *ἀπό* governs the genitive, and that *ἦν* is not a participle. The entire formula *ὁ ὢν κ. τ. λ.*, as Winer observes (*l.c.*, § 10, s. 64), is used as an indeclinable equivalent of the name Jehovah, יהוה.

When Lücke writes (s. 670): "The regular construction of the neuter plural with the singular verb does not appear in the Apocalypse," it is hard to understand his meaning. We read, no doubt, in Rev. i. 19, *ἃ εἶδες, καὶ ἃ εἰσίν*,—as similarly in John xix. 31, *ἵνα κατεαγῶσιν αὐτῶν τὰ σκέλη*,—but we also have the construction which Lücke says is *not* found, viz., in Rev. viii. 3; xiii. 14; xiv. 13; xx. 7; xxi. 12 (see Winer, § 58, s. 456): cf. John iii. 19–21; ix. 3; x. 21; 1 John iii. 10, 12. When Ebrard, in reply to Lücke, adduced the text Rev. viii. 3 (*ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα πολλά*), Lücke's answer is that *ἐδόθη* is placed first, and that the nominative seems to be taken collectively. This construction, frequently recurs, with, at times, a transition, in the same passage, from the singular to the plural, and *vice versâ*: see Rev. i. 19; viii. 9; xvi. 14; John x. 4, 21, 27; xix. 31. The verb in the plural is also used, as in the LXX.,—e.g. in Rev. xi. 18; xv. 4; xvii. 12; cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 9. Rev. iii. 2, and John x. 8, are also to be compared,—*τὰ λοιπά* and *τὰ πρόβατα* being explained of *persons*: see Moulton's ed. of Winer, p. 646.

Again, when different cases are put in apposition, as Rev. i. 5, "from Jesus Christ the faithful witness (*ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός*), assuredly the rules of grammar are not unknown to the author, for he follows those rules elsewhere: he evidently does not err from ignorance, but he emancipates himself designedly from grammatical laws. By the side of the alleged solecisms, and, at times, as in the case of Rev. i. 4, in the same verse, the correct grammatical construction, of which the writer is alleged to be ignorant, is found.[1] In every such case, the writer's object is to place the accessory idea (cf. ch. xx. 2), in all its independence, in relation to the principal word (see Godet, *ibid.*).

To this head belong mixed construc-

[1] E. g. if in ch. ii. 20, we meet with *τὴν γυναῖκα ἡ λέγουσα*, we have in ch. i. 10, *ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης*,—if in ch. iii. 12 we meet with *τῆς καινῆς Ἱερ. ἡ καταβαίνουσα*, we have in ch. iii. 10 *ἐκ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τῆς μελλούσης ἔρχ.*

tions:—e. g. Rev. iv. 4; v. 11; vii. 9; xiv. 14; xviii. 12–14 (Winer points out that in ch. ii. 17 the just distinction between the cases depending on δώσω, first the genitive and then the accusative, is observed,—§ 63, s. 511). Cf. Rev. xix. 1, where the singular of a collective noun is combined with a plural (ὄχλου . . . . λεγόντων: similarly, John vi. 2; vii. 49; xii. 9, 12);—see also ch. viii. 8, 9; ix. 18; xviii. 4. We find the subject suddenly changing from singular to plural (Rev. xiv. 10, 11); the nominative transformed into the accusative (ch. vii. 9), and the accusative into the nominative (ch. xx. 2,—see above); an accumulation of genitives (ch. xvi. 19), &c., &c. The verb substantive also is often suppressed where we naturally look for it (e.g. ἃ ἐνώπιον, Rev. i. 4; τίς ἄξιος, Rev. v. 2; cf. Πνεῦμα ὁ Θεός, John iv. 24).

(*e*) Solecisms:—

Of the solecisms of the Apoc., Winer (§ lix. 11) observes:—"In some instances they are the result of design; in others they are to be referred to negligence (?) on the part of the writer. Considered from a Greek point of view, they may be explained as arising out of anacoluthon, the mixture of two constructions, *constructio ad sensum*, *variatio structuræ*, &c. In this light they should always have been considered, and not ascribed to the ignorance of the writer, or even regarded as Hebraisms . . . . But with all the simplicity and the oriental tone of his language, the author knows well and observes well, the rules of the Greek syntax . . . . Rev. ii. 20 should probably be construed thus: 'who giving herself out for a prophetess, teaches and seduces,' &c. Rev. vii. 9 may be explained as containing a mixture of two constructions: in using the nominative the writer had ἰδού before his mind, but in using the accus. περιβεβλημένους, the verb εἶδον, and thus he mixes together the two constructions; cf. iv. 4; Judith x. 7. In Rev. v. 11 ff. the word λέγοντες is not construed with μυριάδες, but (the words καὶ ἦν . . . . μυρ. being taken as a parenthesis) with ἄγγελοι, as if the sentence had commenced with φωνὴν ἐπῆραν ἄγγελοι κ. τ. λ.: similar examples are Thucyd. vii. 42, τοῖς Συρακουσίοις . . . . κατάπληξις οὐκ ὀλίγη ἐγένετο . . . . ὁρῶντες· Achil. Tat. vi. 13; Plat. *Phædo*, p. 81 a. Elsewhere, λέγων or λέγοντες (iv. 1; vi. 9; xi. 15) stands in connexion with φωνή, φωναί, &c., because the writer is thinking of the speakers themselves. We even find λέγων used quite absolutely in xi. 1; xiv. 7; xix. 6—as in the LXX., where it corresponds to the Hebrew לאמר, Gen. xv. 1; xxii. 20; Jos. x. 17, &c.; even in Rev. v. 12 it might be so taken. More singular is the irregular apposition in Rev. iii. 12 (where, however, ἡ καταβαίνουσα, since it cannot well be taken as a *nominativus tituli*, interrupts the structure of the sentence as a significant parenthesis, as if for αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ καταβ.); and also in Rev. xiv. 12 (cf. i. 5), where there is a sudden transition to a new sentence, somewhat as in James iii. 8. In Rev. viii. 9 also, and in ix. 14; xvi. 3, it is probably by design that the apposition is interposed in an independent form: see also xx. 2. In Rev. xxi. 11 ff. the structure changes repeatedly: first we find καταβαίνουσαν in regular agreement with τὴν πόλιν of ver. 10; then is inserted an independent sentence, ὁ φωστὴρ κ. τ. λ.; ver. 12 comes back to πόλις, but the attributive commences a new sentence, ἔχουσα κ. τ. λ. . . . . In i. 5 ff. τῷ ἀγαπῶντι κ. τ. λ. is connected with αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα κ. τ. λ.; but instead of writing καὶ ποιήσαντι κ. τ. λ., the writer interposes the thought in the form of an independent sentence" (Moulton's transl., p. 672).

On this passage Dr. S. Davidson thus comments: "This language is apologetic, to the extent of substantial incorrectness . . . . After all endeavours to find analogies to the linguistic peculiarities and departures from good Greek usage in the [Apocalypse], either in the New Test. or classical writers, anomalies of such a nature and in such number present themselves, as separate the author widely from the Evangelist."—*Introd. to the N. T.*, 1868, vol. i. p. 341.

Such a comment as this of Dr. S. Davidson has called for the discussion with which the present section is occupied.

(*f*) The style of the Apocalypse:—

In point of style, the Book of the Reve-

lation is marked by those parallelisms full of Oriental majesty which belong to the grandeur of the prophetic language. Examples of the similarity of the Apocalypse in this respect to the Fourth Gospel are not far to seek:—compare, e.g., "Her sins have reached even unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities" (Rev. xviii. 5) with "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not,"—John i. 5 (cf. also "The world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever,"—1 John ii. 17). We may also compare the rhythmical recurrence of phrases in such passages as Rev. xx. 13; John i. 10; 1 John ii. 13. When the writer's object is strongly to intensify a thought, an affirmation is followed by a negation, e.g. Rev. iii. 3, 16, 18 (cf. xvi. 15); x. 4; xi. 2; John i. 3; 1 John i. 5:—at times the negation precedes, e.g. Rev. iii. 5; 1 John iii. 18. Antithetical parallels are connected by ἀλλά, Rev. ii. 9; ix. 5; x. 6, 7; xvii. 12; xx. 6; John iii. 16; v. 22; and *passim*. We find the repetition of the verb in the second member of a phrase, Rev. ii. 6, 17; xvi. 18; John i. 3;—the reproduction of entire phrases, Rev. iii. 21; John xv. 10;—the frequent repetition of a substantive in the same context, Rev. iii. 12 (cf. ch. xiii. 12); John xviii. 36, in order to add force to a thought.[1] Explanatory notes are inserted,—Rev. iv. 5; v. 6; xx. 5, 14; John ii. 21; iv. 2; vii. 39; xxi. 23; 1 John ii. 22. The thought is at times rendered more clear by an explanatory phrase,—Rev. xii. 9; xx. 2; John i. 12. The frequent repetition of the article[2] between the substantive and the adjective is, in like manner, a marked characteristic of St. John. Græcisms, also, usual in the Fourth Gospel and scarcely to be expected in the Apoc. are nevertheless found there:—e.g. the attraction of the relative pronoun by the preceding substantive, Rev. xviii. 6; John vii. 39; 1 John iii. 24.[1]

[1] As an instance of the inverse attraction, cf. Rev. v. 8, αἵ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαί; 1 John ii. 8, ὅ ἐστιν ἀληθές. Compare, too, the instances of irregular apposition, Rev. xvii. 8 (*οἱ κατοικοῦντες . . ὧν οὐ γέγρ. τὸ ὄνομα . . βλεπόντων τὸ θηρ.*), and 1 John ii. 25 (*ἡ ἐπαγγ. ἣν αὐτὸς ἐπηγγ. . . . . τὴν ζωήν*): see Winer, § 59, s. 469. As examples of the double negation may be adduced Rev. xviii. 11, 14; John iii. 27; xv. 5; xix. 41; 1 John i. 5.

In further illustration of this subject:—

Compare the elliptical phrases, *εἶδον θρόνους καὶ ἐκάθισαν*, Rev. xx. 4; and *ὕδατα πολλὰ ἦν ἐκεῖ, καὶ παρεγίνοντο*, John iii. 23;—the frequent combination of λέγειν and λαλεῖν, Rev. iv. 1; x. 8; xvii. 1; xxi. 9; John viii. 12; xiv. 10; xvi. 18;—the connexion of *φωνή* with *βροντή*, Rev. iv. 5; vi. 1; xiv. 2; &c.; John xii. 29, 30;—of *φῶς* with *περιπατεῖν*, Rev. xxi. 24; John xii. 35;—the titles of reverence, *μόνος ὅσιος*, Rev. xv. 4; *μόνος ἀληθινός*, John xvii. 3; *πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός*, Rev. xix. 11; *πιστὸς καὶ δίκαιος*, 1 John i. 9;—the constant use of the historic present, Rev. v. 5; vi. 16; xi. 5; xii. 2, 4; &c.; John viii. 14; ix. 13; xv. 27; 1 John iii. 8; &c.:—to which instances of similarity may be added, Rev. ii. 27, *ὡς κἀγὼ εἴληφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου*, and John x. 18, *ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου*.

The direct discourse is introduced by *ὅτι*:—Rev. iii. 17; xviii. 7; John i. 20, 32; &c.; 1 John iv. 20. Cf. *τοῦτο ἔχεις ὅτι*, Rev. ii. 6, with *ἐν τούτῳ ὅτι*, John xvi. 30; 1 John ii. 3.

We find *ἀπό* and *ἐκ* used in the same phrase in a common sense in Rev. iii. 12; ix. 18; xvi. 17; xxi. 2; John i. 45; xi. 1;—the idiomatic use of *ἀπό* to signify distance, a use confined to Rev. xiv. 20; John xi. 18; xxi. 8 (Winer, s. 491, exemplifies the regular construction by Luke xxiv. 13);—of *ἐκ* to denote part of a whole, Rev. ii. 10; v. 9; xi. 9; John xvi. 17; 2 John 4;—of *ἐπί*, with a dative, in the sense of *concerning*, Rev. x. 11; John xii. 16; the pleonastic *ἔξω* with verbs compounded with *ἐκ*, Rev. iii. 12; [xi. 2]; John ix. 34; xix. 5;—and the pleonastic (?) *οὕτως*, Rev. ii. 15; iii. 5, 16; John iv. 6; xiii. 25;—the characteristic use of *ἵνα*, (1) in the absence of *ὅπως* which is found once only (John xi. 57) in the writings of St. John;—(2) followed by the indicative future, e.g. *μακάριοι . . . . ἵνα ἔσται*, Rev. xxii. 14 (cf. ch. vi. 4, 11; viii. 3; xiv. 13); John xv. 8; xvii. 2;—(3) to express the gerund in *dum* (a New Test. usage, nowhere so frequent as in St. John's writings), e.g. *οὐ χρείαν ἔχει τοῦ ἡλίου οὐδὲ τῆς σελ. ἵνα φαίνωσιν*, Rev. xxi. 23; *ὅτε ἀπέστειλαν οἱ Ἰουδ. . . . . ἵνα ἐρωτήσωσιν*, John i. 19;—(4) in Rev. xiii. 13, *ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῇ* (=*ὥστε ποιεῖν*, in the sense of *adeo ut*), we

[1] So also, *μαρτυρία* and *μαρτυρεῖν* (Rev. i. 2; John v. 32);—*φῶς* and *φωτίζειν* (Rev. xxii. 5; John i. 9);—*δίκαιος* and *δικαιοσύνη* (Rev. xxii. 11; 1 John ii. 29; iii. 7) are employed in the same phrase. Cf. *μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' ἐμοῦ*, Rev. iii. 20, with John xvii. 23; 1 John iii. 24.

[2] E.g. *ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός*, Rev. i. 5; *τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν πρώτην*, Rev. ii. 4; *τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου*, Rev. ii. 11; *τὴν ῥομφαίαν τὴν δίστομον* Rev. ii. 12; *ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἅγιος*, Rev. vi. 10:—*τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν*, John i. 9; *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ*, John ii. 1; *τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμόν*, John v. 30; *ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμός*, John vii. 6; *ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός*, John x. 11; *ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή*, John xv. 1; *ἡ ἐντολὴ ἡ παλαιά*, 1 John ii. 7; *τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς*, 2 John 13.

§ 8. *The Text of the Apocalypse.*

As the English Version of 1611 is the basis of the present Commentary, it is necessary to point out, from the beginning, the peculiar position which "the Authorized Translation" of the Apocalypse holds with regard to that of the other Books of the New Testament.

The first printed edition of the Greek Testament formed the fifth volume of the great work published by Cardinal Ximenes—the Complutensian Polyglott,

expect ὥστε, which occurs in St. John's writings, as Bengel points out, only in John iii. 16, but St. John's constant use of ἵνα is adhered to [here Winer notes: "In the faulty style of the Apoc. ἵνα occurs once (ch. xiii. 13), as it seems for ὥστε, ὡς, after an adjective which includes the idea of intensity,—'magna miracula,' *i. e.*, 'tam magna ut' &c."—s. 409. Winer does not consider 1 John i. 9 (De Wette, Schott) an analogous case];—(5) the use of ἵνα after ποιεῖν, e.g. ποιήσω αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἥξουσιν, Rev. iii. 9; xiii. 12, 16; John xi. 37 (elsewhere, in this sense, we have the infinitive, Mark vii. 37; Luke v. 34).

The phrases ποιεῖν ἀλήθειαν, ψεῦδος, γνώμην, ἐπιθυμίας, κρίσιν, πόλεμον, are found in Rev. xi. 7; xvii. 17; xxii. 15; John iii. 21; v. 27; viii. 44; 1 John i. 6;—we also find ἔχειν ἀνάπαυσιν, γνώμην, μέρος, ὑπομονήν, in place of the more usual verbs derived from the substantives, see Rev. ii. 3; iv. 8; xvii. 13; xx. 6; cf. John xiii. 29; xvi. 22; 1 John i. 3, 8. Again λαλεῖν μετά τινος, which occurs in Rev. i. 12; iv. 1; x. 8; xvii. 1; xxi. 9, 15; John iv. 27 (twice); ix. 37; xiv. 30, is found elsewhere in the New Test. only in Mark vi. 50; Eph. iv. 25. The phrase ὄνομα αὐτῷ (e.g. ὁ θάνατος, Ἀβαδδών) Rev. vi. 8; ix. 11, is used John i. 6; iii. 1; xviii. 10: elsewhere we read ᾧ (or οὗ), ὄνομα, or ὀνόματι δεῖνα ἢ δεῖνα, or ὀνόματι καλούμενος, cf. Matt. xxvii. 32; Luke i. 26, 27; xix. 2. The verb προσκυνεῖν takes an accusative, as well as the usual dative, in Rev. ix. 20; xiii. 8, 12, [15]; xiv. 9, 11; xx. 4; John iv. 22, 23, 24;—elsewhere in the New Test. the accusative occurs only in Matt. 4, 10; Luke iv. 8 (compare for both texts Deut. vi. 13), and in Luke xxiv. 52. The phrase ἔχειν τὴν μαρτυρίαν, Rev. vi. 9; xii. 17; xix. 10; John v. 36; 1 John v. 10, is found elsewhere only in 1 Tim. iii. 7 (cf. the frequent use of μαρτυρεῖν, and of μαρτυρία, in all St. John's writings). Observe also the combination of the terms μαρτυρεῖν, μαρτυρία, μάρτυς, with ἀληθής or ἀληθινός, or ἀλήθεια, Rev. iii. 14; John v. 32, 33; xix. 35; 3 John 12:—"Can any one seriously deny," writes Gebhardt (*l. c.*, s. 377), "that the Evangelist and the author of the Apocalypse are here in striking agreement; and that too in an expression which bears on its front—and notably in the Apocalypse—its strict applicability to the Logos-doctrine?"

Alford writes:—"I have observed the following [examples] which I have not seen elsewhere noticed, occurring *only* in the three Books, or *only in the peculiar sense*: (1) οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν ἄρτι, John xvi. 2; οὐ δύνῃ βαστάσαι κακούς, Rev. ii. 2;—(2) κεκοπιακὼς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας, John iv. 6; οὐ κεκοπίακες, Rev. ii. 3;—(3) δύο ἀγγέλους ἐν λευκοῖς, John xx. 12; περιπατήσουσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς, Rev. iii. 4;—(4) the verb κεῖμαι used of *mere position*, John ii. 6; xix. 29; xx. 5, 6; xxi. 9; Rev. iv. 2 only;—(5) ὄνομα αὐτῷ [see above];—(6) compare Rev. iii. 18 with 1 John ii. 20, 27 as to the χρίσμα and its effects."—*Prolegg.*, p. 228.

Turning, in conclusion, to single words:—

ἀληθινός, is found *ten* times in the Apoc. (e. g. ch. iii. 7), *nine* times in the Fourth Gospel (e.g. i. 9), *four* times in 1 John (e.g. v. 20). It occurs elsewhere in the N. T. only in Luke xvi. 11; 1 Thess. i. 9; Heb. viii. 2; ix. 14, 24; x. 22.

ἀπαρτί (or ἀπ' ἄρτι), Rev. xiv. 13; John xiii. 19; xiv. 7, is found only in Matt. xxiii. 39; xxvi. 29, 64.

ἄρα is not found in the Apoc., or in the other writings of St. John.

βροντή found *ten* times in the Apoc. (e.g. ch. iv. 5) occurs elsewhere only in John xii. 29, and in the explanation of St. John's surname "Boanerges," Mark iii. 17.

δαίμων, found in each of the Synoptists, is not employed by St. John, who uses δαιμόνιον,—e.g. Rev. ix. 20; John vii. 20. In Rev. xvi. 14; xviii. 2, δαίμων is a false reading.

ἑβραϊστί, Rev. ix. 11; xvi. 16; John v. 2; xix. 13, 17, 20; xx. 16, is not found elsewhere in the N. T.

ἐκκεντεῖν occurs only in John xix. 37; Rev. i. 7 (see the note *in loc.*).

ἐλεεῖν, ἔλεος, do not occur in the Apocalypse (but see ἐλεεινός, ch. iii. 17), nor in any of St. John's writings, except 2 John 3 (ἔλεος).

καταβαίνειν is always connected with ἐκ in the Apoc., and the writings of St. John. Elsewhere (except in Matt. xvii. 9; xxviii. 2), with ἀπό.

μάννα is referred to in Rev. ii. 17; John vi. 31, 49; elsewhere only in Heb. ix. 4.

μέν does not occur in the Apoc., or the Epistles of St. John. It is found but eight times in the Fourth Gospel. This, together with the rareness of particles so frequent in Greek writings, is a feature common to the Apocalypse and the other Joannean writings.

ὄχλος, continually used in the plural elsewhere, is so used only in Rev. xvii. 15; John vii. 12.

ὕψις is found in the New Test. only in Rev. i. 16 · John vii. 24; xi. 44.

πορφύρεος is found only in Rev. xvii. 4; xviii. 16; John xix. 2, 5.

σκηνοῦν is found only in Rev. vii. 15; xii. 12; xiii. 6; xxi. 3; John i. 14.

σφάττειν, found eight times in the Apoc. (e.g. ch. v. 6), occurs elsewhere only in 1 John iii. 12.

σφραγίζειν is used absolutely, in the active, only in Rev. xx. 3; John iii. 33.

φοίνιξ is found only in Rev. vii. 9; John xii. 13.

so called from the place where it appeared, Complutum, or Alcalá, in Spain. This volume is dated January 10, 1514. The entire work was completed during the summer of 1517[1]; but was not published until March 22, 1520, when Pope Leo X. granted his licence.

Not until the year 1522, however, the date of his third edition, did the Complutensian Bible come into the hands of Erasmus, who, at the request of the famous printer Frobenius of Basle, had undertaken to edit the text of the New Testament.[2] The first edition of Erasmus appeared, with a translation and notes, in March 1516, and was the first printed Greek Testament which was actually given to the world. From the second edition of 1519, Luther made his translation. For the text of the Apocalypse Erasmus possessed but one cursive manuscript, lent to him by Reuchlin, together with a few (five) readings supplied by Laurentius Valla, of which the source is now unknown. This manuscript, known among the cursive codices of the Apocalypse by the figure "1," was long supposed to be lost; but has been discovered by Delitzsch, in the Library of Mayhingen, in Bavaria. The cursive "1" presents traces of having been copied from a more ancient Uncial, and its date is placed by Delitzsch in the twelfth or even in the eleventh century;—by Tregelles in the twelfth.[3] The sacred text is here mixed up with the commentary of Andreas, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia (*circ.* A.D. 500). Hence, one source of the errors committed by Erasmus, or rather by the person whom he employed to transcribe the manuscript; for, although it is generally notified in the margin where each portion of the text or of the commentary begins, nevertheless both are, at times, so intermingled that the manuscript itself does not enable a copyist, unfamiliar with the Greek text,—as most persons were in the days of Erasmus,—to separate them. For example, in Rev. xxi. 24 the copyist has imported into the text the words of the commentary, viz., "*of them which are saved*"; and so they still appear in the Authorized Version. Again, owing to this cause, Erasmus omitted, from his first three editions, ch. xxi. 26,—a verse which is also omitted in all the original editions of Luther's translation (Delitzsch, *l. c.*, s. 51): see, too, the note on Rev. iii. 15, among the various readings of ch. iii.[1] Further, the manuscript is mutilated at the end,—the text of the Apocalypse closing with the word Δαυεὶδ, ch. xxii. 16, a page being lost. The rest of this chapter, from ὁ ἀστὴρ to the end, Erasmus retranslated into Greek from the Vulgate: and, although acquainted with the Complutensian text, in none of his later editions (he published five in all, viz., in 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, 1535) did he replace his own Greek version of this passage by the genuine words of St. John.[2] Erasmus has also supplied from the Vulgate words which do not exist in the text of his manuscript. Thus, in ch. xiv. 5, he added, from the Latin

[1] "Novum Test. Græce et Latine in acad. Complutensi noviter impressum."—*Complut.* 1514. "De mandato et sumptibus R. in Christo P. et D. D. F. Franc. Ximenii de Cisneros, tit. S. Balbine SS. R. E. Presb. Card. Archiep. Toletani. Industria et solertia hon. viri Arnaldi Guil. de Brocario, artis impressoriæ [*sic*] magistri, A.D. MDXVII., mensis Julii die decimo."—*Coloph. ad part.* iv.

[2] On this edition of Erasmus see "Handschriftliche Funde" von F. Delitzsch, 1tes Heft, Leipzig, 1861; 2tes Heft, "nebst einer Abhandlung von S. P. Tregelles," 1862. See also Mr. W. Kelly's ed. of the Text of the Revelation, 1860, Introd.; and Dr. Scrivener's "Introduction to the Crit. of the N. T.," 2nd ed. pp. 245, 380.

[3] Erasmus himself writes: "Quoniam Græcis nunquam magnopere placuit liber Apocalypseos, rarus habetur apud illos. Itaque quum cuperemus nihil abesse nostræ æditioni, ægre extorsimus ab inclyto viro J. Capnione ([*i.e.*] Reuchlin] vetustissimum codicem, commentarios habentem in hoc opus. Ex eo contextus verba describenda curavimus" (*Opp.*, ed. Lugd. Bat., 1706, t. ix. p. 246). On ch. ii. 2 he writes: "In Apoc. non suppetebat nobis nisi unicum exemplar, sed vetustissimum, quod nobis exhibuit eximius ille litterarum heros *Joannes Reuchlinus.*" And on ch. iii. 7, he adds: "Ne quis contemnat nostrum [exemplar], tantæ vetustatis erat ut Apostolorum ætate scriptum videri posset."

[1] See also the *varia lectio* on ch. xvii. 3.

[2] After the word Δαυεὶδ there follow six Greek words of the commentary of Andreas, which was doubtless continued on the lost page. Erasmus writes: "Quanquam in calce hujus libri nonnulla verba reperi apud nostros, quæ aberant in Græcis exemplaribus, ea tamen ex Latinis adjecimus."—*Annott.*, ed. 1ma, 1516.

"ante thronum Dei"—a clause which even in the Vulgate is not genuine (Delitzsch, s. 39)—the words ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ; and these words are represented to this day in the Authorized Version ("*before the throne of God*"), as well as in Luther's translation. He has elsewhere altered the text of his manuscript so as to make it conform to his own text of the Vulgate:—in ch. xv. 3, codex ℵ reads "the King of the nations" (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν); but Erasmus substituted for "nations" (ἐθνῶν), "saints" (ἁγίων), in order to conform to the reading of his copy of the Vulgate, "sanctorum,"—which is itself a corruption of the best supported reading, "sæculorum," "the ages" (τῶν αἰώνων), the abbreviations of "sæculorum" and "sanctorum" being easily interchanged. The Authorized Version and Luther's translation still render here "*thou King of Saints*;"[1] see the *vv. ll.* of ch. xv.

To these sources of error must be added the mistakes of the copyist when transcribing the manuscript. Of such mistakes one instance[2]—one, too, which has misled many a commentator—"*and yet is*" (καίπερ ἐστίν), for "**and shall come**" (καὶ παρέσται), ch. xvii. 8, is perpetuated to the present day both in our Authorized Version and in Luther's translation. Such also is the strange form διαδιδώσουσιν in ch. xvii. 13 (still represented in our Authorized Version by the future "*shall give*)," although the future διδώσω is found only in Homer. This error originated thus:—Codex ℵ gives δῖασιν, written in red ink, corrected by writing δό above in black ink, so that διδόασιν—the true reading—might result; and the copyist seems to have mixed up these three elements, although the manuscript has no trace of ω or ου (Delitzsch, s. 43).

The text of Erasmus has exercised an unfortunate influence on the subsequent translations, and on the subsequent interpretation of the Apocalypse. This is due to the fact that from his first edition—described by himself as "præcipitatum verius quam editum"—numerous false readings have passed over into the third edition of Robert Stephens (A.D. 1550), and thence into the Elzevir edition of 1624, the so-called *Textus Receptus*. Wetstein[1] affirms that R. Stephens had only two manuscripts of the Apocalypse, and these imperfectly collated. Stephens also followed the Complutensian text; for which the editor, adds Wetstein, had but one manuscript of the Apocalypse. The third edition of Stephens (A.D. 1550) was the basis both of the editions of Beza (Geneva, 1559, 1565, 1582, 1589, 1598,—see Scrivener, *l. c.*, p. 390), and of the *Textus Receptus*. Beza's edition of 1589[2] (or 1598) was taken as the basis of our Authorized Version, by the Translators of 1611: and thus the English Version of the Apocalypse represents a Greek text which does not rest upon the same authority as that of the other Books of the New Testament.[3] E. g. in ch. xvi. 5, the conjectural reading of Beza's last three editions (ἐσόμενος for ὅσιος, which rests on no authority whatever), is still represented in the words of the Authorized Version—"*and shalt be.*"

[1] "Some portions," writes Dr. Scrivener, "of his [Erasmus's] self-made version, which are found (however some editors may speak vaguely) *in no one known Greek manuscript whatever*, still cleave to our received text."—*l.c.*, p. 382.

[2] Instead of the true reading, "when they behold the Beast, how that he was, and is not, **and shall come**," the A.V. has, "when they behold the Beast that was, and is not, *and yet is*." Here Bossuet, understanding by the Beast Rome under Diocletian ("Rome païenne avec son idolatrie"), concludes that because the Beast exists, for the moment, only in its *sixth* "Head," and because the *seventh* "Head" continues but "a little while" (see Rev. xvii. 10), this is expressed in ver. 8 by the words "is not, *and yet is*" ("quoiqu'elle soit"); —St. John thus describing the "languid" condition in which the Beast now appeared to him ("pour faire entendre à Saint Jean que dans la langueur où elle lui paroissoit . . . il la pouvoit regarder comme n'étant plus"). Vitringa (p. 767) applies this erroneous reading to the parallel between the old Roman Empire and the Papacy: "*Fuit* nempe et *non est*, quatenus vere antiquum illud Imperium Paganum destructum fuit; sed *est tamen*, quia ex destructo illo Vetere natum est *Romanum Imperium Mysticum*, in quo omnia antiqui Imperii ἀξιώματα digito demonstrari possunt."

[1] *Prolegg. in Apocalyps. N. T.*, vol. ii. p. 741.

[2] See *The English Bible*, by John Eadie, D.D., 1876, vol. ii. p. 211.

[3] Lectio recepta Apocalypseos quæ ab Erasmianis profluxit, admodum infirmo nititur tibicine."—Wetstein, *l.c.*

Many manuscripts of the Apocalypse, however, have been collated since 1611; and yet,—neither here nor elsewhere should it be forgotten when estimating the effect of criticism,—all the skill which, since then, has been brought to bear upon the sacred text has not added to, nor has it taken from, one article of the Faith as expressed in the single codex of Erasmus.[1]

Until a comparatively recent date but three Uncial manuscripts of the Apocalypse were known:—the Codex Alexandrinus, A, of Cent. v.; the Codex Ephræmi,[2] C, of Cent. v.; and the Codex Vaticanus, No. 2066, formerly numbered 105 in the Library of the Basilian Monks in Rome, and of a date about the end of Cent. viii. From the time that Wetstein employed this last Uncial in place of the cursive known as 91 among the cursive texts of the Apocalypse, and which had previously supplied the lost portions of the great Codex Vaticanus, B, No. 1209 (ascribed to the middle of Cent. iv., and which breaks off at Heb. ix. 14; see Scrivener, *l. c.*, p. 96),—this Uncial also has been designated B.[3]

To these three Uncials are now to be added the Codex Sinaiticus, ℵ, of about the middle of Cent. iv., and the Codex Porphyrianus, P, both of which MSS. Tischendorf had the good fortune to bring to light. P is a palimpsest which was brought to St. Petersburg in 1862 by Porphyry, Bishop of Uspensk. It was printed at Leipzig, in 1869, by Tischendorf, in the sixth volume of his "Monumenta sacra inedita." He places its date in Cent. viii. or ix., and estimates its value perhaps too highly ("Codex Porphyrianus textum Apocalypseos præbet tam egregium ut principalibus codicibus qui ætate ipsum longe antecedunt vix posthabendus videtur." — *Prolegg.*, p. 1): he considers it to represent the text used by Andreas. If this be so, the fact will, perhaps, account for the frequent coincidences between P and the cursive 1, on which the text of Erasmus is founded.[1]

In addition to these five Uncials, Dr. Scrivener has enumerated 105 cursive manuscripts of the Apocalypse:—see his "Introd.," *l. c.*, p. 249; and he has appended to his transcript of the *Codex Augiensis* a careful collation of thirteen of these cursives.

§ 9. *The modern conception of "Apokalyptik."*

The Revelation of St. John and the Book of Daniel have been classified in modern times apart from the other Books of Scripture, as constituting a distinct species of literature styled "Apokalyptik."[2] Lücke defines "Apokalyptik" to be "The sum and substance of the revelations, as well of the Old as of the New Testament, respecting the end of all things" ("Der Inbegriff der eschatologischen Apokalypsen so des alten wie des neuen Testaments),"—s. 25. This kind of literature, we are told, created by the prophets of the Old Test., has been continued after them by more than one Apocryphal writer: e.g. by the authors of the Fourth Book of Esdras and the Book of Henoch.

The term "Apokalyptik" has been formed from the word with which the Book of the Revelation begins, Ἀποκάλυψις. Ἀποκάλυψις, moreover, has been

[1] In his reply to "A late Discourse of Freethinking," by Collins, Richard Bentley ("Phileleutherus Lipsiensis") wrote: "Make your 30,000 [*various lections*] as many more. . . All the better to a knowing and serious reader. . . . Even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool; and yet with the most sinistrous and absurd choice he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter."—7th ed., p. 113.

[2] C contains Rev. i. 2–iii. 19; v. 14–vii. 14; vii. 17–viii. 4; ix. 17–x. 10; xi. 3–xvi. 13; xviii. 2–xix. 5.—Scrivener, *l.c.*, p. 109.

[3] Tregelles reserving the letter B for the great Vatican Uncial, called this manuscript first L (N. T., part iv. p. iii.); and subsequently Q (N. T. part vi. p. 1).

[1] E.g. ἀγαπήσαντι, Rev. i. 5; ἔγχρισον, ch. iii. 18; ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ch. iv. 7; φωνῆς, ch. vi. 1; *om.* ὅλη, ch. vi. 12; ἀγγέλου, ch. viii. 13; &c. P is defective in Rev. xvi. 13–21; xx. 1–9; xxii. 7–21.

[2] Düsterdieck justly inverts the conclusion of modern critics (e.g. Hilgenfeld, *Die Jüd. Apokalyptik*, s. 8, ff.), and derives both the name and the very idea of the so-called "Apocalyptic Literature" from the Apocalypse of St. John: "Die johanneische Apok. ist das Normalmass, nach welchem der Begriff des Apokalyptischen innerhalb und ausserhalb des Kanons bestimmt werden muss."—*Einl.*, s. 35.

distinguished from προφητεία. "Revelation" implies both a *Divine* "prophecy" and a *human* activity; a distinction inferred from Dan. ii. 22, 23 and Rev. i. 1, 2, where God reveals His secret counsels, and the human prophet communicates them to the world (see on Rev. i. 1). "Prophecy" remains strictly within the limits of its fundamental idea; "Apocalypse" goes into concrete details, symbolizes and allegorizes. An Apocalypse and a Prophecy are thus regarded as two distinct species of the same genus, according as the objective "revelation" or the subjective "prophetic" communication becomes more prominent; and 1 Cor. xiv. 6 is adduced as conferring on this distinction the authority of St. Paul (see Auberlen, *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John, viewed in their mutual Relation*, Engl. transl., p. 80). The earlier prophets, it is further said, bring out the particular situation of the people of God at a given time into the light of prophecy; the Apostles also disclose only certain things relating to the future, as the wants of their readers may require:—but the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse have the more general aim of giving light to the Church of God in those times when there is no revelation; the *former* illumining the darkness which prevailed from the Captivity until the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; the *latter* guiding the Church from the destruction of Jerusalem until the Second Coming of Christ. And thus Jewish "Apokalyptik" relates to the first Advent of Messiah, and Christian "Apokalyptik" to His Second Advent (Lücke, s. 224).

Outside the Canon of Scripture there exist at least the remains of a rather extensive literature, likewise styled "Apokalyptik" by those critics who would bring down the great Revelations of Daniel and St. John to the level of such spurious and apocryphal compositions. The publication by Archbishop Laurence, in 1819–1821, from the Æthiopic, of the "Ascensio Isaiæ," the "Book of Henoch," and the "Fourth Book of Esdras," gave an impulse to the study of this class of writings, whether Jewish or Christian. From the nature of the case, the names of the reputed authors, and the titles, of the different elements of "Apocalyptic" literature were taken from Scripture. Ezekiel (i. 1) "saw visions of God;" St. Peter "in a trance saw a vision" (Acts xi. 5); St. Paul "knew a man" who "was caught up into Paradise" (2 Cor. xii. 4):—and hence the titles ὅρασις, ἀναβατικόν, ἀνάβασις, ἀνάληψις, &c. It is an interesting task, no doubt, and from an apologetic point of view not unimportant, to exhibit the doctrine concerning the Messiah as it was held among the Jews in the centuries before Christ came, and at the time of His coming. This has been done, to some extent, by Mr. Drummond in his work entitled *The Jewish Messiah*. In this sense, "Apokalyptik" possesses a certain value:—but, as has been just observed, this is not the purpose for which modern critics have given prominence to works of this kind.[1]

To the class of Jewish "Apokalyptik" belong:—

Portions of the Sibylline Oracles (see Note E on Rev. ii. 20);—

The Book of Henoch (Jude 14). Of this Lücke ascribes chapters 1–35 and 71–105 to the age of the Maccabees; and ch. 37–70 to the time of Herod the Great (s. 142):—many critics, however, (e. g. Hilgenfeld, *Jüd. Apok.*, s. 181) appeal to its Messianic references in order to prove that the book has been largely interpolated by Christian hands. To this supposition the objection has been opposed, 'Would not a Christian have spoken more clearly of Christ'? (Schürer, *N. T. Zeit-gesch.*, 1874, s. 535): "If a Christian really undertook to make Enoch the vehicle of his Apocalyptic thoughts, how is it that he did not point, as clearly as is done, for instance, in the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs' (e. g. Levi, § 4), to the rejected, and crucified, and risen Christ?" (Drummond, *l. c.*, p. 61);—

The Apocalypse (or Ἀνάληψις) of Moses (Origen, *De Princ.*, iii. 2). Hilgen-

[1] Modern Jewish writers are naturally not disposed to bring forward testimony to the Messianic expectations of their people at the time when the Lord came. Thus Jost remarks: "Jedenfalls sind alle diese Erscheinungeh ohne Bedeutung für die jüdische Religions-geschichte."—*Gesch. des Judenth. und seiner Secten*, ii. s. 218.

feld has published the Latin text, in his "Nov. Test. extr. Can.," *fasc.* i., p. 99. Ewald (*Götting. gel. Anzeig.*, 1862) assumes that the Greek text, now lost, had a Hebrew original, and he places its date shortly after the death of Herod the Great;[1]—

The Apocalypse (or ὅρασις, or ἀναβατικόν) of Isaiah; referred to by Origen, *Hom. i. in Esai.*, c. 5: see Epiphan., *Hær.* xl. 2; lxvii. 3;—

The Fourth Book of Esdras (which Lücke places before the birth of Christ, —s. 209). St. Jerome has styled this work the *fourth* book of Ezra, taking Nehemiah as the *second*, and the Greek Ἔσδρας of the Apocrypha as the *third*. This *fourth* book (which we possess only in its Latin version,—Lücke, s. 146) is extant neither in Hebrew nor in Greek. A Greek original is quoted by Clemens Al. in *Strom.* iii. 16; and references are also found to 4 Esdr. v. 5, in the epistle of Barnabas, c. xii.; and to ch. ii. 16, in the first epistle of Clemens Rom., c. l. (cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 12, 13);—

The Apocalypse of Baruch (placed, in the *Stichometria* of Nicephorus and in the *Synopsis S.S.* ascribed to St. Athanasius, among the Apocryphal writings of the Old Test.,—see Credner *Zur Gesch. des Kanons*, ss. 121, 145) was first made known in modern times through a Latin translation, in 1866, by A. M. Ceriani.[2] The Syriac text was subsequently published by Ceriani in 1871 (*l. c.*, t. v. 2), from a manuscript ascribed by Cureton to Cent. vi. Ceriani (*Pref.*, p. 1) assigns this *Apocalypse* to a place among the most ancient writings of its class, chiefly owing to its close affinity to 4 Esdras. He also points out (p. 80) the almost exact resemblance of ch. 29 to the chiliastic passage quoted from Papias by St. Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* v. 33). Papias must plainly have borrowed from the "Apocalypse of Baruch," or both must have borrowed from an earlier writer. Hilgenfeld (*Mess. Judæor.*, s. lxii.) refers the composition of this work to A.D. 72. "There can be no doubt," writes Mr. Drummond (*l. c.*, p. 125), "that it was written by a non-Christian Jew. Though it is rich in Messianic passages, I have not observed a single expression which betrays a Christian hand;"—

To the class of Jewish "Apokalyptik" Lücke (s. 232) refers the Apocalypse of Adam, proceeding from the Gnostics; and that of Abraham, proceeding from the Sethites, a sect of the Ophites: see Epiphan., *Hær.* xxvi. 8; xxxix. 5.

To Christian Apocalyptic literature belong:—

The Shepherd of Hermas (Rom. xvi. 14; Orig. *Hom.* 25 in Luc. xii. 58). Dorner considers that this work "must be dated prior to Montanism" (*On the Person of Christ*,—Engl. tr., i. p. 382);—

The Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs. This work Lücke (s. 334) ascribes to a Jewish-Christian of the second century; and Dr. Gibbings (*The Sibylline Oracles*, p. 65, Dublin 1878) also regards it as a Christian composition of the beginning of Cent. ii.;—

The Apocalypse of Peter (see the "Muratorian Fragment," c. 10; Hilgenfeld, *l.c.*, iv. s. 74);—

The Apocalypse, or Ἀναβατικόν, of Paul (St. Augustine, *Tract. in Johann.* 98; Sozomen., *H. E.*, vii. 19);—

A spurious "Apocalypse of John" first mentioned in the Scholia to the Grammar of Dionysius Thrax, Cent. ix.; and now published by Tischendorf, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, p. 70;—

The Apocalypse of Cerinthus (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 28): see above, § 5, p. 439;—

An Apocalypse of Thomas, and an Apocalypse of Stephen (enumerated in the *Decretum* of Gelasius, 1ma Pars, Dist. xv. 3, *ap. Corp. Jur. Can.*, ed. Richter, t. i. p. 34; see Credner, *Gesch. des Kanons*, s. 219).

Dorner (*l.c.*, i. 408) thinks that Barnabas and Papias, alone among the Fathers, properly represent "Apokalyptik."

On this subject see also Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon*, art. *Apokalypsis*; Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biogr.*; Hilgenfeld, *Die Jüd. Apokalyptik*, 1857, and *Messias*

[1] A.D. 6; *i.e.*, after the attempt of Judas the Gaulonite, who led the revolution against the taxation under Quirinus.—Ewald, *Gesch. des V. Isr.*, B. v. s. 73.

[2] "Olim de Græco in Syriacum, et nunc de Syriaco in Latinum translatum," edidit A. M. Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana.*, t. i. *fasc.* 2, Mediolani, 1866, pp. 73–98.

Judæorum, 1869; Renan, *L'Antechrist*, p. 358, note; J. Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877.

There is yet another alleged characteristic of Apocalyptic literature, which comes nearer to the subject of the present section, but which is certainly not to be restricted to the Book of Daniel or to the Revelation:—In prophecy, we are told, the Spirit of God finds His immediate expression in *words;* but in "Apokalyptik" human language disappears, for here are "*unspeakable* words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter," 2 Cor. xii. 4. The Apocalyptic writer beholds in Vision the unseen and the future; but he beholds them "embodied in *plastic symbolic shapes*, as in a dream; only that these images are not the children of his own fancy, but the product of Divine revelation adapting itself essentially to our human horizon. . . . The form peculiar to Apocalyptic prophecy is the symbolic. . . . As the subjective form of Apocalyptic prophecy is the Vision, the corresponding objective form is the symbolic."—Auberlen, *l. c.*, pp. 83, 85.[1] It is evident, however, that the employment of symbols is not "peculiar to Apocalyptic prophecy," defined as it is by the class of writers here referred to. Auberlen, no doubt, acknowledges this, although but partially. He admits that "Apokalyptik" "did not appear without being prepared for by the earlier prophets, and only reached its full development in Daniel, who exerted, in this formal respect also, an influence on Zechariah, as is evident from the first six chapters of that prophet" (*l. c.*, p. 90). This admission, however, gives a very incomplete idea of the symbolism of the other prophets. Zechariah's use of symbols is by no means confined to his first six chapters:—see ch. xi., and especially vv. 10–14; ch. xiii. 7, and compare vv. 8, 9, with Ezek. v. 12. Compare also Zech. iii. 8 with Isaiah iv. 2; Jer. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15; Zech. x. 10 with Isai. xi. 11, 16; Hos. xi. 11 (see Pusey, *The Min. Proph.*, Introd. to Zechariah, p. 504). Jeremiah is throughout symbolical,—e.g. Jer. i. 11, 12; xiii. 2–11; xviii. 1–6; xxv. 15; xxvii. 2: and so are Ezekiel and others,—e.g. Ezek. i.; ii. 9; iii. 1–3; iv. 1; &c., &c.; Hos. iii.; Joel ii.; &c.

Renan fully concedes this fact, and so far differs from other writers of his school. "The form of 'Apocalypse,'" he observes, "adopted by the author [of the Revelation] was not new in Israel. Ezekiel had already inaugurated a considerable change in the old prophetic style, and one may in a certain sense regard him *as the creator of the Apocalyptic method.*"—*L'Antechrist*, p. 357.[1]

Nor yet is the New Test.—apart from the Apocalypse—without its own symbolical element, as, e.g., in Acts xxi. 11; and especially in the Fourth Gospel, a fact which constitutes a fresh proof of the similarity between it and the Revelation. Thus we have the following symbols of which the meaning is not obscure,—Light, John i. 4, 8; xii. 46;—the Lamb, i. 29, 36;—the Temple, ii. 19;—the brazen Serpent, iii. 14;—living Water, iv. 10–15; vii. 37–39;—Manna, vi. 31;—the healing the blind man, ix. 39;—the Shepherd and the door, x. 1–16;—washing the disciples' feet, xiii.;—the Vine,

[1] The intervention of Angels is also alleged to be another feature peculiar to "Apokalyptik"; but cf. Gen. xvi. 7; Num. xxii. 22; Judges xiii. 3; 2 Kings i. 3; Zech. i. 11; Matt. i. 20; Luke i. 11; Acts viii. 26, &c.

[1] Renan thus expands his theory as to Apocalyptic literature:—For the simple allegorical acts which accompanied preaching Ezekiel substituted Visions; *i. e.*, "a complicated symbolism, where the abstract idea was represented by means of chimerical beings, conceived without any reference to reality. Zechariah continued to proceed in the same way. . . . . The author of the Book of Daniel, in fine, by the extraordinary popularity which he gained, fixed definitively the rules of this method. . . . . Henceforward, to every critical situation of the people of Israel, corresponded an Apocalypse. . . . . It was inevitable that the reign of Nero and the siege of Jerusalem should have their apocalyptic protest; as at a later period, the severities of Domitian, of Adrian, of Septimius Severus, of Decius, and the Gothic invasion in 250, provoked their own."—*ib.*, p. 359. To the same effect Max Krenkel ("*Der Ap. Johannes*"): "In the near relationship between the old prophecy and 'Apokalyptik,' it is certainly hard to say what belongs to the one, and what to the other. Ezekiel and Zechariah, commonly reckoned among the Prophets, may with equal right be claimed for 'Apokalyptik,' in so far as they chiefly busy themselves with the future, and avail themselves largely of Visions."—s. 49.

xv. 1;—the prophecy to St. Peter, xxi. 18.

In the Apocalypse, on the other hand, the symbolism is confessedly dark and complex,—a mysterious hieroglyphic which has too often been interpreted arbitrarily and rashly. The entire Book, as the following analysis will more fully show, is to be understood throughout in a symbolical sense. Its figurative language has manifestly two forms,—it consists (1) Of ideal symbols or the images of material things; (2) Of symbolical numbers.

§ 10. *Ideal Symbols*[1] *or the Images of Material Things.*

Let the Apocalypse itself be here its own interpreter; and the question as to the character and import of its announcements will thus receive its chief answer —(a) from the intimations of the Book itself; (b) from the interpretations supplied by other Books of Scripture:—

(a) The intimations given by the Apocalypse itself:—

Ch. i. 8. "I am the Alpha and the Omega." =

"I am the *First* and the *Last*," ver. 17: —see also ch. xxi. 6; xxii. 13, "*the Beginning* and the *End*."

„ Ver. 12. "Seven golden Candlesticks" (cf. ch. ii. 1, 5); ver. 16, "Seven Stars"[2] (cf. ch. ii. 1; iii. 1). =

"The Seven Stars are the *Angels* of the Seven Churches; and the Seven Candlesticks are Seven *Churches*."—ver. 20.

„ Ver. 18. "The Keys of death and of hell" (Hades). =

"The Key of the *pit of the Abyss*. And he *opened the pit of the Abyss*," &c.; ch. ix. 1, 2; cf. ch. xx. 1. The *Key* is the symbol of authority:—see on ch. iii. 7.

Ch. ii. 10. "Ten days." =

A comparatively *short time;*—as is shown by the use of the expressions, "one *day*"; "one *hour*," ch. xviii. 8, 10.

„ Ver. 11. "The Second Death" (see also ch. xx. 6). =

To have "part in *the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone;* which is the Second Death."—ch. xxi. 8; and so, "This is the Second Death, *even the lake of fire*."—ch. xx. 14.

„ Ver. 15. "The doctrine of the Nicolaitans" (cf. ver. 6). =

"The doctrine of *Balaam*," ver. 14. Balaam—'the destroyer of the people' (from בלע and עם)—is equivalent to Nicolas (Νικόλαος, from νικᾶν τὸν λαόν). This Græcizing of Hebrew words we again find in the instances of Apollyon and Abaddon, ch. ix. 11;—of "the Devil" and Satan, ch. xii. 9;—of ναί and ἀμήν, ch. i. 7: see Züllig *in loc.*, i. s. 303.

„ Ver. 28. "The morning Star." = *Christ:* "I am the root and the offspring of David, the bright, the morning Star."—ch. xxii. 16. See note [2] above.

Ch. iii. 12. "The new Jerusalem" (see also ch. xxi. 2). =

"The *Bride, the Wife of the Lamb*, ... the Holy City Jerusalem."—ch. xxi. 9, 10. (Note the contrasted symbol, the "great *Harlot*,"—ch. xvii. 1. = Babylon, the World-city, ch. xvii. 5, 18).

[Ch. iv. 4. The "Four-and-Twenty Elders," see below under class (b)].

Ch. iv. 5. "Seven lamps of fire burning before the throne." =

"The *Seven Spirits of God*."—*Ib.:* see also ch. i. 4; iii. 1; cf. Zech. iv. 2.

Ch. v. 6. "Seven eyes." =

"The *Seven Spirits of God*."—*Ib.:* cf. Zech. iii. 9; iv. 10.

„ Ver. 8. "Incense." =

"*The Prayers* of the Saints."—*Ib.:* cf. ch. viii. 3; Lev. xvi. 12, 13; Ps. cxli. 2; Isai. vi. 4: Luke i. 9, 10; Acts x. 4.

[1] "A symbolical alphabetical Dictionary" is prefixed by Daubuz to his commentary:—see the ed. of P. Lancaster, 1730, pp. 23–143.

[2] The star (ὁ ἀστήρ) has amongst all nations been employed as the symbol of Imperial dominion and splendour: "Ecce Dionæi processit Cæsaris astrum."—Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 47; "Micat inter omnes Julium Sidus."—Hor. *Od.* I. xii. 47; Ἕσπερος ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἵσταται ἀστήρ.—*Il.* xxii. 317.

Compare the title of the false Messiah in the reign of Hadrian, Bar-cochab or "son of a star;" see the note on Num. xxiv. 17, and below on Rev. vi. 13; viii. 10; ix. 1; xii. 1, 4 (cf. Dan. viii. 10). In Isai. xiv. 12, the bearer of the World-power, the king of Babylon, on account of his glorious dominion, is named "Lucifer, Son of the Morning,"—the bright morning star which shines as a monarch in the starry heavens: see the note *in loc.* Hence "the Morning Star" (ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ πρωϊνός) in Rev. ii. 28; xxii. 16. Cf. Ecclus. l. 6; 2 Pet. i. 19.

Ch. vi. 2. "A white Horse, and He that sat thereon." =

"A white Horse, and He that sat thereon, called *Faithful and True* . . . . and His name is called *the Word* of God."—ch. xix. 11, 13.

„ Ver. 8. "A pale Horse: and he that sat upon him." =

"His name was *Death*."—*Ib.*

Ch. ix. 3. The "Locusts" are explained to be symbolical; they are not *literal* locusts:—"They have over them as King the *Angel of the Abyss*," Abaddon, Apollyon.—ver. 11.

Ch. x. 3, 4. "The Seven Thunders uttered their voices. . . . . And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Seal up *the things* which the Seven Thunders *uttered*, and write them not:"—cf. ch. xiv. 2.

Ch. xi. 3. The "Two Witnesses." = "*The two Olive trees*, and *the two Candlesticks*."—ver. 4; they are also "*Two Prophets*."—ver. 10.

„ Ver. 8. "The Great City, which spiritually is called *Sodom* and *Egypt*, *where also* their Lord was crucified."

Ch. xii. 3. "A great red Dragon"; "The great Dragon" (ver. 9). =

"The *old Serpent*, he that is called *the Devil*, and *Satan*."—Ver. 9; ch. xx. 2, 7. Cf. Isai. xxvii. 1; Ezek. xxix. 3.

Ch. xiii. 11. The second "Beast." =

"*The False Prophet*," ch. xvi. 13; xix. 20; xx. 10. Cf. 1 John iv. 1–3

Ch. xiv. 8. "Wine." =

An image implying the concentration of "*wrath*,"—ch. xvi. 19: cf. Jer. xxv. 15–18. On "the Wine-*Cup*," see ch. xiv. 10; xvii. 4; xviii. 6. Cf. ch. xv. 7; xvi. 1,—"The Seven Vials of the *wrath* of God."

Also an image implying the extreme of spiritual "*fornication*;" "The wine of her "*fornication*,"—ch. xvii. 2; xviii. 3.

„ Ver. 20. "The Wine-press." =

"The great Wine-press of the *wrath* of God."—ver. 19;" "of the *fierceness* of the *wrath* of Almighty God."—ch. xix. 15.

Ch. xvi. 13. "And I saw coming out of the mouth of the Dragon, and out of the mouth of the Beast, and out of the mouth of the False Prophet, three unclean spirits, as it were Frogs." =

"They are *Spirits of Devils*."—Ver. 14.

Ch. xvii. 1. "The great Harlot." =

"The *great City*, which reigneth over the kings of the earth."—Ver. 18.

„ Ver. 1. She "sitteth upon many Waters." =

"The Waters . . . . where the Harlot sitteth, are *peoples*, and *multitudes*, and *nations*, and *tongues*."—ver. 15 (cf. ch. xii. 15, 16).

„ Ver. 3. "A scarlet-coloured Beast . . . . having Seven Heads and Ten Horns." =

"The Seven Heads are *Seven mountains*, on which the woman sitteth: and they are *Seven Kings*" (vv. 9, 10):—"The Ten Horns that thou sawest are *Ten Kings*."—ver. 12.

„ Ver. 5. The Harlot's "Name." =

"*Babylon* the great, the mother of the harlots and of the abominations of the earth."—*Ib.* Cf. ch. xiv. 8; xvi. 19; xviii. 2.

Ch. xviii. 21. "A mighty Angel took up a stone as it were a great millstone, and cast it into the sea." =

'Thus with violence shall *Babylon*, *the great City*, *be cast down*, and shall be found no more at all."—*Ib.*

Ch. xix. 8. "The fine Linen." =

"*The righteous acts of the Saints*." *Ib.* Cf. ch. iii. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 14.

„ Ver. 9. "The Marriage Supper of the Lamb." =

"If any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will *sup with him*, *and he with me*."—ch. iii. 20.

„ Ver. 17. "The great Supper of God." =

"An Angel . . . cried . . . to all the birds that fly in mid-heaven, Come . . . *that ye may eat the flesh of kings*," &c.—vv. 17, 18; cf. ver. 21.

Ch. xx. 8. "Gog and Magog." =

"The *Nations which are in the four corners of the earth*."—*Ib.*

(b) The interpretations supplied by other Books of Scripture:—

Ch. i. 4. "The Seven Spirits which are before His throne" (cf. ch. iii. 1). =

The *Holy Ghost*, Sevenfold in His operations, Isai. xi. 2; 1 Cor. xii. 4. See also under division (a), on ch. iv. 5; v. 6.

„ Ver. 16. "Out of His mouth pro-

ceeded a sharp two-edged Sword" (see also ch. ii. 12, 16; xix. 15). =

"He hath made *my mouth* like a sharp Sword,"—Isai. xlix. 2 (and so Isai. xi. 4; Hos. vi. 5). See Eph. vi. 17; 2 Thess. ii. 8; Heb. iv. 12.

Ch. ii. 7. "To eat of the Tree of Life" (see also ch. xxii. 2, 14). =

Immortality: "Lest he take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and *live for ever.*"—Gen. iii. 22; see on Rev. xxii. 2.

„ Ver. 17. "The hidden Manna." = "And Moses said, Take a pot, and put an omer full of Manna therein, and *lay it up before the Lord.*"—Ex. xvi. 33; "The Ark of the Covenant wherein was a golden pot holding the Manna."—Heb. ix. 4; "Your fathers did eat the Manna in the wilderness, and they died. This is the Bread *which cometh down out of heaven*, that a man may eat thereof, and not die."—John vi. 49, 50; cf. 1 Cor. x. 3.

„ Ver. 20. "Jezebel." =

The symbol of *idolatry*, 1 Kings xviii. 19; she is also the symbol of *adultery* and *witchcraft* 2 Kings ix. 22, 30 (cf. Jer. iv. 30; Ezek. xxiii. 40).

Ch. iii. 4. "Garments" undefiled, and defiled (see also, under division (a), on ch. xix. 8). =

Righteousness and *unrighteousness*, Zech. iii. 3–5 (cf. Gal. iii. 27; Eph. iv. 24; Col. iii. 10; Jude 23).

„ Ver. 5. "The Book of Life" (see the note on this verse). =

"Blot me, I pray Thee, out of *Thy Book* which Thou hast written."—Ex. xxxii. 32; "Let them be blotted out of *the Book of the Living*, and not be written with the righteous."—Ps. lxix. 28; "Thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found *written in the Book.*"—Dan. xii. 1; "Whose names are in the *Book of Life.*"—Phil. iv. 3. Cf. Luke x. 20.

Ch. iv. 1. "A Door opened in heaven." =

"This is the *Gate of heaven.*"—Gen. xxviii. 17.

„ Ver. 4. The "Four-and-twenty Elders." =

The *Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Twelve Apostles* (see ch. xxi. 12, 14),—Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30.

Ch. v. 1. The Sealed Book. =

"The Vision of all is become unto you as the words of *a Book that is sealed*, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this I pray thee: and he saith, *I cannot; for it is sealed.*"—Isai. xxix. 11.

„ Ver. 6. "A Lamb standing as though it had been slain." =

Christ: "He is brought *as a Lamb* to the slaughter," Isai. liii. 7; "He seeth JESUS coming unto him, and saith, Behold, *the Lamb of God.*"—John i. 29, 36; Acts viii. 32; 1 Pet. i. 19.

„ „ "Having Seven Horns." = Having the symbol of *universal Dominion:*—"He shall give *strength* unto His King, and exalt the *Horn* of His anointed."—1 Sam. ii. 10; cf. Deut. xxxiii. 17; 1 Kings xxii. 11. (On the number *Seven*, see below, p. 475).

Ch. vi. 1–8. The Four Horses. =

"The *four Spirits of the heavens.*"—Zech. vi. 1–8;—cf. Zech. i. 8–10. "These are they whom the Lord hath sent to walk to and fro through the earth."

„ Vv. 5, 6. "He had a balance in his hand, and I heard as it were a voice .... saying, A Measure of Wheat for a penny," &c. =

Scarcity:—"And when I have *broken the staff of your Bread* . . . they shall deliver you *your Bread again by weight;* and ye shall eat, and *not be satisfied.*"—Lev. xxvi. 26;—"Thy Meat which thou shalt eat *shall be by weight.*"—Ezek. iv. 10, 16, 17;—cf. v. 16.

Ch. vii. 1. "The four Winds." =

The *Divine Judgments:*—"Upon Elam will I bring *the four Winds* . . . and I will set my throne in Elam, and *will destroy*," &c.—Jer. xlix. 36, 38. Cf. Zech. vi. 5, where "The four spirits (or *Winds*) of the heavens" are personified (see above on Rev. vi. 1–8).

„ Vv. 1–3. "The Sea." =

The *Nations:* "The Lord bringeth upon them the *Waters of the river*, strong and many, *even the King of Assyria* and all his glory. Isai. viii. 7;—"Upon the earth distress of *Nations*, with perplexity; *the Sea*, and the waves roaring," Luke xxi. 25; (cf. Dan. vii. 2, "The four winds of heaven strove upon the *great Sea*)." See ch. xvii. 1, 15.

„ Ver. 1. Trees (cf. ch. viii. 7). =

Kings, great men:—"This is the word

that the Lord hath spoken concerning [Sennacherib] . . . . I will cut down *the tall cedar Trees* thereof, and the choice *fir Trees* thereof," &c.; 2 Kings xix. 21–23 (cf. Isai. x. 18, 19);—"The *Tree* that thou sawest . . . *it is thou, O king*," Dan. iv. 20–22. Cf. Zech. xi. 2.

Ch. viii. 7. Grass. =

Subjects:—"The Grass withereth, the flower fadeth . . . . surely *the People is Grass*."—Isai. xl. 7.

„ Ver. 8. "A great Mountain" (ch. xvii. 9, 10). =

A Kingdom, a seat of Empire:—"I will render unto Babylon, &c. . . . . Behold, I am against thee, O destroying *Mountain*." Jer. li. 24, 25;—cf. Dan. ii. 34, 45; Zech. iv. 7.

„ Ver. 11. "Wormwood." =

Bitterness, the distress and trouble resulting from sin:—"Lest there should be among you *a root that beareth gall and Wormwood*."—Deut. xxix. 18; cf. Acts viii. 23; Heb. xii. 15.

Ch. ix. 3. Locusts. =

God's destroying Army:—"The Locust . . . *My great Army*."—Joel ii. 25; see vv. 2–11.

Ch. x. 9. "Take [the little Book] and eat it up." =

"He caused me *to eat that roll* [*of a Book*,—see Ezek. ii. 9] . . . . Moreover He said unto me, Son of man, all my words that I shall speak unto thee *receive in thine heart*."—Ezek. iii. 2, 10.

Ch. xi. 1, 2. "And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and one said, Rise, and measure the Temple . . . . And the court which is without the Temple leave out, and measure it not" (cf. ch. xxi. 15–17). =

"Behold there was a man . . . . with a line of flax in his hand, and a *measuring reed* . . . . He measured it by the four sides . . . . *to make a separation between the Sanctuary and the profane place*." Ezek. xl. 3—xlii. 20. Cf. Zech. ii. 1, 2.

„ Ver. 4. "The two Olive Trees and the two Candlesticks." =

"What are these two Olive Trees upon the right side of the Candlestick and upon the left side thereof? . . . . Then said he, *These are the two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth*."—Zech. iv. 11, 14. Cf. Rom. xi. 17, 24, where the "Olive Tree" signifies the people of God; and Rev. i. 20, where a "Candlestick" signifies a Church.

Ch. xii. 1. "A Woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of Twelve Stars." =

She is *invested with authority*:—"Behold the sun and the moon and the eleven stars *made obeisance to me*."—Gen. xxxvii. 9.

Ch. xiii. 1. "I saw a Beast coming up out of the sea, having Ten Horns and Seven Heads." =

(See Dan. vii. 3–7):—"These great beasts, which are four, *are four Kings*; . . . The fourth beast *shall be the fourth Kingdom* upon earth; . . . . And the Ten Horns out of this kingdom *are Ten Kings*."—Dan. vii. 17, 23, 24.

Ch. xiv. 14–19. To "send forth the Sickle"; "to reap the Harvest of the earth"; to "gather the Clusters of the Vine." =

To sit in *judgment*; to be *ripe* for judgment:—"There will I *sit to judge* all the heathen round about. *Put ye in the Sickle* for the *Harvest is ripe*: come get you down, for the Press is full, the fats overflow; for *their wickedness is great*."—Joel iii. 12, 13. Cf. Isai. xxi. 9, 10; Jer. vi. 9; li. 33.

„ Ver. 20. "The Winepress was trodden." =

Wrath, Judgment:—"I have trodden the Winepress . . . . I will tread them *in mine anger* . . . . for *the Day of Vengeance* is in mine heart."—Isai. lxiii. 3, 4.

Ch. xv. 7, The Vials (see on ch. vi. 1; viii. 2, the Seals, the Trumpets). =

The *Divine judgments*: cf. the Plagues of Egypt,—Ex. vii.–xii.

Ch. xvi. 16. "Armageddon." =

The *scene of great Mourning*:—"In that day shall there be *a great Mourning* in Jerusalem, as the *Mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon*."—Zech. xii. 11.

„ Ver. 21. "Great Hail." =

"The *indignation of His anger* . . . . With scattering, and tempest, and *Hailstones*." Isai. xxx. 30;—"*I am against you*, saith the Lord God . . . . and ye, O great *Hailstones*, shall fall."—Ezek. xiii. 8, 11.

Ch. xvii. 2. "Fornication." =

Faithlessness to God:—"How is the *Faithful* city become *an Harlot!*" Isai. i. 21;—cf. Jer. ii. 20; iii. 2, 6; Ezek. xvi. 15; Hos. ii. 5; Nah. iii. 4; &c.

Ch. xx. 2. "A Thousand Years." = The symbol of the *duration of time, as God regards it*:—"*A thousand years* in thy sight are *but as Yesterday* when it is past, and as a watch in the night."—Ps. xc. 4;—"*One Day* is with the Lord as *a thousand years*, and *a thousand years as one Day*."—2 Pet. iii. 8. See the note on ch. xx. 2.

Ch. xxi. 2, 9. "The Bride, the Wife of the Lamb." = *The Church*:—"Thy Maker is *thy Husband; the Lord of Hosts* is His name." Isai. liv. 5;—"He hath clothed Me . . . as *a bridegroom* decketh himself with ornaments, and as *a bride* adorneth herself with her jewels." lxi. 10;—"He that hath *the Bride* is the *Bridegroom*." John iii. 29;—"A man shall leave his father and mother and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning *Christ* and *the Church*."—Eph. v. 31, 32.

„ Ver. 7. "The Fountain of the water of Life;"—"A River of water of Life." ch. xxii. 1 (cf. ver. 17). = *The grace of Christ*:—"With joy shall ye draw water out of *the Wells* of *Salvation*." Isai. xii. 3;—"Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye *to the waters*."—lv. 1; "Whosoever drinketh of *the water* that I shall give him, *shall never thirst*."—John iv. 14; "*Rivers of living water*. . . . This spake He *of the Spirit, which they that believe on Him should receive*."—John vii. 38, 39.

Ch. xxii. 2. "The leaves of the Tree were for the Healing of the nations." = "The fruit thereof shall be for meat, and *the leaf thereof for Medicine*."—Ezek. xlvii. 12.

The *numerical* symbolism of the Apocalypse in like manner receives its only just illustration from the other Books of Scripture. See § 11.

§ 11. *Symbolical Numbers.*

Rationalists represent this aspect of symbolism as follows:—As the writers of "Apokalyptik" strive to excite the curiosity of their readers by mysterious hints, and to test their acuteness by enigmatical words, so, with them, Numbers gain a special significance, and often find an artificial and allusive application. Certain Times also are fixed, even to the day and hour; and that which the writer does not venture to commit to words, he entrusts to the more ambiguous, and therefore less treacherous symbolism of Numbers' (see Krenkel, *l.c.*, s. 47).

Nothing can be more superficial, when the question is examined generally—nothing more incorrect, when the symbolism of Scripture is the subject, than such a theory. Among every ancient people, especially in the East—in India, China, Chaldæa, Egypt; in Greece, long before Pythagoras—we find importance attached to numbers; and this, too, in connexion with religious worship. This instinctive apprehension of the heathen world involves a profound truth. Number and Proportion are essential and necessary attributes of the Kosmos: and GOD, as a God of order,[1] has arranged each several province of Creation—even to the minutest particular ("the very hairs of your head are all numbered," Matt. x. 30)—according to definite numerical relations (Ps. cxlvii. 4; Isai. xl. 26; Ecclus. xvi. 26, 27).[2] Not

[1] Wisdom xi. 21,—*πάντα μέτρῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ καὶ σταθμῷ διέταξε*. Cf. also the Pythagorean saying,—*τὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν στοιχεῖα τῶν ὄντων στοιχεῖα πάντων*. Aristot., *Met.* i. 5.

[2] This position may be illustrated by the results of Science. Nature, in not a few of her provinces, works according to strict numerical laws. E.g. in—

CRYSTALLOGRAPHY:—A few instances may be given of the forms which minerals generally assume: (*a*). Minerals which crystallize as Hexahedrons (whose faces are six squares), or Octahedrons (whose faces are eight equilateral triangles).—Fluor spar, Alum, Sea-salt, Magnetic Iron-ore, Diamond, Garnet, Ruby Copper, &c.; (*b*). Minerals which crystallize as right square Prisms, or in Octahedrons (whose faces are Isosceles Triangles) — Hyacinth, Tinstone, &c.; (*c*). Minerals which crystallize as six-sided Prisms, or as Hexagonal Dodecahedrons (whose faces are Isosceles Triangles)—Beryl, Quartz, Corundum, Tourmaline, &c.; (*d*). Minerals which crystallize in four-sided Prisms with a Rhombic base, or in Octahedrons (whose faces are equal and similar Scalene Triangles)—Sulphur, Arragonite, Nitre, &c.; not to mention other classes.

CHEMISTRY:—Although the "atoms" of

only where the thought transcends the limits of man's understanding (e. g. Gen. xiii. 16; Jer. xxxiii. 22; Rev. vii. 9), but also in the province of human freedom (e.g. Job xiv. 16; Ps. lvi. 8), all has been divinely disposed according to number and proportion, order and design: and should such dispositions not admit of being computed by human faculties, or should God reveal them in mystery, — they are nevertheless capable of being represented not only by means of ideal types and symbols; but also by numerical relations.

The conception of the sanctity and symbolical dignity of numbers may probably have passed over to the Israelites from their heathen neighbours:[1] at all events, it is certain that this universal sentiment is reflected from the pages of the Old Testament. What could be more natural, indeed, than that the writers of either the Old or the New Testament should employ numbers as they were employed by their contemporaries? Numbers, like words, are but the signs of ideas; and if we can ascertain the idea corresponding to a particular sign, we have the meaning of that sign. It is this underlying idea alone on which the numerical symbolism of Scripture depends. The Pantheism of the religions of Nature, it is true, had attached to numbers, in addition to their speculative value, a further meaning. The real relations which are stamped on the material Kosmos were sought after; and, in the effort to trace out the laws of the Universe, everything sublunary was supposed to be guided by the motions of the heavenly bodies. "Though the Universe," writes Professor Archer-Butler, "displayed the geometry of its constructor or animator, yet Nature was eminently defined, by the Pythagoreans, as the μίμησις τῶν ἀριθμῶν (Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 6)".—*Lectures on the Hist. of Antient Philosophy*, vol. i., p. 336.[2]

elementary matter have very different weights which are not always represented by integer numbers, when we take the "atoms" as units combination takes place between them in proportions which are represented *only* by integers. Thus, the molecule of

Hydrochloric acid contains 2 elementary atoms (1 of Hydrogen and 1 of Chlorine);
Water, 3 el. at. (2 of Hydrogen and 1 of Oxygen);
Ammonia, 4 el. at. (1 of Nitrogen and 3 of Hydrogen);
Nitric Acid, 5 el. at. (1 of Hydrogen, 1 of Nitrogen, and 3 of Oxygen);
Sulphurous Acid, 6 el. at. (2 of Hydrogen, 1 of Sulphur, and 3 of Oxygen);
Sulphuric Acid, 7 el. at. (2 of Hydrogen, 1 of Sulphur, and 4 of Oxygen);
Phosphoric Acid, 8 el. at. (3 of Hydrogen, 1 of Phosphorus, and 4 of Oxygen);
Alcohol, 9 el. at. (2 of Carbon, 6 of Hydrogen, and 1 of Oxygen);
Nitrous Ether, 10 el. at. (2 of Carbon, 5 of Hydrogen, 1 of Nitrogen, and 2 of Oxygen).

(This information as to Crystallography and Chemistry has been kindly supplied by Professors Apjohn and Emerson Reynolds.)

ZOOLOGY.—In his *Leçons sur la Physiologie* (t. ix., Paris, 1870), M. H. Milne-Edwards writes:—

"La limite extrême du séjour du jeune Animal dans l'intérieur de l'œuf paraît être fixée d'une manière presque invariable pour chaque espèce zoologique."—p. 589.

The following are a few of the results given at p. 445:—The duration of incubation is 12 days for humming-birds; 31 days for the peacock; 42 days for the swan.

The duration of gestation among the Mammalia is, about 3 weeks for the mouse; 3½ weeks for the marmot (Fr. "*souslie*;" *Arctomys citillus*); 4 weeks for the hare; 7 weeks for the hedgehog; 14 weeks for the lion; 21 weeks for the sheep, &c.

PHYSIOLOGY.—Dr. Carpenter observes that there are marked differences in the functional operations of Organic life "which mark out the whole term of life into the various 'Ages' which are commonly recognized as *seven*, namely —Infancy, Childhood, Youth, Adolescence, Manhood, Decline, and Senility. For Physiological purposes, however," may be used "the *three* great periods of Growth and Development, of Maturity, and of Decline."—*Princ. of human Physiology*, 7th ed., p. 961.

[1] The elaborate theory of Bähr ("*Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*") to this effect, was, at one time, opposed by Hengstenberg ("*Die Gesch. Bileams*," 1842, s. 70 ff.); but this opposition was subsequently modified in his "*Beiträge*" (see B. iii. ss. 311, 605, 646). His criticism was replied to by Kurtz, "*Stud. u. Kritiken*," 1844, s. 330. Bähr has, no doubt, carried his theory to too great lengths.

[2] "Having discovered that the changes of sound were indissolubly connected with changes of length and tension, Pythagoras reversed the proposition, and asserted that sound — that which is essentially 'harmony'—perpetually waited on proportion; and that as the heavens themselves were ordered in consonance with number, they must move amid their own eternal harmony, a harmony to which the soul of man from familiarity (owing to its past transmigrations) had become deaf and irresponsive."—*l. c.*, p. 341. "Pythagoras ad harmoniam canere

The influence thus ascribed to the heavenly bodies led immediately to star-worship; and it was only after eliminating every such conception that numerical symbolism was employed in the Bible. Had the principles of the Sabæan worship lingered in the mind of the Israelite, he would have seen in the Seven-branched Candlestick only an image of the planetary heaven; or in the number of the Twelve Tribes, but a type of the signs of the Zodiac:[1] but this error, above all others, was denounced by Moses who appointed death as the punishment for apostasy to this form of false worship (cf. Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3–5). This abuse, therefore, being guarded against, the speculative value which the heathen attached to Numbers while it serves to illustrate this species of symbolism as found in the Bible, could in no way oppose the use by the Sacred Writers of a figurative mode of speech recognized by all ancient peoples.[2]

(a). Numbers taken simply.

The number Three:[3]—

Among the heathen, if at all civilized, every type and image of Deity, all that stands in immediate relation to It,—all, in short, in which the Divine completes itself, has the stamp of *Three.* This idea almost forces itself on the mind when man contemplates Creation: there are *three* dimensions of Space;—Time is *past, present, future;*—the Universe offers to the view, *Sky, Earth,* and *Sea;*—hence arose the proverb, τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται (Bähr, *l.c.*, s. 143). It is but natural, indeed, that the essential character of the Triune GOD, as He has revealed Himself, should be impressed upon His works. And so, in the record of Revelation *Three* is the numerical "signature" of the Divine Being, and of all that stands in any real relation to God:[1]—e.g. *three* Angels appeared to Abraham, Gen. xviii. 2; the benediction is *three*-fold, in Num. vi. 24–26 (cf. "My Name," ver. 27); Balaam's blessing is also *three*-fold, Num. xxiv. 10; each year God's people must appear before Him *three* times, Ex. xxiii. 14, 17; Deut. xvi. 16; above all, there is the *Ter* Sanctus,—the "Holy, Holy, Holy," of Isai. vi. 3.

Christ performs *three* miracles of raising from the dead (Matt. ix. 18; Luke vii. 12; John xi.); He *three* times announces that He will rise from the dead on the *third* day (Matt. xvi. 21; xvii. 23; xx. 19); He is "the Way, and the Truth, and the Life (John xiv. 6); He is Prophet, Priest, and King.

The Number Four:—

The number *Three* being the "signature" of God, of the Creator; *Four* is the "signature" of Nature, of the created, of the world:—not of the world as "without form and void," but as a Κόσμος, as the revelation of God so far as Nature can reveal Him. Among the heathen, *Four* is the number of the elements and of the regions of the earth.

mundum existimat."—Cic., *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 11, 27.

[1] Bähr observes that there is but one probable trace of any reference to the signs of the Zodiac in the entire Old Test., viz.—in the מזרות (A. V. "Planets;" Marg., "*twelve signs* or *constellations*;" LXX. τοῖς μαζουρώθ) of 2 Kings xxiii. 5 (cf. Job xxxviii. 32), where it is specified as an instance of the idolatry from which Josiah cleansed the Sanctuary (*l.c.*, i. s. 206).

[2] Mede observes: "The Scriptures use no numbers *indefinitely* [*i.e.*, symbolically] but such as the use of speech in the language of the people had made such."—p. 597. He instances 7 and 10; 7 times, and 10 times; *Myriads of myriads; Sexcenti* by the Latins: χίλιοι χιλιάκις by the Greeks.

[3] The number Two is the "signature" of *testimony*—of *truth*—of *certainty.* (Deut. xvii. 6; xix. 15: John viii. 17). There were *two* Tables of *Testimony*, Ex. xxxii. 15;—the Apostles and the Seventy were sent forth "*two* and *two*," Mark vi. 7; Luke x. 1;—there are "*two Witnesses*," Rev. xi. 3;—"*two* olive-trees," Zech. iv. 3. The *repetition* of a revelation is the assurance of its truth,—e.g. Gen. xli. 32; Judges vi. 39; 1 Kings xi. 9. And thus *Two* symbolizes God's witnesses and martyrs throughout all time.

[1] Leyrer (in Herzog's *Real Encyclop.*, art. *Zahlen bei den Hebr.*) disputes the conclusion that *Three* is strictly the "*signature*" of God; it rather, he considers, when applied to God, symbolizes the conception of *Life.* In the history of Creation, he argues, *Three* is involved in the *Seven*, as the number describing a gradual development of Life, when, in the first Triad of the Hexaemeron, the lower order (or kingdom of plants), and, in the second Triad, the highest order of organic Life (man) is attained (Gen. i. 11–13, 26–31).

It is the holy number of the Pythagoreans—the sacred *Tetractys*, or divine *Quaternio*, by which they swore. In Scripture *Four* appears first in Gen. ii. 10, where the river of Eden parts into *four* heads, "compassing" on all sides the lands of the earth: and thus we read of "the *four* corners[1] of the earth" (Isai. xi. 12; Ezek. vii. 2); or, as it is expressed in Ps. cvii. 3, "He gathered them out of the lands, from the east, and from the west, from the north, and from the south" (cf. Luke xiii. 29);—we also read of "the *four* winds of the heaven" in Dan. vii. 2; Zech. ii. 6 (cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 9; Matt. xxiv. 31);—and of the *four* constellations (Job xxxviii. 31, 32). This is also the language of Rev. vii. 1; xx. 8. For the Hebrew, the world was the manifestation of the Divine creative power (Ps. xix.); and the number *Four*, which denoted the form of the world, was the "signature" of the world as that scene which "declared the glory of God." The Living Beings who are the symbols in heaven of the Divine glory which Creation reveals—who are the ideal representatives of Creation (see on Rev. iv. 6)—appear, in Ezek. i., *four* in number, with *four* faces, *four* wings, *four* wheels (cf. Ezek. x. 9), *four* sides. See also St. Peter's Vision, Acts x. 11, 12; xi. 5, 6, where living Creation is symbolized. When the enumeration of the world's inhabitants is meant to be exhaustive, that enumeration is of *four* classes,—e. g. "every tribe and tongue, and people and nation" (Rev. v. 9). The old Creation had fallen from God; the new Creation was hereafter to be His Kosmos, in the essential meaning of the word; and towards this restoration the Jewish Theocracy was the first step: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xxii. 18). From such considerations, leaving aside all material notions, is to be derived the religious significance of this number. Thus there were *four* ingredients in the sacred incense, and *four* in the sacred oil (Ex. xxx. 23, 24, 34);—the two Altars are "*four*-square," and had each *four* horns (Ex. xxvii.; xxx.). And so in the Apocalypse the New Jerusalem "lieth *four*-square," ch. xxi. 16. Many other instances from Scripture are given by Bähr, and in Herzog, *ll. cc.*

The number *Three*—the "signature" of the Divine; and the number *Four*—the "signature" of Creation, are combined in numerical symbolism both by addition and multiplication: $4 + 3 = 7$; $4 \times 3 = 12$;—e.g. the *Three* and the *Four* of the *Seven*-branched Candlestick; and the *Four* rows of *Three* in the *Twelve* stones of the Breastplate (Ex. xxv. 31–37; xxviii. 17–21).

The number SEVEN:—

This number is employed to present, in the language of symbolism, the following relations:—(*a*) As 3 and 4 make one number in 7, *Seven* is the note of union between GOD and the world, and, therefore, signifies union and harmony; (*b*) As the conceptions of GOD and the world are the conditions of every religion, so all systems which aim at union with God must include them. Being the symbol of this union, *Seven* is, in general, the "number" of religion; (*c*) The end of religion being union with God, the number (*Seven*) which signifies this, is the necessary "signature" of Salvation, Blessing, Peace, Perfection.

With the heathen, *Seven* had almost exclusive reference to natural relations: the seven planets;—the seven colours in the rainbow;—the seven tones in music;—the seven strings of the lyre of Helios;—the seven reeds in the pipe of Pan, the personified ALL. On man, pre-eminently as the world in miniature,—the Mikrokosm,—*Seven* was stamped. Solon and Hippocrates defined the seven ages of man (Philo, *De Opific. Mundi*, i. p. 25). According to the Indian doctrine, "man is the representative of the great *Seven*-stringed World-lyre;" the "symbol of Kosmic harmony;" the "makro-kosmic Heptachord" (v. Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, ii. 247). The Chinese distinguished *seven* material souls in man, together with *three* spiritual souls (Ritter, *Asien*, i. 199). The Egyptians worshipped the *seven* planets (Diodor. Sic., ii. 30); and Herodotus tells of their *seven* castes. There were also the sacred "Heptads" of Greece and Rome; and hence, the

[1] In Hebrew קצות, כנפות,—LXX. ἄκρα, γωνίαι, πτέρυγες, Job xxxvii. 2; Ps. xix. 7; Isai. xliii. 5, 6; Jer. xlix. 36.

significance attached to Rome's *seven* hills. Cicero styles *Seven* "rerum omnium fere nodus" (*Somn. Scip.* 5,—see *De Republica*, vi.). In the Pythagorean doctrine of numbers, *seven* is the number of a καιρός;[1] in accordance with the *seven* sacred divisions of *time*, which all nations seem to have recognized.[2] In the Oriental division of time into *seven* days, the Indians and Chaldæans gave to each day the name of one of the seven planets, as representing the harmony of the world.

In place of all such material relations, the ethical and religious significance of *Seven* was alone recognized by the Hebrews.[3] The Bible begins, in the Book of Genesis, with a *Seven*; and ends, in the Apocalypse, with a series of *Sevens*. The symbolical value of this number is not to be sought for, with Winer (*Real WW. B.*, B. ii. s. 715), in the ideas attached by the ancients to the *seven* planets; nor, with Bähr (*l. c.*, i. 192), in the harmony of the *seven* tones and colours; nor, with Philo (*De Opific. Mundi*, i. p. 21), in numerical combinations;[4] but in the *seven* days during which Creation arose from chaos (תהו ובהו) and was pronounced to be "very good" (טוב מאד):—when God "rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made" (Gen. ii. 2); when He blessed it, and sanctified it as a day of rest for the Creation also (cf. Prov. ix. 1).[1] And thus the sacred *Seven* is the "signature" of perfection,—the type of all development in the history of the creature, especially of the human race as it struggles to rise out of imperfection and unrest and sin, to the state of perfection and rest and holiness, through the redemptive operation of God. If, in this symbolical number we can look backwards to the work of the first creation of the world; we can also look forward to the New Creation,—to "the sabbath rest" (σαββατισμός, Heb. iv. 9) of the people of God. Of this progress[2] Israel is the type,—by its origin, its preparatory discipline, its deliverance from Egypt, its organization through the Law; and in this progress the numerical symbol *Seven* is of never-ceasing recurrence. The very existence of the Jewish nation rested on its Covenant-union with God; and of this the "bow in the cloud" (Gen. ix. 13), with its *seven* colours, was the Divinely appointed "token." The sign and pledge of this Covenant was the Sabbath (שבת; compare שבע, *seven*: "God blessed the *seventh* day and sanctified it," Gen. ii. 3; Ezek. xx. 12;—the resemblance of the two words, however, seems to be merely accidental): see Ex. xxxi. 12–17; Neh. ix. 14. With reference to this sacred number—*Seven*, or *Seven* multiplied by *Seven*—all the legal festivals were ordered.[3] *Seven* was the number

[1] Alexander Aphrod. on *Aristot. Met.*, i. 5, 7, writes: "Quem ordinem numerus *septem* obtineret, hunc in mundo assignabant tempestivitati, utique quoniam hunc numerum tempestivitatem esse censebant" (*ap.* Herzog, *l. c.*, s. 365).

[2] Ideler (*Chronol.*, i. 178; ii. 473) traces the universal division of time into periods of *seven* days, to the phases of the moon, or the duration of each of the four divisions of the lunar month of twenty-eight days. See a remarkable passage on the sacred character of the *seventh* day among the Greeks, in Clemens Al., *Strom.* v. 14. Aulus Gellius (iii. 10) gives an account of a work by M. Varro (B.C. 116) on the virtues of the number *seven*, which, after the Greeks, he called a *Hebdomad*. Varro writes of the "*septem* triones quas πλειάδας Græci vocant;" of the phases of the Moon completed "quater septenis diebus;—and he adds "se quoque jam duodecimam *annorum hebdomadam* ingressum esse."

[3] See the treatise of Victorinus, *De Fabrica Mundi*, ap. Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, t. i. p. 148.

[4] Philo gives the following examples:—3 + 4 = 7; 1 + 2 + 4 = 7; in the two geometrical series 1, 2, 4, 8, &c., 1, 3, 9, 27, &c., the *seventh* term in each—as in every geometrical series beginning with *unity*—is at once a square and a cube.

[1] Mr. R. Proctor (*Contemp. Rev.*, March. 1875) would derive the origin of the Jewish Sabbath "from an Egyptian, and primarily from a Chaldæan source."—p. 611.

[2] Cf. the "*seven* steps," Ezek. xl. 22, 26, symbolizing the gradual preparation of humanity for the New Temple, and perfected Kingdom of God.—See Leyrer, *l. c.*

[3] The great Festivals lasted *seven* days:—the Passover (Ex. xii. 15), the Feast of Weeks (Ex. xxxiv. 22), the Feast of Tabernacles (Deut. xvi. 13). Pentecost was *seven* weeks after the Passover (Lev. xxiii. 15, 16); each *seventh* year was "a sabbath of rest unto the land" (Lev. xxv. 4); and the Jubilee year was the year after "*seven* times *seven* years" (Lev. xxv. 8–11). The Great Day of Atonement fell in the *seventh* month (Lev. xvi. 29, 30), as did the Feasts of Trumpets and of Tabernacles (Num. xxix. 1, 12. And thus, the 7th day is a Sabbath; the 7th week a Pentecost; the 7th year a Sabbatical year; the 7th Sabbatical year a Jubilee.

of *sacrifice*[1] (Num. xxiii. 1, 14, 29; 2 Chron. xxix. 21; Job xlii. 8). Judicial acts, whether of mercy or of punishment, involved the sacred number: e.g. the punishment of Cain (Gen. iv. 15, 24);—the *seven* years of plenty and of famine in Egypt (Gen. xli. 29, 30). Cf. the use of *Seven* in Josh. vi. 4—the compassing of Jericho; in 2 Kings v. 10—the healing of Naaman;[2] in Dan. iv. 16[3]—the "*seven* times" of Nebuchadnezzar; &c. Again, the words signifying an *oath*, and *to swear*, are derived from *Seven*: e. g. Beer-*sheba*, signifies "The well of the *oath*," Gen. xxi. 28–31;—God forgets not His Covenant (ברית) which He had *sworn* (נשבע), Deut. iv. 31; viii. 18.[4]

Seven is also used as a sacred number in the New Test.:—e. g. the *seven* Beatitudes; the *seven* petitions in the Lord's Prayer; the *seven* Parables in Matt. xiii.; the miracle of the *seven* loaves; "the *seven* words" from the Cross; the *seven* disciples in John xxi. 2 (cf. the 7 × 10 disciples, Luke x. 1); the *seven* Deacons; the *seven* "Charismata" in Rom. xii. 6–8; the *seven* characters of "wisdom" in James iii. 17; the *seven* "virtues" in 2 Peter i. 5–7.

In the Apocalypse, the prominence of the number *Seven* is as remarkable as it is unquestionable. (i). There are the cases in which the numerical symbol is exhibited, but not expressed:—such are the doxologies of ch. v. 12; vii. 12; the enumeration of the dwellers on the earth, ch. vi. 15; the enumeration of God's enemies, ch. xix. 18.[1] (ii). There are the far more numerous instances in which the numerical symbol is indicated expressly:—in ch. i., the *seven* Spirits, the *seven* Churches, the *seven* Candlesticks, the *seven* Angels, the *seven* Stars; elsewhere, the Seals, the Trumpets, the Vials, the Thunders, the Lamps of fire, the horns and eyes of the Lamb, and so throughout the Book.[2]

It should also be added here that the *half* of *Seven* ($3\frac{1}{2} \times 2 = 7$) was taken among the Jews as the symbol of times of tribulation: e.g. the period of famine and of Israel's oppression in the days of Elijah—a period so expressly specified by Christ in Luke iv. 25 (cf. James v. 17); and this "*broken number*"—this half of *Seven*—is a symbol of great significance from Rev. xi. to Rev. xiii.: see Wetstein's note on Rev. xi. 2. A condition of things is thus symbolically represented in which the Church suffers oppression from the World-power, and seems to be abandoned by God,—a condition the duration of which is shortened "for the elect's sake" (Matt. xxiv. 22). "A time and times and the dividing of time" (Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7; Rev. xii. 14), or this period of three years and a half according to the usual interpretation, is the prophetic duration of the deliverance

[1] In the Feast of Tabernacles (Num. xxix. 13–34), the whole idea of sacrifice was ordered according to *Seven*:—during the *seven* days were sacrificed, of goats, 7; of rams, 7 × 2; of lambs, 7 × 7 × 2; of bullocks, 7 × 5 × 2,—*seven* bullocks being offered on the *seventh* day (see Mr. White, *Symbolic Numbers*, p. 57). One may add the *seven* elements of the sacrifice,—the bullock, the ram, the goat, the dove; corn, wine, and oil.

[2] "Go and wash in Jordan *seven* times, and thy flesh," &c. This is an instance of *Seven*, as the note of *purification*. The first hint of this is given in the number of "clean beasts" taken into the Ark by Noah, Gen. vii. 2, 3: cf. Lev. xiv. 51.

[3] "In Babylonia the number *Seven* had a character quite sacramental."—See the notes on Dan. iv. 16, 32, 34.

[4] To this brief enumeration may be added the adjuncts of the Sanctuary and its service:—the *seven* branches of the Candlestick, and its *seven* lamps (Ex. xxv. 31–37);—Solomon's Temple was *seven* years in building, 1 Kings vi. 38. The length of each curtain of the Tabernacle was 7 × 4 cubits (Ex. xxvi. 2);—the number of the pillars of the Tabernacle court was 7 × 4 × 2 (Ex. xxvii. 10–15): see Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, iii. 1.

[1] It is to be noted that as the symbol of the Lamb, and the possession of a throne, are associated with Antichrist—the "simia Dei" (Rev. xiii. 2, 11); so the number *Seven* is taken in connexion with what is evil, e.g. Luke viii. 2; xi. 26. The *seven* heads of the Dragon and the Beast (Rev. xii. 3; xiii. 1) are the hellish antitype of, and contrast to, the *seven* Spirits of God,—the *seven* eyes and horns of the Lamb: cf. the *seven* nations of Canaan, Deut. vii. 1; Acts xiii. 19.

[2] Note that in Amos i. 3 *seven* is resolved into its elements *three* and *four*. The purification on the *seventh* day was useless, if that on the *third* day did not precede, see Num. xix. 11, 12. Compare the *seven* night-Visions of Zech. i.–vi.; the *three* of ch. i.–ii. being Visions of general, and the *four* of ch. iii.–vi., of special import. This resolution into *three* and *four*, and more usually into *four* and *three*, marks the Apocalypse:—see the remarks introductory to ch. ii.

of the saints into the power of their oppressors. In Rev. xi. 2, 3, the period of 42 months (= 1260 days; = "a time, and times, and half a time," ch. xii. 14)[1] is the period during which the Holy City is trodden down, and the Witnesses are persecuted (cf. "three days and a half" ch. xi. 9). This "broken number" —"Septenarius truncus"—may also be taken to be the "signature" of the broken Covenant; or may, perhaps, denote a period when God's Covenant of mercy is hidden from view, though the glory to be hoped for is still in store, —a glory which is fully developed in the sacred *Seven*.

Further, if *one* be subtracted from *Seven*, we get *Six*, a *deficient* number,—the half, also, of *Twelve*,—and thus the "signature" of non-perfection: in Ex. xxviii. 10, the two *Sixes* make up the perfect *Twelve*. The source of the idea is to be sought for in the *six* days of Creation, as days of *work*; and thus *Six* is also the "signature" of *human labour*. The command to "work" on the "*six* days" is given *seven* times,—viz. Ex. xx. 9; xxiii. 12; xxxi. 15; xxxiv. 21; xxxv. 2; Lev. xxiii. 3; Deut. v. 13; and thus man follows the Divine exemplar, for not until the seventh day did God rest "from all His work which He had made," Gen. ii. 2. This number is also a symbol of *human rule and power*, for on the *sixth* day God conferred on man his dominion over animated Creation, Gen. i. 28. After the pause which, in each case, precedes the last Seal, and the last Trumpet, the judgments which fall on the world and which are complete in the number 6, are fulfilled in the 7, when "the kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of His Christ" (Rev. xi. 15). Accordingly, "*Six* is the number of the world given over to judgment" (Auberlen, *l. c.*, p. 267). In Rev. xiii. 18, the threefold appearance of *six* in higher orders (666 = 6+60+600) indicates that the Beast "can only rise to greater ripeness for judgment."—*ib.*, p. 268.

[1] Mr. C. Maitland suggests that this variety of expression is intended "to make us more abundantly certain of the accuracy of the fulfilment."—*The Apost. School of Proph. Interpr.*, p. 27. See note [3], p. 474.

The number TWELVE denotes, not by addition as *Seven*, but by multiplication, the combination of the "signature" of God, and the "signature" of the world (3 × 4):—

According to the material conceptions of the heathen, *Twelve* was the regulating number of the Universe, both in space and time. There are 12 chief Stars—12 signs of the Zodiac in the path of the sun; 12 months in the year; 12 hours in the day. Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, had 12 chief deities; there were 12 Titans; 12 labours of Hercules, &c. In Scripture, however, rejecting all material references, as Seven, by reason of its components 3 and 4, is the Covenant-number,—so, by analogy, *Twelve* is not indeed, the number of the Covenant itself as *Seven* is, but of the Covenant-people in whose midst GOD dwells, and with whom He has entered into Covenant-relations. The division into *Twelve* Tribes fixes the relation of the Israelites, as God's elect people, to this symbolical number. That this relation was divinely fixed we learn from such passages as Ex. xxiv. 4; xxviii. 21; Josh. iv. 1–9; 1 Kings xviii. 31; Ezra vi. 17. That the relation was not accidental,—that it did not spring from the mere fact that Jacob had twelve sons,[1] is clear from the incorporation of the Tribes of Ephraim and Manasses in place of their father Joseph, which would have disturbed the number *Twelve* had not Levi been specially separated among the other Tribes (Num. i. 47; ii. 33). That this explanation is just, we learn from the Divinely appointed arrangement of the Camp of Israel (Num. ii.); where the Tabernacle in which God dwelt was in the midst (ver. 2), with *three* Tribes encamped on each of the *four* sides (vv. 3–31). Jerusalem—the Holy City which replaced the Camp in the wilderness —was built, as Josephus describes it (*B. J.*, v. 4. 2), on *four* hills, with *three*

[1] The fact that Nahor (Gen. xxii. 21—24) and Ishmael (Gen. xvii. 20; xxv. 16) had each *twelve* sons, has led Leyrer (*l. c.*) to conclude that *Twelve* is not the "signature" of the people *of God*, but generally of *a people* (cf. Gen. xxi. 13); the predominant and permanent reference to Israel causing this number to be symbolical of the Church, as the assemblage of God's chosen people.

gates on each side; just as we read of the New Jerusalem in Rev. xxi. 13. And thus the number *Twelve* was the "signature" of Israel as God's elect people with God in their midst: while the perpetuation of this number as that of the Apostles of Christ, and this selection of it (Matt. xix. 28) to mark out the Christian Church also as the Covenant-people with whom God shall ever dwell,—fixes *Twelve* as the "signature" of the collective body of the Redeemed.

For the symbolic use of *Twelve* in the New Test., see the *twelve* thrones of the *Twelve* Apostles, Matt. xix. 28; Acts i. 26; the *twelve* legions of Angels, Matt. xxvi. 53; the *twelve* baskets full of fragments in the miracle of the loaves, Matt. xiv. 20:—in the Apocalypse, the Woman with "a crown of *twelve* Stars," ch. xii. 1; or, referring to the New Jerusalem, the *Twelve* Angels at the *twelve* gates on which were the names "of the *Twelve* Tribes of Israel," and the *twelve* foundations, on which were "the names of the *Twelve* Apostles of the Lamb," ch. xxi. 12, 14;—in fine, the "*twelve* manner of fruits" of the Tree of Life (in connexion with the *twelve* months) ch. xxii. 2.

The introduction of *Twelve* as a factor of other numbers is also significant:—

12 × 2,—The courses of the priests, 1 Chron. xxiv. 1–19 (cf. 2 Chron. viii. 14; xxxi. 2; Luke i. 8). In the Apocalypse the "Four and twenty Elders," with their thrones, ch. iv. 4.

12 × 4,—The "forty and eight cities" of the Levites, Num. xxxv. 7.

12 × 8,—The offering of "ninety and six rams," Ezra viii. 35.

12 × 10 (and the derivatives of 12 multiplied by the derivatives of 10),—e.g. The 120 priests, 2 Chron. v. 12; the 120 disciples, Acts i. 15.

12 × 10 × 10 × 10 (= 12,000),—The length and breadth of the City, Rev. xxi. 16.

12 × 12,—The wall of the City was "an hundred and forty and four cubits," Rev. xxi. 17.

12 × 12 × 10 × 10 × 10 (= 144,000 or 12,000 from each of the *Twelve* Tribes),—The sealed of Rev. vii. 4; see also ch. xiv. 1.

The number TEN:—

As the numerical system of all nations consists of *decads*, and the number *Ten* represents the entire system, it is the natural symbol of perfection and completeness. The Pythagoreans gave to *Ten* the name of Kosmos,—transferring to it the name properly belonging to their *Tetractys*; for, as *Four* is the number of the Universe which comprehends all relations, so *Four* involves *Ten*, inasmuch as 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10, or the great τετρακτύς (see Suidas, *s. v.* ἀριθμός). As 4 follows 3, so also 10 follows 3 × 3.[1] *Ten* is, therefore, the "signature" of the perfected κόσμος, and they claim for it—as the perfectly explicit *Monas* and *Tetractys*—everything that embraces what is *odd* and *even*, what is *evil* and *good*. Hence they regarded *Ten* as the symbolical representative of absolute perfection and complete development. And thus *Ten* symbolizes, not God and the world—like 3 and 4, but that peculiar quality of completeness and perfection which belongs to both. From such speculations Spencer derives the universal custom of setting apart a *Tenth* of all to God (*De Legg. Hebr.* iii. 1),—a symbolical conception which may be noticed so early as the time of Abraham, who gave Melchizedek "tithes of all" (Gen. xiv. 20); and which was divinely ratified in the Law (see Lev. xxvii. 30; Num. xviii. 21, 24). Though but a *tenth*, *the tithe* was given in token that the *whole* was the Lord's. Hence, too, "the words of the Covenant, the *Ten* Commandments" (Ex. xxxiv. 28) gave the complete summary of the Law, and were the condition of Israel's existence as a people.[2]

[1] Philolaus, the first expounder of the system of Pythagoras (see Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Phil.*, p. 58), disputed as to the proportions and virtues of numbers,—"maxime de numero denario, quo omnes numeros atque omnes numerorum virtutes contineri putabant."—*l. c.*, p. 61. "Quaternarium numerum quasi compendium et originem denarii esse docebant, quia si addendo conjungas unum, duo, tria, quatuor, efficiuntur decem. Cf. Vit. Pythag. ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 712 . . . . Inde juramentum illud Pythagoræ per tetractyn. Cf. Lucian., *pro lapsu inter salut.* 5."—*l. c.*, p. 62.

[2] Delitzsch (see Herzog, *l.c.*, art. *Zahlen*, s. 379) would trace the symbolical value of *Ten* to a different source:—"Reading between the lines" of the express division into *Seven*, of the work of Creation, he discerns *Ten* "acts," or "creative words," of God (viz., Gen. i. 1,

In the Bible, accordingly, as the "signature" of a complete and perfect whole, *Ten* appears, at times, by itself; at times, in connexion with other symbolical numbers:—e.g. in the details of the Tabernacle. The Tabernacle consisted of *ten* curtains, forming a covering, in surface *forty* cubits by *twenty-eight* (*i.e.*, 10 × 4 by 7 × 4), and of which the "loops" and "taches" were *fifty* (or 10 × 5); its length being 10 × 3 cubits (Ex. xxvi. 1; xxxvi. 8–18). The length of its court was 10 × 10 cubits, by 10 × 5 (Ex. xxvii. 18). The Holy of Holies was a cube, each edge being of *ten* cubits (see on Rev. xxi. 16). Other applications are frequent. Noah, the head of the *tenth* generation[1] of mankind, was a type (Gen. v. 29) of the future universal Redemption; and that the *tenth* generation signifies "for ever," we learn from Deut. xxiii. 3, as explained by Neh. xiii. 1. The *ten* Egyptian plagues symbolized the complete outpouring of Divine wrath;—to which stands in contrasted parallel the "tribulation of *ten* days" (Rev. ii. 10), caused by the world to the Church. The *ten* horns of the fourth Beast represented *ten* kings, and symbolized perfect power (Dan. vii. 7, 24).[2] In order to intensify the idea, the powers of *Ten* are frequently employed singly or in combination with other symbolical numbers:—e.g. "a *thousand* (10^3) generations" (1 Chron. xvi. 15; Ps. cv. 8); and again, to express indefinite time, "a *thousand* years in thy sight are but as yesterday," (Ps. xc. 4; 2 Pet. iii. 8). Also combined with other numbers:—e.g. the captivity in Babylon for seventy (10×7) years (Jer. xxv. 11);—the seventy "sevens" (10×7^2) of Daniel (ix. 24);—in Elijah's days the seven thousand ($10^3 \times 7$) in Israel who did not bow the knee to Baal (1 Kings xix. 18; Rom. xi. 4);—in the Apocalypse the 12,000 ($10^3 \times 4 \times 3$) from each of the *Twelve* Tribes ($= 10^3 \times 12^2 = 144{,}000$), ch. vii. 4; xiv. 1;—the "thousand and six hundred furlongs" ($10^2 \times 4^2$), ch. xiv. 20. Compare also ch. v. 11, "ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands"—a countless number;—ch. ix. 16, "two hundred thousand thousand;"—and, above all, ch. xx., the "*Thousand* years."

The number FIVE:—

To the number *Ten* is related *Five*, which thus represents one-half of the "signature" of perfection. In this light, it symbolizes in Scripture a *relative* imperfection. Thus, he that sins through ignorance in holy things "shall make amends," "and shall add the *fifth* part [= a double *tenth*] thereto," Lev. v. 16; cf. vi. 5; xxii. 14. In the New Test., the *five* foolish virgins are placed beside the *five* who were wise, Matt. xxv. In the Revelation the locusts have power but for *five* months (ch. ix. 5, 10); and in ch. xvii. 10, *five* of the "seven kings" are fallen.

(b) NUMBERS APPLIED TO TIME.

I. The system of Tichonius (A.D. 390):—

From a very early period the chronological as well as the numerical statements of the Apocalypse have exercised the ingenuity of commentators. Among the "Seven Rules"[1] of Tichonius, which were intended by their author to solve the difficulties of Scripture, the

3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 29) through which the Kosmos reached its completion, as a whole, during the *seven* days: so that the "*seven* days" represent, in succession, the progress of time during which God's word and work completed the world; and the "*Ten* words" represent in systematic perfection the *single* parts and aspects of the Kosmos, when *all* the parts of it have become complete. By this consideration of the relation of *Ten* to the Kosmos, Delitzsch accounts for the position of *Ten* in the system of numbers among all peoples, and under every form of culture. Be this however, as it may, the symbolical importance of the number *Ten* is beyond question.

[1] Leyrer notes that the formula "these are the generations" occurs *ten* times in the Book of Genesis: viz. (1) Heaven and Earth,—ii. 4; (2) Adam,—v. 1; (3) Noah,—vi. 9; (4) Noah's sons,—x. 1; (5) Shem,—xi. 10; (6) Terah,—xi. 27; (7) Ishmael,—xxv. 12; (8) Isaac,—xxv. 19; (9) Esau,—xxxvi. 1; (10) Jacob,—xxxvii. 2.

[2] Leyrer (*l. c.*) adds, that the instruments which give praise to God have the "signature" of *Ten*,—e.g. the "*ten* strings," Ps. xxxiii. 2; xcii. 3; cxliv. 9: and he refers to the Pythagorean World-lyre, with its *ten* strings, and the *ten*-voiced music of the spheres,—see Cicero, *De Republica*, vi. (*Somn. Scip.* 4); Meursius, *De Denar. Pythag.*, ap. Grævii *Thesaur. Græc.*, t. ix.

[1] "*De septem Regulis*," ap. *M. Bibl. Patrum*, ed. De La Bigne, t. vi. p. 49, &c. These "Rules" were taken by Beda as the foundation of his interpretation of the Apocalypse.

fifth is headed *De Temporibus*. "The legitimate numbers" Tichonius takes to be 7, 10, 12, and their multiples,[1]—e. g. 70, 700, or 7 × 7, or 10 × 10. By this means either *perfection* is signified, or the whole is inferred from its part:—thus the *Seven* Churches (Rev. i.) denote perfection; and in like manner the number *Ten*,—e. g. 1 Sam. xxix. 5; Dan. vii. 10; Matt. xviii. 22. For the number *Twelve*, see above, p. 478.

In cases where *time* is concerned, the "tribulation of *ten* days" signifies 'down to the very end' ("significat usque in finem");—the *five* months" (Rev. ix. 5) denote five *years*;—"the hour and day and month and year" (Rev. ix. 15) denote three years and a half. Sometimes "a day" is put for a hundred *days*, and thus the "1260 days" (Rev. xi. 3; xii. 6) represent 350 *years*:—so also the "42 months" (ver. 2). "A time, and times, and half a time" (Rev. xii. 14) are either $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 350 years; and in like manner *one* day is sometimes a hundred years, as it is written concerning the Church, "after three days and a half" (Rev. xi. 9, 11).[2]

In modern times, however, the "Year-day theory" is that which has gained the highest popularity.

II. The "Year-day" theory:—

Among the questions relating to symbolical numbers, none possesses such importance as the question of the "Year-day" theory. This theory is thus defined by Mr. Birks: In the predictions of Daniel and St. John "which relate to the general history of the Church between the time of the prophet and the Second Advent . . . . each *day* represents a natural *year*, as in the Vision of Ezekiel, [iv. 4–6]; a *month* denotes 30, and a *time* 360 years."—*First Elements of Sacred Prophecy*, p. 311.[1]

The passages in the Apocalypse to which Mr. Birks applies this theory are the following:—ch. ii. 10 ("ten days"); ch. ix. 5, 10 ("five months"); ch. ix. 15 ("the hour, and day, and month, and year"); ch. xi. 2, 3 ("42 months," and "1260 days"); ch. xi. 9 11 ("three days and a half"); ch. xii. 6 ("1260 days"); ch. xii. 14 ("a time, and times, and half a time"); ch. xiii. 5 ("42 months"). It will be observed that this writer excludes from the application of the "Year-day" theory, ch. viii. 1 ("half an hour"); ch. xvii. 12 ("one hour"); ch. xviii. 8 ("one day"); and, chief of all, the "Thousand Years" of ch. xx. Indeed Mr. Birks regards it as the merit of his definition that it excludes the Millennium, and thus, he considers, avoids the objection that, according to the "Year-day" theory, the Millennium would continue for 360,000 years (*l. c.*, pp. 313–322).

The objections to this principle of interpretation which at once offer themselves, are neither few nor unimportant. If Numbers are symbolical at all, we cannot play fast and loose with their figurative meaning: we cannot apply, at our pleasure, the "Year-day" theory to some prophetical numbers, and arbitrarily exclude others;—and yet almost all writers seem to shrink from applying this theory to the Millennium.[2] Christ has told us that it was not even

[1] "Ex legitimis numeris sunt *septenarius*, *denarius*, *duodenarius*. Idem est autem numerus et cum multiplicatur: ut septuaginta vel septingenti; vel toties in se, ut septies septem, aut decies deni."—*l. c.*, p. 61.

[2] "Aliquando *dies* denario numero centum dies sunt, sicut in Apocalypse, Dies mille ducenti sexaginta. Nam millies ducenties sexagies centeni, centum viginti sex millia *dies* sunt, qui sunt *anni* trecenti quinquaginta, mensibus triginta dierum . . . "Tempus" aut annus est, aut centum anni; sicut *tempus et tempora et dimidium temporis*, quod est aut tres anni et dimidius, aut 350. Iterum unus dies aliquando centum anni sunt: sicut de Ecclesia scriptum est *post tres dies et dimidium*" (Rev. xi. 9, 11).

[1] "The mystical exposition of the 1260 days as years was first published about A.D. 1200." . . . "From the time of Osiander (1544), and the Centuriators, it has been generally received and retained in the Protestant Churches."—*l. c.*, p. 19. The Abbot Joachim (*circ.* A.D. 1190), "completely anticipated the day-year theory."—Todd, *The Prophecies relating to Antichrist*, p. 457. Joachim's words are: "Accepto haud dubie die pro anno, et 1260 diebus pro totidem annis."—*ib.* p. 458.

[2] Anton Driessen, however, (*Meditt. in sacram Apoc.*, 1717) has not shrunk from this conclusion. Taking a *year* to be equal to 360 *days*, he counts in the Apocalypse from the first Christian Pentecost, seven equal periods of 360 years, down to Rev. xx.; and he makes the 1000 years (beginning in the year 2695) to be the *eighth* and last period of God's kingdom on earth,—this Millennium being equal to 360,000 years:—so Lücke reports, s. 1038.

for Apostles "to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in His own power"; nevertheless the advocates of the "Year-day" theory place the exact interval of 1260 years between some point of time variously and arbitrarily fixed upon, and the goal of Apocalyptic prediction, — whether that goal be the Lord's Second Advent, or some subordinate event in history.[1] Further still:—by aid of the "Year-day" theory, writers who, above all others, seek to spiritualize the Apocalypse, are unconsciously led to give what is really a literal interpretation to passages which they imagine they are expounding symbolically. In Num. xiv. 34, and Ezek. iv. 6, when it is expressly said that *years* are represented by *days*, or conversely, this is simply a literal statement of a fact, —a statement as literal as when Jeremiah (xxv. 11) predicts plainly that the captivity in Babylon will last for seventy *years*. If, therefore, an expositor assumes that a prophetical *day* always means a natural *year*, and, consequently, that 42 *months*, or 1260 *days* must represent 1260 natural *years*, he, so far, places himself in the ranks of those who interpret the Apocalypse literally. If the Second Advent, moreover, be the goal fixed upon, one can easily perceive how greatly the knowledge of the preceding period of 1260 years must interfere with that attitude of expectation which the Church should ever maintain. Nor can such objections, even if they stood alone, be removed by the statement of Mr. Birks (*l. c.*, p. 410) that the meaning of the symbol was concealed for twelve, or fifteen, or even eighteen centuries, until the "Year-day" theory was devised by expositors; for, when closely examined, this theory has no real support from the analogy of Scripture.

The passages which are appealed to in proof of this theory, and which explain its meaning, are as follows:—(1) "After the number of the *days* in which ye searched the land, even forty *days*, each *day* for a *year*, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty *years*" (Num. xiv. 34); (2) "Lie thou upon thy left side, and lay the iniquity of the house of Israel upon it: according to the number of the *days* that thou shalt lie upon it thou shalt bear their iniquity. For I have laid upon thee the *years* of their iniquity, according to the number of the *days*, 390 *days*: . . And when thou hast accomplished them lie again on thy right side, and thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty *days*: I have appointed thee each *day* for a *year*" (Ezek. iv. 4–6). To these passages writers add, as their grand confirmation, (3) the prediction of the "seventy *weeks*" in Dan. ix. 24–27;[1] which according to the established interpretation, indicates "seventy *weeks* of years," or 490 years, —"each day for a year."

As to the two passages Num. xiv. 34,

[1] Thus Junius counts the 1260 years from Christ's Resurrection, A.D. 34, to A.D. 1294.

Mede (p. 600) would count the 42 months of "the Antichristian Apostasy" from some year between 365 and 455. He inclines to the year 376, when the Emperor Gratian, who renounced the title "*Pontifex Maximus*," began to reign.

Cressener from A.D. 427 to A.D. 1687, the eve of the decline of the Turkish power.

According to Elliott, the *primary* epoch of the Beast's 1260 days was Justinian's decree, A.D. 530; and the *primary* ending the French Revolution, A.D. 1790. The *secondary* beginning was the decree of Phocas, A.D. 606; and the *secondary* ending the year 1866 (vol. iii. pp. 296–302, 396–410).

Faber counts from A.D. 604 to A.D. 1864 (*Sacr. Cal.*, B. I. ch. 7, p. 132). Tyso (p. 79) gives a list of 47 writers who give different dates.

[1] "What are the 'weeks'? Are they weeks of days,—or weeks of years,—lunar years of 354 days, or Babylonian years of 360 days,—or jubilee periods of 50 years,—or are they mystical and symbolical numbers? Critics of acknowledged piety and ability adopt, on this point, the most opposite views."—*Excursus* on Dan. ix. 24–27, p. 365. "It is a question," writes Mr. G. S. Faber, "whether the 'seventy weeks' [of Daniel ix.] are composed of solar years [of 365 days] or of lunar years; and if of the latter, whether each year contains 354 days or 360 days." *Dissert. on Dan. ix.*, p. xiii. E.g., on Rev. xi., Brightman takes the 1260 *days* (the months "being neither *lunar* nor *Julian*, but *Egyptian*, each consisting of 30 days"—p. 287) to be 1242 Julian years, from Constantine's accession A.D. 304, to A.D. 1546, the year when the Council of Trent assembled (cf. Note C on ch. ii. 10). R. Fleming also reduces the 1260 *days* (or 3½ years) to Julian *years* (3½ Julian years = 1278 days; and, therefore 1260 prophetical *days* = 1242 Julian *years*). He counts from "the decree of Phocas," A.D. 606, and thus obtains for the close of the Apocalyptic 3½ years (1242 + 606) the year 1848 (see Note B on ch. xi. 2).

Ezek. iv. 4–6, it is not easy to see what support can be found in them for the "Year-day" theory. In neither of them does a "day" *stand for* a "year"; in both a day is simply *a day*, and a year is *a year*, in the plain, literal sense of the words. The "forty *years*" of Israel's wandering in the wilderness were the punishment for "forty *days*'" unbelief:—Ezekiel, lying on his side for 430 (390 + 40) *days*, bore the national iniquity of 430 *years*. How can it be inferred from either of these passages that the word "day" in prophecy *always* signifies a year? In the passage from Ezekiel the whole significance lies not in the words "day" and "year," but in the symbolic action publicly performed; and the argument based upon it, in proof of the "Year-day" theory, "confounds the *allegory of action* with the *metaphors of speech*."[1] In the previous verse (Ezek. iv. 3) "an iron pan" (marg. *flat plate*) symbolizes the *wall* of Jerusalem; and Bishop Horsley argues that we might with equal reason (and by the same analogy) conclude that the word *iron-plate* symbolizes the *wall* of a city in Lev. ii. 5; 1 Chron. xxiii. 29, as infer, because a *day* represents a *year* in Num. xiv. 34, that the 1260 days of Rev. xi. 3 *must* be interpreted to mean 1260 years (*l.c.*, p. 723).[2]

The argument from the "seventy weeks" of Daniel (ix. 24–27) is still less conclusive. The usual translation—"seventy *weeks*," instead of the literal rendering "seventy *sevens*"—has contributed not a little to the misconception here. Expositors supply in this passage, not *weeks* of days, or months, or jubilees, but of *years*,—*i.e.*, "seventy sevens [*of years*]." That the simple rendering, "seventy *sevens*," is the correct signification follows from the usage of Scripture. When we ourselves use the word "week," we mean exclusively a week of *days*; and we calculate time by *weeks*, reducing days to weeks, weeks to months, and months to years. This, however, was not the custom of the writers of Scripture. As the Jews were not in the habit of counting time by weeks, they did not express the period of *seven days* by any one word; writing in full "seven days" (e. g. Num. xxix. 12, *shibath yamim*, שבעת ימים,—ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας), or "a seven (or sevens) of days" (Dan. x. 2, *shabuim yamim*, שבעים ימים,—ἑβδομάδας ἡμερῶν, cf. Ezek. xlv. 21)[1]:—cf. "a month *of days*," Gen. xxix. 14; "three years *of days*," Amos iv. 4. The important fact, however, is that the word *shabua* (שבוע) properly signifies not "a week (of days)," or "a week (of years)," but strictly "*a seven*,"—just as the French language has the phrase *une septaine*; and, similarly, as we say, *a dozen*. Whether *shabua* denotes "a seven (of days)," or "a seven (of years)," or "a seven (of some other period of time)," is to be determined by the context alone;[2] and

[1] See Bishop Horsley, *British Magazine*, Supp. 1833, vol. iv. p. 725, quoted by Dr. S. R. Maitland, *The Twelve hundred and sixty days*, p. 108. Dr. Maitland (*ib.* p. 107) also quotes Wagenseil: "Alter locus, Ezech. iv. 6, æque nihil probat, ibi enim tantum propheta super latus dextrum et sinistrum tot dies cubare jubetur, quot annos Deus domus Israelis et domus Judæ peccata tacitus pertulerat. Hic ergo vox *dies* ad *annum* significandum *physice*, ut ita loquar, adhibetur, non *grammatice*: exstatque locus plane similis, Num. xiv."—*Tela Ign. Satanæ* (*Mantissa* de LXX. Hebdom., p. 61).

[2] The reply of Mr. Birks (*l. c.* p. 348) that it is not said that "*three hundred* iron plates" represent "*three hundred* walls," does not appear conclusive.

[1] Three exceptions to this rule are given by Dr. S. R. Maitland (see his *First* and *Second Enquiries as to the Prophetic periods of Daniel and St. John*):—(1) In Lev. xii. 5, the duration of "two *weeks*" (*shebuaim*) is prescribed; (2) In Gen. xxix. 18, 20, Jacob serves Laban "seven years" (*sheba shanim*); and in ver. 27 we read "Fulfil her *week*" (*shabua zoth*,—τὰ ἑβδομα ταύτης), which commentators usually take to be "a week of *days*"—"the seven days of the [marriage] feast" (Judges xiv. 12): so that Jacob married Leah and Rachel within eight days. Josephus, however, understood that Jacob served seven *years* (ἑλλης ἑπταετίας—*Antt.* i. 19, 7) for Rachel also; (3) "The feast of *weeks*" (*hag shabuoth*), or feast of the "first fruits of wheat harvest" (Ex. xxiii. 16; xxxiv. 22; Num. xxviii. 26; Deut. xvi. 9, 10, 16; Jer. v. 24), as the feast of Pentecost was also called (Lev. xxiii. 15–21),—was fixed by counting seven *weeks* (as we count) from a given time: see Tobit ii. 1, ἡ ἐστιν ἁγία ἑβδομάδων.

[2] "Hofmann and Kliefoth" writes Keil (on Dan. ix. 24), "are in the right when they remark that *shabuim* does not necessarily mean *year-weeks*, but an intentionally indefinite designation of a period of time measured by the number *seven*, whose chronological duration must be determined on other grounds." See also Dr. M. Stuart's *Comm. on the Apoc.*, vol. ii. p. 462.

this usage is followed by the Misnic writers.[1]

In Dan. ix. 24 the context seems to point to the interpretation of "seventy sevens" (*shabuim shibim*), viz. "seventy sevens (of years)."[2] In ver. 2 Daniel quotes Jeremiah's prediction of the accomplishment of "seventy *years* [*shibim shanah*] in the desolations of Jerusalem." This period Daniel intensifies by multiplying *seventy* by *seven* in ver. 24. He leaves the measure of time indefinite; but his previous reference to Jeremiah seems to indicate that "sevens (of *years*)," not "weeks (of *days*)," are to be understood throughout the entire passage, vv. 24–27. On the other hand, when Daniel does not leave the measure of time indefinite, but intends to express a *week* in our sense of the word, he writes in full "a seven of days,"—see Dan. x. 2, 3, "three sevens of days" (*sheloshah shabuim yamim*): cf. Hävernick *in loc.*[3] On the reference in Dan. ix. 2 to Jeremiah, compare the remarkable passage, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.[4]

It is to be noted that when one space of time in Scripture typifies another space of time, both spaces of time are equal:—e. g. "The three days and three nights" in Jonah i. 17, and "the three days and three nights" of the entombment of Christ,—Matt. xii. 40. When the exact time differs, it is stated expressly as in the case of the *days* in Num. xiv. 34; Ezek. iv. 4–9.

Again, when we are told by Mr. Faber (*Dissert. on Dan.* ix.: see note [1], p. 482) that the 1260 *days*, the 42 *months*, and the 3½ *times* "must alike be equivalent to 1260 *years*," we are also to bear in mind that a *year* is taken to signify two different periods of time. When writers of this class thus speak of "*years of years*," they really "mean 'years' (consisting of 360 mystical days) 'of years' (consisting of 365 natural days)."—S. R. Maitland, *Second Enquiry*, p. 83. See Mr. Elliott's calculation referred to on ch. xi. 9.[1]

The arguments of those who uphold the "Year-day" theory, in answer to Dr. S. R. Maitland and the other writers who adopt the "Futurist" system of interpretation, or who take the numbers of Scripture in their bare, literal sense,[2] do not apply to anything which has been stated here.

III. "A Time, and Times, and half a Time" (Rev. xii. 14):—

This symbolical period is borrowed from Dan. vii. 25[3] ("a time and times and the dividing of time"), and Dan. xii. 7 ("a time, times, and an half"). In the former place, which occurs in the Chaldee portion of Daniel, the Chaldee word *iddan* (עדן) is used; in the latter, which occurs in the Hebrew portion, the common Hebrew word *moed* (מועד): and in both places the LXX. has καιρός, as in Rev. xii. 14. These "three and a half *times*" are the half of the "seven *times*" of Dan. iv. 16 (LXX. ver. 20).[4]

[1] See Dr. Maitland, *l. c.*; and the references in Dr. A. M'Caul's reply to the '*Morning Watch*.'

[2] On Dan. ix. 27, Irenæus writes: "Dimidium hebdomadis *tres sunt anni* et *menses sex*." —*Hær.* v. 25, p. 323.

[3] Grotius comments thus on Dan. ix. 24: "*Septuaginta Hebdomades*."] Annorum. Ita enim mos erat loquendi, et manet apud Thalmudicos. Ideo ubi de dierum hebdomade agitur, solet adjici *dierum* nomen. Ezek. xlv. 21; infra Dan. x. 2, 3, in Hebræo."

[4] Cf. Lev. xxvi. 34, 35. It should be noted that "a *sabbath* of years" was a legal phrase; see Lev. xxv. 4, 8, "seven sabbaths of years" (*sheba shabbethoth shanim*), or "seven times seven years," the fiftieth year being "a Jubilee."

[1] See, too, *in loc.*, Elliott's explanation of ch. ix. 15 ("the hour, and day, and month, and year"). Robert Fleming, however, has noted this: "In order," he observes "to understand the Prophetical years aright," we must reduce them to Julian years; and thus he makes the 3½ Prophetical years = 1278 Julian years, speaking "*ore rotundo*:"—see above, p. 482, note [1], and Note B on ch. xi. 2.

[2] E.g. Mr. Edward Irving reckoned the 1260 days from Jan. 14, 1832, to July 14, 1835. As a "Preterist," Mr. F. D. Maurice understood the 42 months literally: "We commonly reckon a period of *about four years* between the commencement of the Jewish rebellion, . . . and the termination of the war by Titus."—*Lectures on the Apoc.*, p. 190.

[3] Cf. Dan. vii. 12, "for a season and *time*;" —a phrase which it is rather too great literalism to identify with "the *times* and seasons" of Dan. ii. 21,—see the note on Dan. vii. 12.

[4] The Chaldee word *iddan*, found only in Daniel, is used for *time* either *indefinitely* (e.g. Dan. ii. 8, iii. 5, &c.), or to express a *definite* period of time, as in Dan. iv. 16 (Heb. iv. 13), "and let seven *times* pass over him" (*shibah iddanin*, ἑπτὰ καιροί, and so in vv. 23, 25, 32).

The majority of the older[1] as well as of the more recent interpreters take a "*time*" to represent a *year*: the text itself, however, does not fix any period—years, months, weeks, days. The Jews, in the age of Justin Martyr,[2] considered "*a time*" in Daniel to represent *a century*. Scaliger (A.D. 1540) has followed them; and assumes that Scripture makes *a time* to signify "*annum magnum sæcularem*:" and he makes the $3\frac{1}{2}$ *times* the period which elapsed between the rise of the Albigenses and the Reformation, "*car un temps ou jour en l'Écriture signifie cent ans*"[3] (quoted by S. R. Maitland, *Second Enquiry*, p. 34, from "*Scaligerana, prima*," p. 39). "The supposition," notes Keil (on Dan. vii. 25), "that in Dan. iv. 16 the 'seven *times*' represent 'seven *years*,' neither is, nor can be proved. As regards the *time* and *times* in Dan. xii. 7, and the periods named in Rev. xii. 14, it is very questionable whether the *weeks* and the *days* represent the ordinary weeks of the *year*, and days of the *week*, and whether these periods of time are to be taken chronologically." At all events, probable though it may be that the three and a half *times* typify three and a half *years*, this result cannot be relied upon as *a certainty* by the interpreter of prophecy.

IV. Bengel's chronological system[4] affords an illustration of the arbitrary methods according to which commentators have dealt with the Apocalyptic numbers:—

Bengel first assumes that "the number (666) of the Beast," Rev. xiii. 18, denominates *years*.[5] These, for 666 is "the number of a man," are common years; and this number of *years* he identifies with the 42 *months* of the Beast, Rev. xiii. 5.[1] Accordingly *one prophetic month* = $15\frac{6}{7}$ common years; and *one prophetic day* = (nearly) half a natural *year*. Again he compares 666 with the 1000 years of Rev. xx.; and infers the proportion 3 : 2 : : $999\frac{999}{999}$ years : $666\frac{666}{999}$ years. The *unit* in each of these denominations (or $111\frac{1}{9}$) he further assumes to be "a half time" (Rev. xii. 14); and, therefore "*a time*" (καιρός) = $222\frac{2}{9}$ common years; and "a time, times, and half a time" = $777\frac{7}{9}$ years. "A short time" (Rev. xii. 12—ὀλίγος καιρός) = $888\frac{8}{9}$ years.[2] A Chronus (χρόνος) he makes to be five *times* = $1111\frac{1}{9}$ years; and a Non-Chronus (χρόνος οὐκέτι, Rev. x. 6) a period greater than $999\frac{9}{9}$, and less than $1111\frac{1}{9}$ years. An Æon (see Rev. xiv. 6, "an *eternal* Gospel" — εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον) = two Chroni, = $2222\frac{2}{9}$ years: and so on.[3]

[1] E.g. St. Augustine writes: "Tempus quippe, et tempora, et dimidium temporis, annum unum esse, et duos, et dimidium."—*De Civ. Dei*, xx. 23.

[2] Justin says to Trypho:—ὑμεῖς ἀγνοοῦντες πόσον χρόνον διακατέχειν μέλλει, ἄλλο ἡγεῖσθε. τὸν γὰρ καιρὸν ἑκατὸν ἔτη ἐξηγεῖσθε λέγεσθαι.—*Dial.*, c. 32.

[3] On this Vitringa observes: "Magno tamen mercarer, loca adscripta esse, quæ Scaliger respexerit, ubi *Annos* in Verbo Dei pro *Sæcularibus* sumi dixit."—p. 464.

[4] See his *Erklärte Offenbarung*, *Einl.* § 35–52; Burk's *Memoir of the Life, &c. of J. A. Bengel*, Engl. transl., London, 1837.

[5] One of his reasons is that the *neuter* form of the numeral in "the best Greek codices" (P, Andr., and some cursives read ἑξακόσια,—see the list of readings prefixed to ch. xiii.), and its masculine form in the Vulgate (*sexcenti*) direct us to the word *years* (ἔτη, or *anni*) as the noun to be understood before 666.

Bengel (s. 467) says that for some centuries before the Reformation the number 666 was taken to represent so many *years*:—in Cent. xv. by Antonius of Florence;—in Cent. xiv. by Nicolas de Lyra;—in Cent. xiii. (A.D. 1250) by Pope Innocent III. (*ap.* Baron.) who counted from the rise of Mohammed 666 years until A.D. 1288.

[1] Bengel also makes the 42 months, and the 1260 days of Rev. xi. 2, 3, to be *common* months, and *common* days. In ch. xi. 9, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days are likewise common days; and so, too, in ch. ii. 10, the "ten days" are not "prophetical" but *natural* days.

[2] "The difficulty that 'a short time' (ch. xii. 12) should denote the long space of $888\frac{8}{9}$ years, is explained by considering that our computation is by half-times (viz. $111\frac{1}{9}$). Now the ancients used to reckon no less than *seven* to the completion of a *time* (καιρός); hence four times (or $222\frac{2}{9} \times 4$) might easily be denominated 'a short time,' ὀλίγος καιρός."—see Burk, *l. c.*, p. 291.

[3] E.g. a prophetical *hour* = 8 common days; a *day* = half a common year + 14 days (nearly) = 196 common days; a *month* = $15\frac{55}{65}$ years = 15 years + 318 days or $5797\frac{1}{2}$ days; a *year* = 196 common years + 117 days + 13 hours. Accordingly he makes the *five months* of Rev. ix. 5 = $79\frac{1}{2}$ common years; the "*hour*, and *day*, and *month*, and *year*" of ch. ix. 15 = (8 + 196) days + (15 years + 318 days) + (196 years + 117 days) = 211 years + 639 days = $212\frac{3}{4}$ years. The 1260 days of ch. xiii. 5 he takes to be less than the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times of Rev. xii. 14, and considers them = 677 years. (The common year Bengel took to be, 365 days, 5h., 49m., 12s.).

The point of time which has determined all his calculations, Bengel arrived at as follows:—The duration of the world from the Creation to the Last Judgment he assumes to be *seven* Chroni, or $7777\frac{7}{9}$ years. The Dionysian era begins from A.M. 3942; and hence 7778—3942 (= 3836) is the sum total of the New Testament times. Bengel also interprets Rev. xx. so as to understand *two* periods of 1000 years, or *two* Millenniums; subtracting, therefore, 2000 from 3836, he obtained the year 1836 as the date from which the *first* Millennium begins, during which Satan is bound.[1]

This entire scheme may be judged by Bengel's own words:—"Should the year 1836 pass without bringing remarkable changes, there must be some great error in my system."—Burk, *l. c.*, p. 300.

From what has been said in these latter sections it seems to follow of necessity that the Apocalypse must be understood throughout in a symbolical sense. "As all language abounds in metaphor and other materials of imagery, imagery itself may form the ground of a descriptive language. The forms of it may become intelligible terms; and the combination of them may be equivalent to a narrative of description. . . . . In certain points the [Apocalypse] furnishes a key to its own sense, by a positive interpretation given . . . . [Its] prophecies therefore come before us as a fair document of prediction, as much as others expressed in the more obvious and direct language of civil and historic description, modified, as the prophetic style usually is, by a tropical character."—Davison, *On Prophecy*, 3rd ed., p. 439.

In the case of no part of Scripture however, has the maxim of St. Irenæus (*Contr. Hær*, iv. 26, p. 262), "Every prophecy is an enigma before its accomplishment," been more completely forgotten. The symbolical interpretation of this Book has, from the earliest times, been carried to an extravagant excess, and to the most inconsistent conclusions. The literature of the subject affords melancholy evidence of the fact. Examples, more than enough, have been given in the preceding discussion; and in further illustration, it may suffice to add here the two following:—Stars signify, *Doctores Ecclesiæ* (Arethas on ch. vi. 13), *Hæretici* (Beda, on ch. viii. 10), *Bishops* (Stern, on ch. viii. 10), *Jews* (Böhmer on ch. vi. 13). The Earth (ch. x. 2) signifies, *Asia* (Bengel), *Europe* (Launoi), *the righteous* (Aretius), *the Jews* (Alcasar), *the part of the earth which is Christian* (Vitringa). In the course of the Commentary abundant instances will be given.

§ 12. *The Interpretation of the Apocalypse.*

It has been attempted, in the course of the following Commentary, to give some account of the different systems of interpretation which, from the earliest times, have been adopted by those who have professed to explain the mystery of the Apocalypse. The most usual method has been to seek in successive historical events—past, present, or future—the fulfilment of its predictions. This problem, which has attracted to itself genius of the highest order, and intellects of the most varied character, has, from the first, engaged the attention of theologians: and yet, is it presumptuous to maintain that, hitherto at least, the solution, on such principles, has been sought for in vain?

Nor should the remark be omitted that there seems to be a general tendency among Commentators to regard the Predictive element of the Apocalypse as applicable to but one, and that a very limited field of history. We read, it is true, in the Evangelical prophet, that "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea" (Isai. xi. 9; cf. Hab. ii. 14); and we know that Christ Himself has taught, in that Discourse where He has traced out the lines which St. John was to follow in the Revelation, that the "Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the End come" (Matt. xxiv. 14). And

[1] John Wesley has adopted Bengel's numerical results. Writing on Rev. xii. 14 (see Note A on that verse) he says, "The time, times, and an half are from 1058 to 1836"; see his *Notes on the New Test.* Halifax 1869.

yet, how has the great prophetical Book of the New Testament been usually explained? Do not expositors, as a rule, in their application of the Apocalypse to the Christian Church, confine their attention to those parts of the world which have hitherto embraced Christianity? Nay, more, have they not confined their attention almost exclusively to Western Christendom, as being alone the object of the Seer's predictions? "Futurists," indeed,—at least some among them,—hold that the conversion of the world is not to be effected before Christ's Second Advent, and is not to be looked for until then;[1]—but this, perhaps, is an opinion which is not generally maintained. At all events, it may be well that students of the Book of the Revelation should reflect upon this whole matter.

In the exposition of the Book, and in the effort to trace the object and plan of the inspired writer, St. Augustine's grand conception of the providential course of history—his 'Philosophy of History,'[2] so to speak,—has been accepted in the following pages as conveying the fundamental truth which underlies every statement of the Revelation. According to St. Augustine, the events which come to pass in this world are neither fortuitous nor isolated. Divine Providence directs, coordinates, and controls them all, causing everything to concur towards one and the same end—the triumph of purity and holiness, of truth and justice, as they were originally revealed to the Hebrew people, and as Jesus Christ has confirmed them, and announced them anew to the nations. Whoever hears the voice from on High, and follows it, belongs to the elect people—to "the City of God;" beside which lies the city of the earth occupied with the interests of this lower sphere—a city proud, tyrannical, the persecutor of the saints, but which does not the less subserve, albeit by means of which it is unconscious, the establishment of the Divine Kingdom. Such was Babylon in the East; such was Rome in the West: both Imperial Cities, and both ordained to diffuse God's revelation —the one the Old Testament, the other the New. The Empire of Rome was universal, because such must be the Kingdom of Christ: and as the Old Law was but the preparation for the New, so all events in the old world converged towards Rome and towards the Coming of Christ; in the same manner as all events after that Coming have concurred to the final triumph and to the Universality of the Christian Faith.[1]

If this central thought be kept in mind, many interpretations, seemingly opposed to each other, will be found to harmonize; it being assumed that the *successive* events which are taken to be the *complete* accomplishment of an Apocalyptic prediction, are but illustrations merely — *specimens*, so to speak, — of God's dealings with the Church and with the world. Thus, to give one or two instances, we see in the Seven Churches of Asia (Rev. i.–iii.) not only literal Churches existing in St. John's own day, but also examples of different conditions of the Church Catholic throughout all future time;—the "Locusts" and their king Apollyon under the fifth Trumpet (Rev. ix. 1–11) may apply very closely to Mohammed and his creed, while this same Vision may also foreshow different phases of hostility to the Christian Faith at different epochs of history;—the indications of Antichrist which are given in Rev.

[1] Dr. De Burgh writes:—"Our idea has been that the design of this the Christian Dispensation is to convert the world and to spread Christianity over the earth: but facts and the history of Christianity have hitherto spoken a different language; and neither, I am bold to say, does Scripture warrant the opinion. . . . . In short, I would say that the conversion of the nations is the work of Christ's Second Advent, and of the Dispensation which it introduces" (*An Expos. of the Book of the Rev.*, 4th ed., p. 280). See within on ch. xiv. 6.

[2] St. Augustine it was who first suggested the idea of a "Philosophy of History." Vico (born 1668) is usually said to have been the originator of this idea; and he has been followed by Hegel, and others:—but the science was really founded by the great Father of the Western Church.

[1] "Without the Apocalypse it would be impossible for us to have a history of revelation, or of the Kingdom of God; for it is only the Apocalypse in which we can distinctly see the goal to which the ways of the Eternal are tending,—the end and purpose which He had in view in all His doings on earth from the beginning."—Auberlen, *l. c.*, p. 395.

xi.–xix. may not be fully realized before the Last Days; and yet, in what age of the world may we not see fulfilled the saying of St. John concerning the age in which he himself lived: "Even now are there many Antichrists" (1 John ii. 18)?

There are three principal systems of exposition, as they are commonly classified, according to which the Apocalypse has, for the most part, been interpreted: —the Preterist; the Historical or Continuous; the Futurist.[1] It is obvious, however, on the most superficial examination,—and this is what renders any strict classification impossible,—that there is scarcely a single writer belonging to any one of these three schools (except writers who are strictly Rationalists) who does not frequently accept several results of expositors belonging to either or to both of the two other schools. This classification, nevertheless, is sufficiently exact for the purpose of giving some notion of the numerous and discordant expositions which are put forward from time to time; and which by their arbitrariness and mutual contradictions, have rendered the history of Apocalyptic exegesis the opprobrium of theology.

In the subjoined classification those names only are introduced which seem best to illustrate the principles of the different schools: the names of other writers—e. g. of writers of such high authority as Bishop Wordsworth—will be found, in due course, as the following Commentary proceeds.

(1) The Preterist System.

According to this system the successive statements of the Revelation apply chiefly to the history of the Jewish nation, down to the destruction of Jerusalem, and to the history of Pagan Rome.

(*a*) The earlier writers:—Among the earliest expositors of this class is to be named Lud. Alcasar (*e Soc. Jesu*),[1] who prepared the way for the commentaries of Hugo Grotius (A.D. 1644);[2] Bossuet;[3] Wetstein;—and more recently, of Moses Stuart; Mr. F. D. Maurice, &c.

(*b*) Rationalistic writers:—It is a principle of Rationalism to deny the existence of the *predictive* element in Prophecy. Owing to this assumption, Rationalists are necessarily "Preterists." The horizon of a Prophet's vision does not extend, they assert, beyond his own lifetime; and, consequently, all that St. John has written must relate to events which occurred before his death. In carrying out this principle, Eichhorn follows Grotius; but he argues as if the Apocalypse were composed at the end of the reign of Nero[4] (see above § 4,

[1] Dr. S. Davidson (*An Introd. to the N. T.*, 1st ed., vol. iii. p. 619) has needlessly added a *fourth* class of "extreme," as distinguished from "simple" Futurists; who hold that the entire Book (including, *i. e.*, ch. ii. and ch. iii.) refers to the last times. Lücke (s. 1068) justly remarks that the second class, which Dr. Davidson calls the "Continuous," should more properly be styled the "Historical." Lücke himself (s. 951) classifies the interpretations chronologically,—during (1) The old Catholic; (2) the Medieval; (3) the post-Reformation periods.

[1] "*Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocalypsi*, Antv., 1614." Regarding Rev. i.–iii. as the Prologue which the Holy Spirit "sacræ actioni præposuit," Alcasar takes (1) ch. v.–xi. to express the conflict of the Church with the Synagogue; (2) ch. xii.–xix. to express her conflict with Roman Paganism; (3) ch. xx.–xxii. to express her victory, and repose, and glorious rule. In his Preface to the works of Arethas this division had already been adopted by Hentenius (A.D. 1545); it is also that of Salmeron (*Præludia in Apoc.*, ap. *Comm. in Hist. Ev.*, t. xvi., p. 346, A.D. 1612) who compares the problem of expounding the Apoc. to that of "squaring the circle,"—"quod dici solet de circuli quadratura . . . scibilis est, sed nondum scita" (*l. c.*, p. 357). Alcasar mentions 110 works on the Apocalypse with which he was acquainted:—he was answered by David Paræus (A.D. 1618). See Lücke, s. 1021.

[2] Grotius writes: "Pertinent hæc visa ad res Judæorum usque ad finem cap. xi.: inde ad res Romanorum usque ad finem cap. xx.: deinde ad statum florentissimum Ecclesiæ ad finem usque" (*Comm. in cap.* iv., p. 1174). H. Hammond (A.D. 1653) follows Grotius generally; and Le Clerc (A.D. 1698) follows Hammond.

[3] "*L'Apocalypse avec une explication*," A.D. 1690. Bossuet, with Grotius, places the composition of the Book under Domitian; and his chronological scheme extends from Domitian to the fall of the Western Empire in Cent. v. The close of the Millennium, or period of the Church's supremacy, is marked, Bossuet concludes, by the appearance of the Turks in Europe, and by the heresy of Luther.

[4] "*Einleitung des N. T.*," B. ii., s. 388. Eichhorn himself thinks that the Apocalypse was written under Vespasian; but he adopts the Neronic interpretation retrospectively. Eichhorn, writes Lücke (s. 1054), has carried to its full result, and thus refuted, the thought of

p. 433). According to Herder, Hartwig, Koppe, and others, the Apocalypse relates chiefly to the overthrow of the Jewish state;[1] according to Ewald, De Wette, Bleek, and others, it relates chiefly to Rome and the Pagan Emperors. Other Rationalists like Eichhorn make the Book apply both to the Jews and to Pagan Rome. To these names may be added those of Réville; Reuss;[2] Renan; and Mr. Desprez[3] in England.

(2) The Historical or Continuous System.

The Historical school includes the great majority of Commentators. To it belong those who uphold the "Year-day" theory; as well as those who interpret chronologically.[4] Writers of this school differ widely among themselves. They differ, e. g., as to the questions—(*a*) Whether the Apocalypse is strictly continuous or consists of "synchronous" prophecies (Mede[5]), Hengstenberg regarding the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials as being *complementary*;[1] (*b*) Whether the *sixth* Seal refers to Constantine (Elliott[2]), or to the First French Revolution (Faber[3]). In this class we also

Paræus, that the Apocalypse is to be understood as a Jewish drama. Hug, Heinrichs, and Davidson agree generally with Eichhorn.

[1] Züllig's commentary (though really Futurist) belongs to this class:—he excludes all reference to Rome and heathenism; and refers everything to Jerusalem and Judaism.

[2] Reuss thus clearly states the result and purpose of the rationalistic system: "Deux ans à peine après la composition de notre apocalypse, ... il survint des événements, lesquels, tout en rentrant, jusqu'à un certain point, dans le cercle des idées qui en faisaient le fond, lui donnèrent cependant un éclatant démenti. Les trois ans et demi se passèrent, et Jérusalem, au lieu de devenir la demeure des croyants et des saints, ne fut plus qu'un monceau de ruines. Rome ne fut pas détruite par l'Antéchrist, mais resta la capitale d'un puissant empire . . . . le prophète avait été trompé par l'ardeur de ses désirs" (*Introd.*, p. 37).

[3] *The Apocalypse*, by P. S. Desprez, B.D., 1870.

[4] E. g. those who undertake to fix the Time of the End:—thus Nic. Cusanus (*De Noviss. Diebus*, Opp., Basil., A.D. 1565, p. 934) concluded that Antichrist would come between A.D. 1700 and 1734. The Waldenses counted the 3½ "times" as 350 *years* from A.D. 1000. Bengel fixed on the year 1836 as the date of the Millennium. The year 1866 (606+1260) is the favourite date.

[5] Mede's "Synchronisms":—(1) The first is that of the 1260 days, the 42 months, and the 3½ "times," of the profaned Temple, of the Two Witnesses, of the Woman in the Wilderness, and of the Ten-horned Beast (ch. xi. 2, 3; xii. 6, 14; xiii. 5);

(2) Of the two Beasts (ch. xiii. 1, 11);

(3) Of the Mystic Babylon, with the Ten-horned Beast (ch. xvii. 3–5);

(4) Of the 144,000 Sealed (ch. vii. 4; xiv. 1), with the Harlot and Beast (ch. xvii. 3);

In the case of these *four* "omnia omnibus συγχρονίζουσι." The remaining "Synchronisms" may be summed up as follows:—

(5) Of the measuring the Inner Court (ch. xi. 1), with the war of the Dragon against Michael concerning the Woman (ch. xii.);

(6) Of the Seven Vials (ch. xv.), with the approaching fall of the Beast and of Babylon (ch. xvi. 10, 19);

(7) Of the Seventh Seal and the first six Trumpets, with the two Beasts of ch. xiii.;

(8) Of the measuring the Inner Court and the war of the Dragon against Michael, with the first six Seals (ch. vi.);

(9) Of the Seven Vials (ch. xvi.), with the *sixth* Trumpet (ch. ix. 13);

(10) Of the Millennium, the binding of Satan, the reign of Christ, the New Jerusalem, and the triumph of the Palm-bearing multitude,—with the seventh Trumpet after the fall of the Beast.

[1] So also David Paræus (who wrote in reply to the "Preterist" Alcasar, and who belongs to the class of Protestant and anti-papal expositors) considers the Seals and Trumpets as fulfilled, *in a parallel sense*, by the history of the Church until Pope Boniface III. (A.D. 606) and Mohammed. The Vials refer to Church-history until Luther; and thence to the end.

[2] "*Horæ Apocalypticæ*," 4th ed., 1841. Mr. Elliott's work is chiefly marked by its anti-papal character. Its historical interpretation ends with the pouring out of the *sixth* Vial (ch. xvi. 12) in 1820, since which year the exhaustion of the Turkish power has proceeded rapidly. The remaining predictions of the Book are placed among the secrets of the future; but the struggle of the Papacy to regain its ascendancy after the shock received from Napoleon I. must issue in some great event about A.D. 1866, which will give the death-blow to the Papal Usurpation.

[3] "*Sacred Calendar of Prophecy*," *2nd ed.*, 1844. Mr. Faber makes the Apocalypse to consist jointly of the "Sealed Book" of ch. v., and the "Little Book" of ch. x., which divide the whole into *three* parts:—(1) The *first* part of the "Sealed Book" (ch. vi.–ix.), or from the birth of the King who is the "Head of Gold" (Dan. ii. 38) in B.C. 657, to A.D. 1697; (2) The entire of the "Little Book" (ch. x.–xiv.), the period of the 3½ "times," or 42 months, or 1260 days, beginning A.D. 604 and ending A.D. 1864,—"including also that single additional year which constitutes the period of the *seventh* Vial, which coincides with Daniel's Time of the End" (vol. i., p. 272); (3) The *second* part

find the name of the Abbot Joachim (*circ.* 1180[1]); of De Lyra (A.D. 1320); Wiclif; Bullinger; Brightman;[2] Vitringa[3] (who wrote in reply to Bossuet); Sir Isaac Newton[1] (who agrees generally with Mede); Robert Fleming[2]; Gaussen;[3] &c.

A general tendency to allegorize is another characteristic of this School.

(3) The Futurist System.

The "Futurists" apply the predictions of the Apocalypse to the events which are immediately to precede, or immediately to follow the Second Advent of Christ. The writers of this school usually (although they are not always consistent) interpret literally:—Israel is the literal Israel; the Temple is the literal Temple rebuilt at Jerusalem; the 3½ "times," 42 months, 1260 days, are 3½ natural, literal years. It is clear that there can be no discussion as to the accuracy or inaccuracy of the results of this system of interpretation in any of its forms. The Future defies criticism.

Ribera (*e Soc. Jesu;* 1592) seems to

of the "Sealed Book" (ch. xv.–xix.) which forms one prophecy of the events under the *seventh* Trumpet or *third* Woe. It extends from A.D. 1789 to A.D. 1865, in which year the Millennium begins. The *seventh* Vial is contained in ch. xvi. 17–21, and in ch. xvii.–xix. (except the retrospective and descriptive parts of ch. xvii.).

[1] "*Expositio magni prophetæ Abbatis Joachimi in Apocalypsin*, Venet., 1527." Joachim assumed to be himself gifted with the prophetic spirit. His commentary on the Apoc. was the oracle of the enthusiastic anti-papal party among the Franciscans, and formed the text of its (so-called) "New and everlasting Gospel" [Rev. xiv. 6]. For Joachim, as for Dante, the Papacy was anti-christian only in its worldliness:—in itself, and in its true ideal sense, it belongs to the eternal foundation of the Church (see Lücke, s. 1010). He divided the history of the Church down to his own time into *six* periods, which are represented in the first six Seals, Trumpets and Vials;—what is announced in the Seal-Visions being repeated in the Visions of the Trumpets and the Vials. He reckoned 1260 years from the birth of Christ to the birth of Antichrist; "all the time," he said, "after 1200, I consider dangerous."—*Alberti Chron.*, sub anno 1188:—see Ch. Maitland, *l. c.*, p. 321. Cf. Gieseler, *Kirch. Gesch.*, B. ii., s. 357.

[2] Brightman ("*Apocalypsis Apocalypseos*, Francof., A.D. 1609") wrote in answer to the "Futurist" Ribera, who regarded the whole of the Apocalypse as a commentary on Matt. xxiv. With Brightman the *seventh* Seal not only typifies (in ch. vii.) all the ages after Diocletian (who fulfilled the *sixth* Seal), but also denotes, by the "silence" in ch. viii. 1, the peace under Constantine. The Trumpets signify Arians, Vandals, Saracens, &c.,—the *seventh* being sounded when England, Ireland, and Scotland embraced the Gospel in 1558. Constantine is the "Man-Child" (ch. xii.) of the Church; and when the Dragon, who persecuted the Church under Constantius and Valens, failed to overwhelm her by the deluge of Barbarians, and subsequently of Saracens, he substituted as his Vicar the Beast of ch. xiii. 1,—that is to say, the Pope who was "smitten unto death" by the Goths, but healed by Justinian and Phocas. The second Beast (ch. xiii. 11) is also the Pope, exalted to still higher dignity by Pepin and Charles the Great. The "Two Witnesses" are the Scriptures slain by the Council of Trent, &c., &c.

[3] "*Anakrisis Apokalypsios* (sic), Amstel., 1719." According to Vitringa, in the *first* division of the Apoc. (ch. i. 9—iii. 22) a prophetic view is given of the *internal* condition of the Church until the end. In the *second* (ch. iv. 1—xxii. 7), he sees her *external* condition;—viz. (a) in the Seals, her history from Trajan until the end; (b) in the Trumpets a prophecy concerning Rome, both Pagan and degenerate Christian; (c) in ch. xii.–xxii., the contents of the last two Trumpets (ch. ix. 13; xi. 15) are developed,—viz. the rise of the Roman Antichrist; the struggle of the Church with him, and his downfall; the state of the Church in Europe after his fall; her triumph over Gog and Magog, who appear at the end of the Millennium; &c.

[1] "*The Prophecies of Holy Writ*," Works, 1785, vol. v.

[2] "*Discourses—the First containing a new account of the rise and fall of the Papacy*, by Robert Fleming, V.D.M., London, 1701;"—for an account of Fleming's very remarkable interpretations, see Note B on ch. xi. 2.

[3] "*Daniel le Prophète*," 2nd ed., 1850. On Rev. xiii., and generally, Gaussen closely follows Elliott;—neither of them regarding the Dragon of ch. xii. as Satan, but as the heathen, Roman, World-power inspired by him. The Dragon, the Beast from the Sea, and the Beast from the Abyss, denote the Roman Empire in the *three* great epochs of its history—"autocrate, polycrate, démocrate." During the close of the *first* epoch the Empire became Christian; the *second* began with the inroad of the Barbarians; the *third* began A.D. 1789. The *seven* Crowns on the Dragon's *Heads* (ch. xii. 3) signify that Rome is still a crowned City; the *ten* Crowns on the *Horns* of the Beast from the Sea (ch. xiii. 1) represent the ten absolute Kings of "the Tribes of the migration"; the Beast from the Abyss (ch. xvii. 3, 8) has no Crowns, and this is democracy, with its Citizen-Kings, Louis Philippe, Leopold of Belgium, Charles Albert of Piedmont, &c. The "False Prophet" (ch. xvi. 13) and the Harlot (ch. xvii.) exist contemporaneously, and together represent the "Little Horn" of Dan. vii. 8,—or the Papacy.

have been the earliest Futurist.[1] He has been followed by Lacunza[2] (*e Soc. Jesu*; born 1731); Tyso; S. R. Maitland; De Burgh; Todd; W. Kelly.[3]

(4) The Spiritual System.

There is yet another principle of interpretation which adopts for its leading idea the great conception of St. Augustine, stated above, as to the "Philosophy of History." This system may be styled the "Spiritual." Among those who have more or less closely adhered to this principle may be named I. C. K. Hofmann[1]; Hengstenberg[2]; Ebrard; Auberlen;—whose conclusions, often arbitrary, and constantly tending to the same goal as the conclusions of the "Futurists," will be noted in the following pages. The majority of such writers consider that to predict the future conversion of Israel, and the return of God's ancient people to their own land, was the chief object of St. John. But whatever may be thought of this application of the Apocalypse, all, who in any sense adopt the "Spiritual" system of interpretation, must agree in accepting the definition of it with which Ebrard brings his commentary to a close:—"The Book of the Revelation does not contain presages of contingent, isolated, events; but it contains warning and consolatory prophecies concerning the great leading forces which make their appearance in the conflict between Christ and the enemy. So full are its contents, that every age may learn therefrom, more and more, against what disguises of the Serpent one has to guard oneself; and also how the afflicted Church at all times receives its measure of courage and of consolation" (s. 634).

The "Spiritual" system of interpretation receives support from the review of Apocalyptic symbolism which has occupied sections 9–11 of this Introduction. It appears from that review how naturally the imagery of the Book describes, in accordance with the whole spirit of Prophecy, the various conditions of the Kingdom of God on earth, during its successive struggles against the Prince of this world. The figurative utterances of the Seer are specially suited for this purpose, owing to the latitude of application which all symbolism allows; and this, without distorting the sense or offering violence to the language, of a single passage. Reuss indeed objects (*l. c.*, p. 41) that this system does not really differ from the "Historical," inasmuch as it merely substitutes the religious history of the Kingdom of God, for the political history of the Church:—but this

[1] "*In Apocalypsin Comm.*, Antv., 1603." Mr. Elliott (vol. iv. p. 597) makes Ribera to be the first "Futurist" or "nearly the first."

[2] Lacunza adopted the name of Ben-Ezra,—probably in accordance with his system which assumes the literal restoration, in the future, of Israel; or, as Mr. Elliott suggests (vol. iv. p. 536), owing to the prejudice then existing against the Jesuits. He wrote "On the coming of Messiah in glory and majesty" (*Ben-Ezra*, Irving's transl.). His great theme was our Lord's "Pre-millennial Advent"; and the Woman of ch. xii. he takes to be the ancient Zion, which is to be restored literally in the last days. Commenting on Cant. v. 7, Lacunza considers that the clergy of the Church of Rome will hereafter become the priests of Antichrist: "Our priesthood it is, and nothing else, which is announced for the last times, under the metaphor of a Beast with two Horns like a lamb (ch. xiii. 11)."—*l. c.*, vol. i. p. 220.

"Perhaps of all modern writers," observes Mr. Chas. Maitland ("*Apost. School of Proph.-Interprs*," p. 392), "Lacunza has the most deeply influenced the study of Prophecy." . . . "The Futurists, when they borrowed from Lacunza the great elements of their system, rejected that which had cost him dearest,—the admission that the Romish Church is Babylon. In preference to this they joined Bellarmine in the expectation that [the *city* of] Rome will fall away from her present faith before the days of Antichrist."—*l. c.*, p. 395. The words of Bellarmine (*De Rom. Pont.*, iv. 4) are: "Neque obstat, quod tempore Antichristi Roma desolanda, et cremanda videatur, ut deducitur ex cap. xvii. Apoc.,"—where he is merely arguing that the seat of the Papacy was not fixed by Divine command in Rome.

[3] Mr. Kelly, giving his assent generally to the results of the usual "Historical" exposition, considers that there is a still more perfect interpretation. Regarding the words "After these things" (ch. iv. 1) as the epoch of the close of the history and existence of the Church on earth—that is the epoch of "the rapture" of the Saints who constitute it—he concludes that all the Visions which follow represent the Great Day of the Lord at the end of the present Dispensation.

[1] "*Weissagung und Erfüllung*," 1841.

[2] And yet Hengstenberg interprets generally on the "Historical" and allegorical system; regarding the Apocalypse down to ch. xix. as already fulfilled.

objection is manifestly unsound. As already pointed out, the "Spiritual" application is never exhausted, but merely receives additional illustrations as time rolls on; while the "Historical" system assumes that single events, as they come to pass in succession, exhibit the full accomplishment of the different predictions of the Apocalypse. If anywhere, Lord Bacon's estimate of the fulfilment of a prediction is verified here:—"In hac re admittenda est illa latitudo quæ Divinis vaticiniis propria est et familiaris, ut adimpletiones eorum fiant et continenter et punctualiter: . . . . atque licet plenitudo et fastigium complementi eorum, plerumque alicui certæ ætati vel etiam certo momento destinetur; attamen habent interim gradus nonnullos et scalas complementi, per diversas mundi ætates."—*De Augmentis Scient.*, lib. ii. c. 11

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Analysis of the Contents.

THE contents of the Apocalypse have been variously arranged; indeed any arrangement must be more or less arbitrary.

As a marked characteristic of the Book the numeration according to *Sevens* prevails throughout; as well as the division of *Seven* into groups of *four* and *three*, or *three* and *four*:—see, for example, the Visions of the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials. The following classification, therefore, of the Visions will be found convenient, and is adopted in the present Commentary.

The most usual, as it is the most obvious, division of the Apocalypse is into three principal sections:—

I. THE PROLOGUE (ch. i.–iii.), setting forth (*a*) the Vision of Christ; including the Commission given to the Apostle John (ch. i. 1, 11, 19), an intimation of the historical personality of the Seer, as well as the place and occasion of his receiving the Revelation (vv. 9–11);—(*b*) the enumeration of the Seven Churches (ch. i. 11; ch. ii.; ch. iii.) which symbolize the Church Universal (ch. iii. 22) for whose sake the prophetical utterances are intended;—(*c*) the Seven Epistles (ch. ii.; ch. iii.);

II. THE REVELATION PROPER (ch. iv. 1—ch. xxii. 5);

III. THE EPILOGUE (ch. xxii. 6–21) which gradually passes from visionary representation; and, referring back in ver. 8 to the Prologue, closes with a Divine attestation, and with threats mingled with promises.

THE REVELATION PROPER may be divided into *Seven* chief Visions:—

i. The Prelude (ch. iv.; ch. v.) which introduces the Divine Judgments. These chapters contain two scenes:—the Appearance in heaven of the throne of God (ch. iv.); and the Appearance of the Lamb Who takes the Sealed Book "out of the right hand of Him that sat on the throne" (ch. v.);

ii. The Vision of the Seven Seals (ch. vi. 1—ch. viii. 1); including an interlude between the *sixth* and *seventh* Seals which consists of *two* scenes:—that of the Sealing of the Elect (ch. vii. 1–8), and that of the "Great Multitude which no man could number" (ch. vii. 9–17);

iii. The Vision of the Seven Trumpets (ch. viii. 2—ch. xi. 19); including as before an interlude between the *sixth* and *seventh* Trumpets which again consists of *two* scenes:—that of the "Little Book" (ch. x. 1–11), and that of the "Two Witnesses" (ch. xi. 1–14);

iv. The Vision of the WOMAN, and her three enemies (ch. xii. 1—ch. xiii. 18)—the Dragon (ch. xii. 3–17); the Beast from the sea (ch. xii. 18—ch. xiii. 10); the Beast from the earth or "False Prophet" (ch. xiii. 11–18);

v. The group of Visions in ch. xiv.:—(*a*) The Vision of the Lamb with His Company on Mount Zion (vv. 1–5); (*b*) the Vision of the *three* Angels proclaiming judgments (vv. 6–11); (*c*) the Episode (vv. 12, 13); (*d*) the Vision of the Harvest and the Vintage (vv. 14–20);

vi. The Vision of the Seven Vials (ch. xv. 1—ch. xvi. 21); again including an interlude between the *sixth* and *seventh* Vials which now consists of *one* scene—that of the three unclean spirits gathering the Kings of the earth "into the place which is called Har-Magedon" (ch. xvi. 13–16);

vii. The Vision of the final Triumph (ch. xvii. 1—ch. xxii. 5); presenting *four* Scenes: (*a*) The history and fall of Babylon (ch. xvii. 1—ch. xix. 10)—the hostile World-power; (*b*) The overthrow of Satan (ch. xix. 11—ch. xx. 10)—the hostile Spiritual power; (*c*) The Universal Judgment (ch. xx. 11–15); (*d*) The glories of the New Jerusalem (ch. xxi. 1—ch. xxii. 5).

THE REVELATION

OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE.

CHAPTER I.

4 *John writeth his revelation to the seven churches of Asia, signified by the seven golden candlesticks.* 7 *The coming of Christ.* 14 *His glorious power and majesty.*

THE Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified *it* by his angel unto his servant John:

(With few exceptions, those variations only from the *Textus Receptus* which affect the translation will be noticed. On the text generally see the Introduction, § 8.)

[Ver. 2 *om.* τε. Ver. 4 *om.* τοῦ [which Erasmus inserted contrary to his codex, known as "1".—B reads Θεοῦ]. Ver. 5 *om.* ἐκ.—ἀγαπῶντι.—λύσαντι [so ℵ, A, C, 1;—B, P read λούσαντι, and so Erasmus, who has altered the reading of 1, after the Vulgate, *lavit*].—ἐκ τῶν. Ver. 6 βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς.—[A, P *om.* τῶν αἰώνων,—which is read by ℵ, C, B, 1, as in the *eleven* other places in this Book]. Ver. 8 *om.* ἀρχὴ.καὶ τέλος.—λέγει κύριος ὁ Θεός. Ver. 9 *om.* 1st καί.—*om.* ἐν τῇ before βασ.—ἐν Ἰησοῦ (after ὑπομ.).—*om.* Χριστοῦ twice.—*om.* 2nd διά. Ver. 11 *om.* ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος· καί.—ἑπτὰ ἐκκλ.—*om.* ταῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ (which Er. supplied after the Vulg. *quæ sunt in Asia*). Ver. 13 *om.* ἑπτά. Ver. 14 ὡς ἔριον. Ver. 15 [A, C read πεπυρωμένης,—ℵ reads πεπυρωμένῳ,—B, P, 1 read πεπυρωμένοι]. Ver. 17 ἔθηκεν.—*om.* μοι. Ver. 18 *om.* ἀμήν.—τοῦ θαν. καὶ τ. ᾅδου. Ver. 19 γράψον οὖν. Ver. 20 *om.* ἃς εἶδες.]

The Title.

The Revelation of John.] So the uncial manuscripts ℵ, C, and A in its subscription. P reads "The Revelation of the Apostle and Evangelist John;"—B reads "The Revelation of John the Divine and Evangelist;"—Erasmus, "The Revelation of Saint John the Divine;"—The *Textus Receptus*, "The Revelation of John the Divine." The title "the Divine" (ὁ θεολόγος) was first applied to St. John by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* xi. 18); and Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 24) explains that St. John, omitting the Genealogy of Christ after the flesh, began his Gospel with the doctrine of the Lord's Divinity,—the *θεολογία*. The memory of the Apostle, it is said, is still preserved in the name, *Ayasalouk*, of a village near Ephesus, corrupted from ἅγιος θεολόγος (*Agio-solouk*),—see Forbiger, *Handb. der Alt. Geogr.*, ii. 188. Philo gives the title θεολόγος to Moses (*Vita*, iii. 11), and so does Methodius (A.D. 290), *De Resurrect.* ii. 6. Eusebius also applies the title to the Prophets, *Demonstr. Ev.*, ii. 9. In the Appendix to Mr. J. T. Wood's "Discoveries at Ephesus" (London, 1877), in the transcript of "Inscriptions from the Great Theatre," we read, at p. 23, as titles of the highest order of the priests of Artemis, the words τοῖς θεολόγοις καὶ ὑμνῳδοῖς. Professor Plumptre (*The Epp. to the Seven Churches*, p. 1) considers that this may have been the first embodiment of the thought conveyed by the word "Theologus."

Chaps. I.-III.

I. The Prologue.

The First of the three great Divisions of the Book.

The Inscription (1-3).

This Inscription, setting forth the title and prophetic character of the Apocalypse, commends it to the study of the Church. It is pre-eminently a Book of Prophecy, see ver. 3; ch. xxii. 7, 18.

1. *The Revelation*] The religious sense of

the word Apocalypse—in English "kevelation"—is unknown to Classical writers; nor does it occur in the Septuagint in the sense of a Divine communication,—e.g. 1 Sam. xx. 30; Ecclus. xi. 27: see Lee on Inspiration, 4th ed., p. 4. With the genitive of the object (Rom. xvi. 25), and with the genitive of the subject (2 Cor. xii. 1; Gal. i. 12), it denotes the act of revealing a Divine mystery (Eph. iii. 3). It has also come to signify that which is itself revealed (1 Cor. xiv. 26). "Revelation" on the part of God is the foundation of all true prophecy; on the side of man, a spiritual intuition or vision is to be presupposed (cf. ὀπτασία, 2 Cor. xii. 1; ὅραμα, Matt. xvii. 9; ὁράσεις, Acts ii. 17; ὅσα εἶδεν, "all that he *saw*," Rev. i. 2; ὁ βλέπεις, "What thou *seest*," Rev. i. 11). Here it cannot be taken objectively—"the Revelation concerning Jesus Christ;" but it is used, in the former sense, subjectively,—for it is the distinctive office of Christ to reveal the mystery of God (Matt. xi. 27; John i. 18). Thus, it is Christ who addresses the Seven Churches (ch. ii.–iii.); who opens the Sealed Book (ch. v. 7, 9); &c. Hence it is added—

which God **gave him**] In harmony with the doctrine of St. John as to the relation of the Son to the Father, John v. 20; vii. 16; xii. 49; xiv. 10; xvii. 7, 8.

According to the "Futurist" scheme (see Introd. § 12), the "Apocalypse" signifies not the revelation *by* or *concerning* Jesus Christ; but the "Revelation," or Second Advent, or future Manifestation of Jesus Christ Himself (1 Cor. i. 7). Not very differently the rationalistic "Preterists;"—but in illustration of the rationalistic interpretation of the Apocalypse, see note A at the end of this chapter.

to shew] *I.e.*, "that he might shew," a construction common to the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel: e.g. ch. iii. 21; vii. 2; xiii. 14, &c.; John i. 12; vi. 52, &c. (for the constr. with ἵνα, cf. ch. ii. 21; viii. 3; ix. 5, &c.; John xiii. 34; xiv. 16; xvii. 4; 1 John v. 20, &c.). Others explain "so as to shew,"—an infinitive epexegetical of "*gave*";—cf. ch. v. 5, 7. Not merely "to make known," as in Matt. xvi. 21; but with clear reference to "shewing" in Vision, cf. ch. iv. 1; xvii. 1, &c.

unto his servants,] *I.e.*, Christ's servants; so also "his Angel," "his servant John" (cf. ch. ii. 20); not merely prophets, but the Church, in general,—see ch. xxii. 6, 9.

[**even**] **the** *things which must*] Because so ordained by God (δεῖ not μέλλει, ver. 19). This idea is essentially presupposed in all prophecy, see ch. iv. 1; xvii. 10; xx. 3; and cf. Matt. xvii. 10; xxiv. 6. For this sense compare ver. 2. Or translate and punctuate: "**gave unto Him, to shew unto His servants the things, &c.**"

shortly come to pass:] "Before long," *i.e.*, as time is computed by God; not that the events are close at hand. What prophets behold are, as they are called here, "the things which must shortly come to pass;" for in the invisible world which is disclosed to the Seer all is action, in motion, about to approach:—"The vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie: though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry" (Hab. ii. 3). This is the usual prophetic style, see Ezek. xii. 21–25; 2 Pet. iii. 4, 8. The key to passages such as this and ch. xxii. 6, 7, as well as Rom. xvi. 20, is supplied by the "speedily" (ἐν τάχει) of Luke xviii. 7, 8, where long delay is implied. So Bengel: "Totus liber tanquam unum verbum uno momento pronunciatione debet accipi"; see De Wette, Ebrard, Alford. Duration is to be computed in the Apocalypse, either *relatively* to the divine apprehension, as here and in ch. xxii. 10 (cf. ver. 3; iii. 11; xxii. 7, 12, 20); or *absolutely* in itself as long or short; see on ch. viii. 1; xx. 2. (On ἐν τάχει here, cf. εὐθέως Matt. xxiv. 29). Haupt (*The First Ep. of St. John*, Engl. tr., p. 111) observes on John ii. 18 that Scripture "has for the process of the times a standard of measurement different from ours." Expressions like the present "can be understood only when we interpret them according to the canon of 2 Pet. iii. 8, 'one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.' But that tells us no other than this, that in the Divine estimation one day may wrap up in itself a thousand human years, and the converse . . . Thus there may be, to speak with the Apocalypse, silence for half an hour (ch. viii. 1), or, according to human measurement, for half an eternity."

Otherwise:—it is said, (1) that the events are close at hand, see ver. 3 (Düsterdieck); and so in a different sense, Burger, who compares Acts xxv. 4, and thinks that, since the Day of Pentecost, we stand in the "Last Days" (Acts ii. 17; 1 John ii. 18); but, he adds, this Book takes no account of time;—(2) that they must soon *begin* to come to pass. So Hengstenberg, who argues that already in St. John's time the axe was laid to the root of the Roman Empire;—(3) that "the certainty" of the future is meant (Eichhorn);—(4) that the events which precede the Second Advent are to take place swiftly, in a short space of time (Todd), —a meaning which the Greek cannot well bear.

and he sent and signified **[them]**] *I.e.*, "the things which must come to pass shortly."

2 Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw.

The A.V., by supplying "*it*," understands "the Revelation." Observe, "He," "the Sender," the subject of the verb, is Christ,—as is proved by the changed construction, and by ch. xxii. 16. Perhaps the verb "*signified*" may be taken absolutely. Except in Acts xi. 28 (cf. Acts xxv. 27), this prophetic use of the verb (σημαίνω) is peculiar to St. John; see John xii. 33; xviii. 32; xxi. 19. The term denotes the figurative and symbolical character of what follows:—see on ch. xii. 1.

by his angel,] Lit. "**through his angel**;" cf. Ex. iv. 13. Hence, and from ch. xxii. 6, 16, the office of unveiling the different scenes of the Apocalypse seems to have been assigned to a particular Angel; cf. Dan. viii. 16; ix. 21; Zech. i. 9, 13; ii. 3:—even when the speaker is not defined, as in ch. xix. 9, the words which follow clearly point to the Angel who speaks in ch. xxii. 8, 9. When St. John describes at some length what he had previously seen in spirit, the Angel, as in ch. iv. 1, accompanies him, and explains the mystery of what has been revealed. The description is thus rendered highly dramatic, when the voice of the *Angelus interpres* is unexpectedly interposed, as in ch. x. 4, 8, 11; xiv. 13; xix. 9; xxi. 5 (where note the change of verbs and tenses). Others take the word Angel *generically*, as implying different angels who act as spokesmen throughout. The first express mention of an Angel imparting a Vision is in ch. xvii. 1. Cf. ch. xvii. 7; xxi. 9.

unto his servant John;] The title "servant" designates the prophetic office: Isai. xlix. 5; Amos iii. 7; cf. Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 9. The proper name "John" (cf. verses 4, 9; xxii. 8), after the prophetic manner,—for there is no anonymous prophecy in Scripture,—accredits the writer, see Dan. viii. 1; ix. 2: "History had its security in the joint knowledge of contemporaries; but in prophecy, personality is of the greatest moment" (Hengst.). For proof that the "John" here mentioned is the Apostle and Evangelist, see Introd. § 1.

On this verse seems to be founded the modern term 'Apokalyptik,' denoting a class of writings in which the Divine impartation of mysteries is more prominent than the human activity of the person chosen to communicate them; e.g., in the Old Test., the Book of Daniel:—see Introd. § 9.

2. *who bare* **witness**] Ebrard (*Krit. d. Ev. Gesch.*, s. 858) insisting upon the *aorists* in this passage, especially on "*he saw*" at the end of the verse, refers these words to the fourth Gospel, of which, he considers, they establish the earlier date. In illustration, he takes Rev. xxii. 17 to be an allusion to the previous statement of John vii. 37. The expressions "*the word of God*," and "*he saw*," he also refers to 1 John i. 1; the author of the Apocalypse thus announcing himself as also the author of the Gospel and the First Epistle. So, too, Grotius, Wolf, Eichhorn, &c. The majority of commentators, however, understand here "the epistolary aorist,"—cf. Rom. xvi. 22; Philem. 19; Thucyd. i. 1; the present Book alone being meant. The verb is characteristic of St. John; e.g. John i. 7; iii. 11; v. 31; xxi. 24; 1 John i. 2; &c.

This idea (of μαρτυρία), writes Haupt (*l.c.*, p. 296), "appears at the beginning, and recurs at the end of all the three greater documents which we have received from St. John." He begins "with the vindication of his trustworthiness. It is a matter of indifference whether the verb here refers to the Apocalypse which he is beginning, or to the earlier written Gospel. The drift of the Apostle is to introduce a guarantee of his veracity by the statement that he was an eye-witness (ὅσα εἶδεν.)"

of the word of God,] The greater number of writers explain, not the Personal Word (cf. ch. xix. 13), but, in common with the rest of the verse, the prophetic contents of this Book (cf. Ezek. i. 2, LXX.), which from first to last proceeds from God; see ch. xxii. 6 (where, however, we have the plural—"*words*").

and of the testimony of Jesus Christ,] *I.e.*, *subjectively*, the witness borne by Jesus who (ver. 5; ch. iii. 14) is "the faithful *witness*," and who attests the contents of the Book in ch. xxii. 20. The phrase may also be taken as parallel to "the word of God;" and thus, *objectively*, also expresses the witness "concerning" Jesus, combining both senses as in ch. xix. 10. Some (e.g. Cocceius) who take "the word of God" to mean the Fourth Gospel, refer these words to St. John's Epistles.

[**even**] *of all things that he saw.*] (Omit "*and*,"—see *vv. ll.*). These words are in apposition to the previous clauses. The verb here, so constantly used in this Book for the "seeing" a Vision, denotes that immediate intuition whereby the prophet is said "to see" what God communicates, e.g. Isai. i. 1; Ezek. xxxvii. 8; Mic. i. 1; Hab. i. 1:—on the title "Seer," 1 Sam. ix. 9, see Lee *On Inspiration*, App. K. This use of the word proves that the "perspective" character of prophecy, according to which events distant in time are presented in juxtaposition to the eye of

3 Blessed *is* he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein: for the time *is* at hand.

4 JOHN to the seven churches which are in Asia: Grace *be* unto you, and peace, from him [a]which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the [a] Ex. 3. 14.

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the Seer, belongs to the Apocalypse. Thus what is "signified" to St. John had been "seen" by him,—seen in "Vision," ch. ix. 17; or at times, is also "heard," cf. ver. 12; ch. xxii. 8; see also 1 John i. 1. Vitringa refers the previous part of this verse to the Fourth Gospel; and these words to the Apocalypse itself, "seen" in ecstatic vision. The true reading, however, which omits "*and*," excludes this sense. The sense accordingly is,—God has given the Revelation to His Son "to shew unto His servants"; the Son, through His Angel, by images and Visions, has "signified" it to St. John; and St. John here bears record to that "word of God, and that testimony of Jesus Christ," as all has been *seen* by him.

3. *he that readeth, and they that hear*] *I. e.*, the public reader in the Church (Luke iv. 16; 2 Cor. iii. 14), and those present who hear what is read. Hence, the one participle is singular, and the others plural. See the use of this fact for settling the date of the Book, Introd. § 4, p. 33.

the words of the prophecy,] *I. e.*, of this Book;—see ch. xxii. 7, 18.

and keep the things which are written therein:] See Luke xi. 28.

for the time] 'The season (καιρός) determined on,' as ch. xi. 18; xxii. 10: the word is used differently in ch. xii. 12, 14. For the noun expressive of mere duration (χρόνος), see ch. ii. 21; vi. 11; x. 6; xx. 3. Both are combined, Acts i. 7; 1 Thess. v. 1. The term here employed denotes "the critical epoch-making periods, fore-ordained of God, Acts xvii. 26."—Trench, *Synon. of the N. T.*, p. 199.

is at hand.] See on ver. 1 and ch. vi. 10; cf. Rom. xiii. 11; James v. 9; 1 Pet. iv. 7, 17. At every moment the end draws nearer, but every moment it is near: the Lord Himself points the moral, Matt. xxiv. 48–51. "The Apocalypse," writes Auberlen, "on the one hand points to the coming of Christ as distant, for it shows the succession of the Seven Seals, Trumpets, and Vials; on the other hand it proclaims with uplifted finger, 'Yea, I come quickly,' xxii. 20. In this it but follows the example of the Saviour Himself: Matt. xxv. 6, 13, 19; Mark xiii. 32–37."—*Daniel and the Rev.* (Engl. tr., p. 79). In the warnings to Pergamum and Sardis (ch. ii. 16; iii. 3) the language associated with the Second Advent is transferred to some nearer and more immediate judgment.—see Luke xii. 36–40; 1 Thess. v. 2. Cf. Plumptre, *l. c.*, p. 162.

Duration is thus treated in the Apocalypse as *relative* to the Divine apprehension,—cf. on ver. 1; ch. viii. 1; xx. 2. On the other hand, according to the theory prevalent among rationalistic writers, the Apocalypse was written between June A.D. 68, and Jan. A.D. 69 (see Introd. § 4), under the influence of the horror and revengeful feelings excited by the cruelties of Nero. The hour of vengeance could not, the Christians believed, be long deferred ("Ce mot de l'Apocalypse 'le temps est proche,' qui se retrouve dans les trois premiers Evangiles, est puisé au cœur même des sollicitudes chrétiennes de cette époque."—Aubé, *Hist. des Persécutions*, p. 132). And writers of this school agree in holding that the authors of the New Testament all laboured under the common delusion that the power of Antichrist was to continue for the literal period of three and a half years (ch. xii. 14; xiii. 5), when the Lord was to return and overthrow the power of Pagan Rome.

The Address (4–8).

The Apocalypse is addressed to the Seven Churches, named in ver. 11, which, in their mystic unity, represent the Church Universal,—see ch. ii. 7, 11, 29, etc. The fundamental thought is expressed in *vv.* 7, 8.

4. *John*] No title is assumed, as none was needed to designate the writer to those whom he addressed. Who else but John the Apostle would have thus named himself? See on ver. 1.

to the seven churches] (On the sacred covenant-number Seven, see Introd. § 11). We have here a greeting after the manner of St. Paul, who, however, designates himself with scrupulous care;—e.g. Rom. i. 1–7. Not all the churches in "Asia" are meant, for there were, among other churches, Colossæ to which St. Paul addressed an Epistle,—and Miletus where he preached (Acts xx. 17),—and Hierapolis (Col. iv. 13) of which Papias was shortly afterwards Bishop,—and Magnesia to which the martyr Ignatius wrote some few years later; but the "Seven" only which, without at all suppressing their historical character, were chosen to symbolize the whole Church of God (see on ch. ii. 7), and to supply

seven Spirits which are before his throne;

5 And from Jesus Christ, *who is* [b] the faithful witness, *and* the [b] first [20.] Col. i. 18. [b] 1 Cor. 15.

themes for warning, for encouragement, for consolation, for promise;—Churches, too, which, as we may well suppose, stood in a special relation to the Apostle John. As Tertullian remarks: "If we trace the series of Bishops in these Churches ("Johannis alumnas ecclesias") to their origin, we shall arrive at John as their founder" (*adv. Marcion.*, iv. 5). This relation is further proved by the intimate knowledge of the Apostle as to the circumstances of each church, and especially of Ephesus, ver. 11; ch. ii. 1.

which are in Asia:] Here, and throughout the N.T., by 'Asia' is meant, not one of the three continents of the old world, nor yet the region which geographers, about the fourth century of our era, began to call 'Asia Minor,'—but a district scarcely one-third of this, the bequest of Attalus III., king of Pergamum (B.C. 133), to the Romans:—cf. Hor., 2 *Carm.* xviii. 5. Its capital was Ephesus, in which city St. John resided, wrote his Gospel, and died:—see note B. at the end of this chapter. Compare St. Paul's mention of the "churches of Asia," 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

Grace to you *and peace,*] Cf. the form of salutation in St. Peter's two Epistles, and in those of St. Paul,—except in 1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 2, where, as in 2 John 3, "mercy" is added (cf. Gal. vi. 16). We are thus (by this "most frequently recurring Apostolic salutation: *Grace and Peace,*") reminded, notes Archbishop Trench (*Epistles to the Seven Churches*, p. 5) that the whole Book is an Epistle addressed to the Universal Church; not merely a Book containing the Seven briefer Epistles of ch. ii., and ch. iii.

from him which is] We have here the first of the many departures from ordinary grammatical construction with which the Apocalypse abounds. At all costs,—so St. John seems to have felt,—the title of the immutable God, Jehovah, the self-existing One, "the same yesterday and to-day, and for ever" (Heb. xiii. 8; James i. 17; Mal. iii. 6), must be retained in the dignity and emphasis of the nominative case:—cf. "I AM hath sent me unto you" (Ex. iii. 14). On such constructions (ἀπὸ ὁ ὤν) see Introd. § 7 (omit τοῦ, as in *vv. ll.*). Note the threefold "*from*," of which we have here the first.

and which was,] These words are not to be divided by a comma from the former part of the title; both united form a special title of God,—see the form, "**Which art and Which wast,**" without any addition, in ch. xi. 17; xvi. 5. Together, they form one clause which is to be balanced against the remaining words: see Trench, *in loc.*; and also the comparison of the word "*was*" here, with the "*was*" in John i. 1, as drawn by St. Basil quoted in the Introd., § 2, p. 14.

and which is to come;] Lit., "**which cometh,**"—cf. Mark x. 30. This clause is also in some sort a proper name of our Lord (Matt. xi. 3; John i. 15, 27; Heb. x. 37; cf. Hab. ii. 3; Mal. iii. 1): its occurrence in this compound title attests the equal dignity of the Son with the Father,—so Origen who quotes this verse (*de Princip.*, i. 10, p. 118, ed. Redepenning). The complete title is not a description of the *eternity* of God,—present, past, future (see the different order in ch. iv. 8, and compare ch. iv. 10),—this would make ὁ ἐρχόμενος equivalent to ὁ ἐσόμενος: it simply means "which is and which was, and which is to come" *to judgment.* This latter member of the clause supplies the key-note of the Book, with which it begins (ver. 7), and with which it closes (ch. xxii. 7, 12, 20),—"I come quickly;" cf. John v. 25: and see Trench, *l. c.*, p. 6. This title is repeated in ver. 8; and is to be omitted in ch. xi. 17; xvi. 5.

and from the seven Spirits] The second "from":—cf. ch. iii. 1; iv. 5; v. 6. Not the Seven principal Angels (cf. ch. viii. 2) as the later Jews counted them (Tobit xii. 15), but the Holy Ghost, Sevenfold in His operations, "that doth His Sevenfold Gifts impart:"—see Isa. xi. 2; Zech. iii. 9; iv. 10. Angels are never called 'Spirits' in the Apocalypse; nor would such a sense agree with the prerogative claimed for Christ in ch. iii. 1. This expression, which guides the mysterious *Sevenfold* imagery throughout the Book, is explained by ch. v. 6. The Personality of the Holy Ghost—which is asserted in ch. ii. 11; xxii. 17—is not touched by this interpretation, which rests upon the varied manifestations of one and the same Spirit (1 Cor. xii. 4) in the Church; the number *Seven* (note the relation to the Seven Churches) being the symbol of God's covenant with His people; see Introd., § 11, p. 71. The absence of the article (as Dean Vaughan notes on Rom. v. 5) attaches to πνεῦμα the sense of *communication;* its presence that of *personality.* Each one of the *Seven* Spirits (symbolizing the *diffusion* of the Holy Spirit) is so to say, *a* πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Viewed in Himself, and in His personal Deity, He is τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Herder's reference to the Cabalistic personification of the Divine attributes cannot hold good, for the *Sephiroth* (as they were called) were *ten* in number.

which [*are*] *before his throne;*] Note the

begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth. Unto him
[c] Heb. 9. 14. that loved us, [c]and washed us from our sins in his own blood,

6 And hath [d]made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him *be* glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.
[d] 1 Pet. 2. 5.

absence of the verb substantive after the relative:—see Introd., § 7, p. 55. The ministering office of the Holy Ghost as "sent" by the Father (John xiv. 26) is implied in the words "before his throne."

5. *and from Jesus Christ, [who is] the faithful witness,*] The third "from." The three nominatives in irregular apposition to the genitive denote here, as in ver. 4, the importance of these titles; cf. ch. xiv. 12; xx. 2. Winer (§ lix. 8), suggests that these nominatives may be taken "as a kind of exclamation,"—cf. James iii. 8.

In the New Testament the word "faithful" (*πιστός*) is used, (1) in an active sense signifying 'trusting,' 'believing' (John xx. 27); (2) in a passive sense, signifying 'trustworthy,' 'to be believed' (1 John i. 9):—God alone is "faithful" in this latter sense; see on ch. iii. 14. The thought here expressed, which is characteristic of St. John (see on ver. 2), may be founded on Isaiah lv. 4.

the **first-born** *of the dead,*] (Omit *ἐκ*, see *vv. ll.*). A thought found only here, and in Col. i. 18; see ch. ii. 8, and Bishop Lightfoot on Col. i. 15, 18:—another correspondence with Pauline doctrine (although St. Paul writes *ἐκ τῶν νεκρ.*). Cf. too 1 Cor. xv. 20; Acts ii. 24; *i. e.*, "death was the womb that bare him." Or, it may be, "*first-begotten*," as in Acts xiii. 33, with reference to Ps. ii. 7; cf. Rom. i. 4:—and so Trench, *l. c.*, p. 12.

and the **ruler** *of the kings of the earth.*] See Ps. lxxxix. 27; 1 Tim. vi. 15; cf. Rev. vi. 15; xvii. 14; xix. 16. The prize offered by the Tempter, Christ has won by the way of death:—Matt. iv. 8, 9; John xvi. 33.

Unto him that **loveth** *us,*] For the tense see *vv. ll.*:—"whose love rests evermore on his redeemed" (Trench). Cf. John xiii. 1.

and **loosed** *us from our sins*] See *vv. ll.*:—this reading connects the words with those other texts which speak of Christ as our "ransom," (*λύτρον*), Matt. xx. 28; 1 Tim. ii. 6; cf. also ch. v. 9; xiv. 3, 4. The prayer, "Though we be tied and bound with the chain of our sins, yet let the pitifulness of thy great mercy *loose* us," suggests a different metaphor. The reading "*washed us*," differing but by a single letter from that which the weight of evidence commends (*λούω*—*λύω*), is also in accordance with St. John's tone of thought:—see ch. vii. 14; John xiii. 10; 1 John i. 7. Cf. Acts xvi. 33; and Winer, § 30, s. 177.

by his blood;] **ransomed us at the price of,** or **with**:—Gr. *in*; cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 24, LXX. See Winer's note quoted on ch. v. 9.

6. *and* **he made** *us*] By a Hebrew idiom, the participial is resolved into the direct construction.

[**to be**] **a kingdom,**] Cf. ch. v. 10; so, too, "a kingdom of priests," Ex. xix. 6; 1 Pet. ii. 9:—see *vv. ll.* The *concrete* term "king" is not applied to Christians in the New Testament.

[**to be**] **priests** *unto* **his God and Father;**] *I. e.*, consecrated to God,—brought into near relationship to Him. On the words, "His God and Father," cf. Rom. xv. 6; 2 Cor. i. 3; Eph. i. 3. The emphasis given to "**kingdom**" points to the reigning of the saints,—an idea so prominent in the Apoc.,—ch. iii. 21; v. 10; xx. 4, 6; xxii. 5. Or it may mean that the redeemed form Christ's "kingdom;" and thus, inasmuch as they are "priests" unto God, become subjects of Him who is "King of kings."

to him be **all** *glory and dominion*] The article is prefixed to each noun, and expresses universality,—"the glory," "the dominion." The sense may be: "**to Him is the glory,**" &c.; *i.e.*, not ascribing to Him "the glory," but confessing that it belongs to Him,—that He possesses it: see 1 Pet. iv. 11. Unlike "*power*" and "*might*" in the doxology of ch. vii. 12, the attribute of "*dominion*" or "strength" (Luke i. 51) is applied in the New Testament solely to God. The doxology becomes threefold at ch. iv. 11; xix. 1 (see the notes); fourfold at ch. v. 13 (cf. ch. xii. 10); sevenfold at ch. vii. 12 (cf. on ch. v. 12); the article in each case preceding each noun. The Divine honour thus expressed can be ascribed to none else than God and Christ. Writers usually attempt, but rather unprofitably, to distinguish and to define the ideas which these different doxologies contain. Compare the doxology of 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12; and also that which has been attached to the Lord's Prayer, Matt. vi. 13.

for ever and ever. Amen.] Lit., "**unto the ages of the ages,**" a phrase occurring twelve times in this Book:—it is not read in ch. v. 14. In ch. xiv. 11 the articles are omitted:—see the *vv. ll.* here. This form is not found in the Gospel or Epistles of St. John. Elsewhere, it occurs in Gal. i. 5; Heb. xiii. 21; 1 Pet. iv. 11; &c.,—in all, nine times. See ch. xiv. 6.

[a] Matt. 24. 30. 7 [a]Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they *also* which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him. Even so, Amen.

8 I [b]am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

7. *Behold, he cometh*] *I.e.*, the Person last spoken of. The fundamental thought of the Apocalypse, "Christ cometh," is here solemnly prefixed, after the manner of the prophets:—see Pusey (*The Minor Prophets*) on Amos i. 2.

Mr. F. D. Maurice, as a strict "Preterist," lays down from the first his principle of interpretation: "I believe that the time of which St. John wrote was at hand when he wrote."—*Lect. on the Apoc.*, p. 9.

with clouds;] Gr. **the clouds** (of heaven, Dan. vii. 13; Matt. xxiv. 30; xxvi. 64; Acts i. 9, 11); denoting not the glory, but the terror of that day:—cf. ch. xi. 12; xiv. 14–16. These clouds have nothing in common with the "glorious privacy of light"—the "bright cloud" (*νεφέλη φωτεινή*, Matt. xvii. 5) of the Transfiguration (Trench, *l.c.*, p. 16). Cf. Nah. i. 3.

and every eye shall see him,] He is no longer as in Isai. xlv. 15; cf. Job xix. 27.

and **they which** *pierced him;*] *I.e.*, 'whoever,' 'all they who'; cf. Acts x. 41, 47. In Zech. xii. 10, here quoted, the repentance of Israel, when the Crucified One is recognized as their king, is described. As in Matt. xxiv. 30, the despair of sinners is now the thought. The form of the quotation in this place, as in John xix. 37 (the only other N. T. passage in which the piercing of the Lord's side is mentioned), is almost a demonstration of the common authorship of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel. In both, the original Hebrew words (אשר־דקרו) are rendered in the same way (*αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν*), and with the same departure from the LXX. (*ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*). In order to escape this inference, Ewald conjectures that the text of the LXX. has been altered. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, however, who translate as here, lived after St. John:—see Field's edition of Origen's *Hexapla*, vol. ii. p. 1026; Lee on *Inspiration*, p. 345.

and all **the tribes** *of the earth shall wail* **over him.**] Or **shall mourn for him**, as in Zech. xii. 10 (LXX., which is quoted here). The words of the Lord Himself, Matt. xxiv. 30, are also referred to. The verb denotes the Oriental manifestation of sorrow, the *smiting on the breast*, cf. Luke xviii. 13.

The frequent quotations from the Old Testament in this chapter exhibit the Apocalypse as the continuation of Hebrew prophecy.

Even so, Amen.] **"Yea, Amen,"**—the Greek and Hebrew forms united, as in 2 Cor. i. 20; see ch. xxii. 20,—God's own ratification, like the "Thus saith the Lord" of the prophets.

Note the three ideas in this doxology,—(1) *Unto Him that loveth us;* (2) Who *made us to be a kingdom, to be priests;* (3) Who *cometh.*

8. *I am* **the** *Alpha and* **the** *Omega, saith the Lord* **God,**] See *vv. ll.* The explanatory words, "the beginning and the ending," are added here in the *Textus Receptus*, and are read in ch. xxi. 6; xxii. 13 (cf. below, ver. 17). The thought conveyed by this title is expressed in Isai. xli. 4; xliii. 10; xliv. 6. On the expression "the Lord God," or "the Lord the God," cf. Luke i. 32.

which is יהוה.] See on ver. 4.

the Almighty.] This title (*ὁ Παντοκράτωρ*) occurs nine times in the Apoc.; elsewhere in the New Test. only in 2 Cor. vi. 18, where it is a quotation: it is the equivalent in the LXX. for *Shaddai* (שדי) only in Job (e. g. Job. v. 17); and for *Tsaba*, in such phrases as *Tsebi Tsiboth* (צבי צבאות, Jer. iii. 19), or *Elohi Tsebhaoth* (אלהי־צבאות, Amos iv. 13). "We have always translated it 'Almighty,' except at Rev. xix. 6, where with a very sublime effect our Saxon 'Almighty' is exchanged for the Latin 'Omnipotent'" (Trench, *l. c.*, p. 18). This verse expresses the worship in heaven under the seventh Trumpet, ch. xi. 17. Lücke (*Einl. in die Offenb. des Johann.*, 2te Ausg., s. 693) thinks that "the reference to Ex. iii. 14 cannot be mistaken;" and Alford also considers that these words are "uttered by the Eternal Father,"—although at ver. 17, and also at ch. xxii. 13, Christ is the speaker. At all events, Christ's Divinity and co-eternity with the Father are plainly stated in these latter texts. Early Christian Art and early Christian Hymnology alike apply the symbolic language of such passages to Christ: e. g.—

"Corde natus ex Parentis, ante mundi exordium
Alpha et Ω cognominatus, Ipse fons et clausula
Omnium, quæ sunt, fuerunt, quæque post futura sunt."

PRUDENTIUS, *Cathem.*, ix. 10 (quoted by Bishop Wordsworth *in loc.*).

9 I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

10 I was in the Spirit on the

THE FIRST SCENE OF THE VISION (i. 9—iii. 22).

As the Prophets of old related their call (Isai. vi. 8; Jer. i. 4; Ezek. i. 3), so St. John sets forth his commission, in order to identify this Book with the Revelation announced in ver. 1.

9. *I John,*] The writer here names himself for the third time:—so again, ch. xxi. 2; xxii. 8. Elsewhere, Daniel alone says, "I Daniel" (Dan. vii. 15, 28; viii. 15, 27; ix. 2; x. 2, 7; xii. 5). See on ver. 4.

your brother] Omit "*who also am,*"—see *vv. ll.* Isaiah names himself "son of Amoz;" St. John, as having entered the circle of Christian thought, refers merely to the brotherhood in Christ.

and **partaker with you in the** *tribulation* **and kingdom** *and patience* **[which are] in** *Jesus,*] See *vv. ll.* The Lord's words, in Matt. xx. 22, had been fulfilled so far as "James the brother of John" was concerned,—see the narrative in Acts xii. 2: the prediction is here brought home to John himself. For the case of others, cf. ch. ii. 13; vi. 9; xvii. 6. Note the order: "while the tribulation is present, the kingdom is in hope" (Trench), and hence, "patience in Jesus," the link which unites them, is added;—see Acts xiv. 22; Rom. viii. 17; 2 Tim. ii. 12.

The word *Christ* is *twice* omitted in this verse.

was] Ἐγενόμην—not ἦν which implies the mere fact. We have no one word in English to express the force of this Greek verb when *a person* is meant (see ver. 18); in the case of *an event* we say "came to pass." Here, therefore, we are to understand —"I found myself" "I became a dweller;" not simply "I was." As in ver. 10, the verb seems to imply that St. John was no longer in Patmos when he *wrote* these words.

Patmos,] Or *Patnos*—whence the popular form *Patino*, known in the Middle Ages as Palmosa, one of the Sporades, a rocky island consisting of three solid masses united by narrow isthmuses: it is about thirty Roman miles in circuit, and lies in that part of the Ægean called the Icarian Sea. Patmos is visible about forty miles out at sea from the hills which surround Miletus at the mouth of the Mæander. M. Guerin (*Description de l'île de Patmos*, 1856) estimates the population of La Scala, the ancient Hellenic town of which the Acropolis still exists at its port, at twelve or thirteen thousand. Its excellent harbour, according to the custom of coasting voyages at that period, was the first or the last station between Ephesus and Rome. See Renan, *L'Antechrist*, p. 373; and also Dean Stanley's description, Introd., § 4, p. 25. It appears to be the certain result of historical evidence (see Introd., § 4) that the Apostle John was banished to the island of Patmos during the reign of the Emperor Domitian (A.D. 81–96), and in the fourteenth year of that reign; and that he was recalled from Patmos to Ephesus by the Emperor Nerva in the year 96.

for the word of God] The use of this same preposition (διά with an *accus.*) in ch. vi. 9; xx. 4 (cf. John xv. 21), renders imperative the sense that St. John's banishment is here meant, not (as Lücke thinks, s. 816) that he was a voluntary dweller in Patmos 'for the purpose of' receiving "*the word of God.*" For the confirmation which the nature of this punishment supplies of the date of the Apocalypse under Domitian, see Introd. p. 27. Renan writes: "Jean paraît avoir souffert pour le nom de Jésus:" and he quotes Polycrates (*ap.* Euseb., *H. E.*, v. 24), who testified that St. John was a "martyr and teacher" (*l. c.*, p. 198).

In reply to the modern theory that "the tradition" as to St. John's banishment is founded altogether upon this verse, see Introd. § 7, i. (*a*).

and **the testimony of Jesus.**] See *vv. ll.* For the meaning of this phrase (the *objective* sense—"the testimony concerning Jesus"—predominating here, cf. ch. xii. 11), see on ver. 2.

10. *I was in the Spirit*] See on verse 9,—'I found myself in that state wherein revelations are received'—"in a trance," Acts x. 10; xi. 5; xxii. 17 (for the opposite state see Acts xii. 11);—withdrawn from the relations of ordinary life. St. Paul cannot tell whether "in the body" or "out of the body,"—2 Cor. xii. 2–4. Cf. Luke xxii. 44 for a similar use of the verb. This phrase occurs only here, and in ch. iv. 2;—see also ch. xvii. 3; xxi. 10; Num. xxiv. 2; Ezek. xi. 5 (Lee *On Inspiration*, p. 131, &c.)

on the Lord's day:] 'The first day of the week,' the day of the Lord's Resurrection (ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα,—cf. 1 Cor. xi. 20). For the early use of this expression (which is not found elsewhere in the New Test.) to denote

Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet,

11 Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send *it* unto the seven churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.

'Sunday,' see note C at the end of this chapter. Eichhorn (cf. Lücke, s. 815), relying on the article, understands the chief Lord's day, *i.e.*, Easter Day. Some maintain, but without sufficient reason, that "the Day of the Lord" here signifies "the Day of Judgment" in the distant future, as in Joel i. 15; iii. 14:—so Wetstein, Augusti, Züllig, S. R. Maitland, J. H. Todd (cf. Züllig, *Die Offenb. Johannis*, Excurs. i., B. i. s. 401.) See the argument of Godet, founded on the ecclesiastical use of "the Lord's Day," in proof of the date of the Apocalypse (Introduction, § 4).

and **I heard** *behind me a great voice,*] The speaker is undefined. We note here the same indefiniteness as to the speaker which we frequently find throughout this Book:—e.g., ch. iv. 1; vi. 6; ix. 13; x. 4, 8; xiv. 13; xviii. 4. Still more indefinite is the speaker in ch. xix. 9; xxi. 5:—see on ver. 1. In ver. 15, the "*voice*" is clearly that of Christ: so also in ch. ii., iii. The voice proceeding from "*behind*" the Seer has been thought to signify that all the symbols and references are of the Old Testament (I. Williams *in loc.*);—but cf Ezek. iii. 12.

as of a trumpet] A trumpet, as of the Law (Ex. xix. 19; Num. x. 1–10), but articulate with human utterance, as of the Gospel. Cf. Isai. xxvii. 13; Matt. xxiv. 31.

11. *saying,*] Cf. ch. iv. 1.:—"*saying*" is in concord with "*trumpet.*"

What thou seest,] Omit "*I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, and*"—see *vv. ll.* The words omitted are borrowed from verses 8 and 17. The sense is—"What thou seest" throughout the Vision now opening.

write in a book,] Gr. **into a roll** (εἰς βιβλίον): see Note A on ch. x. 2. The command to write is given twelve times in the Apocalypse; viz. here, and ver. 19; ch. ii. 1, 8, 12, 18; iii. 1, 7, 14; xiv. 13; xix. 9; xxi. 5. Hengstenberg is certainly wrong when he restricts the command to the contents of ch. ii. and ch. iii.,—see on ver. 19.

and send [*it*] **to the seven churches; unto Ephesus, and unto,** *&c.*] Though his Codex reads "*seven*," Erasmus omits it, and is followed by T. R. Omit "*which are in Asia,*"—see *vv. ll.*

unto **Pergamum,**] Or *Pergamos*:—for the form of this word see note D at the end of this chapter. As to the selection of these Seven Churches, see on ver. 4; and Trench, *l.c.*, pp. 25, 222–4. Renan (p. 347) would account for the omission of Hierapolis by the conjecture that the residence in that city of the Apostle Philip (see Introd. § 2, p. 9) removed it from the jurisdiction of St. John; and for the omission of Colossæ, by the assertion that it had suffered so severely from the earthquake of the year 62, as to have almost disappeared from the number of the churches. Such criticism, however, does not explain the omission from the list of Miletus, or Tralles, or Magnesia.

The Seven Churches are divided into groups of *three* and *four* (see the remarks introductory to ch. ii.). The first group consists of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum;—Ephesus standing first as being the scene of St. John's own labours; as being the most important church in 'Asia,' as well as the chief city of the province; and, it may be, as being geographically nearest to Patmos. The second group is arranged according to the order given in the "Itinerarium Antonini." Of Laodicea we read in Col. iv. 16; of Philadelphia in the Epistle of St. Ignatius to that church; of the churches of Pergamum, Thyatira, and Sardis, we know nothing from the Pauline or Ignatian age. The objection of the Alogi (see Epiphanius, *Hær.* 51, 33)—that there was no "church of the Christians in Thyatira," and, therefore, that St. John was not the author of the Apocalypse—Lücke (s. 424) proves to be of no weight: see Introduction, § 5. By these Seven the Church Universal is symbolized; and so each Epistle is addressed to "*the Churches*,"—ch. ii. 7, 11, 17, 29; iii. 6, 13, 22. As the "Muratorian Fragment" expresses it:—"John, in the Apoc., though he writes to Seven Churches, nevertheless speaks to all." ("Johannes in Apocalypsi licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit.") So also Victorinus ("quod uni dicit, omnibus dicit," *ap.* Galland., t. iv. p. 53), who adds that St. Paul, too, wrote Epistles to seven churches only, addressing his other Epistles "singularibus personis," lest he should exceed the number of seven churches. Godet (*Études bibliques*, 2me série, p. 349) observes: "Christianity, represented by these Seven Churches, is the true audience to which the author addresses himself."

12 And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. And being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks;

13 And in the midst of the seven candlesticks *one* like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.

14 His head and *his* hairs *were* white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes *were* as a flame of fire;

12. *And I turned to see the voice*] "The voice" put for the speaker. Or, "*And I turned* round *to see.*"

that spake with me.] *I. e.*, 'what the voice was which was speaking.'

And having turned *I saw*] Here the *Vision*, properly so-called, begins.

seven golden candlesticks;] Here (see also ch. xi. 4) the λυχνία (LXX.) or *lampstand*, Ex. xxv. 31 (Heb., *menorah*), is properly the *stand* which supported the λύχνος (LXX.) or *lamp*, Ex. xxv. 37 (Heb., *ner*):—see Matt. v. 15; Rev. xviii. 23 (cf. ch. iv. 5; viii. 10). The *ner* was a shallow covered vessel, oval in form, with a mouth at one end from which the wick protruded:—see the note on Ex. xxv. 37. We recognize the reference to the Seven-branched Candlestick, Ex. xxv. 32, and the "seven lamps," Zech. iv. 2. "The Jewish Church was one; for it was the Church of a single people: the Christian Church, that too is one, but it is also many; at once 'the Church' and 'the Churches.'" —Trench, *l. c.*, p. 28. "Any one candlestick may be removed (ch. ii. 5), but the Sevenfold unity is not disturbed by its removal" (Wordsworth).

THE APPEARANCE OF CHRIST (13–18).

The subject matter of the Book is now illustrated by the description of Christ's appearance,—as His relation to the world had been described in *vv.* 5, 6. Hence, each of the Seven Epistles opens with a feature borrowed from this description. What He afterwards says to them in words, He here prefigures through his appearance (Hengst.). "The Majesty of Him who holds His own in His right hand (cf. ver. 20), is the real ground of all Apocalyptic hope" (Düsterd.).

13. *and in the midst* **of the candlesticks**] Omit *seven*, see *vv. ll.* In the midst of the Seven Churches,—see ver. 20, and cf. ch. ii. 1.

one like unto the Son of man,] A title adopted from Dan. vii. 13; but nowhere applied to Christ by others than Himself except here, and in ch. xiv. 14,—and also in Acts vii. 56 where the articles occur which are absent here and in ch. xiv. 14, as they are absent in John v. 27. It is no more necessary to translate "**a son of man**" when the article is thus absent, than to render "a Spirit of God" in Matt. xii. 28, or 1 Cor. xii. 3. If the absence of the article is to be insisted on, the expression "a son of man" would simply declare that the risen Lord still retains in glory His human Nature. The contrast between His return to glory and the condition described in Phil. ii. 7, 8, explains how it was that, while He continued in the state of humiliation, no created being dared to address Him as "son of man." That St. John, who had "heard, and seen with his eyes, concerning the Word of life," could have here intended merely to describe a human form, is scarcely credible. Réville conjectures that here, and in ch. xiv. 14, the word "*like*" implies that St. John *recognized* his Master in the Divine Personage whom he describes (*Revue de Théologie*, ix. p. 241).

a garment down to the foot,] The Greek equivalent for these words (ποδήρης, *scil.* ἐσθής) is found only here in the New Testament. It is of frequent occurrence in the LXX., representing different Hebrew terms (cf. Ex. xxv. 7; xxviii. 4). It is the linen priestly garment (בַּדִּים) of the "One Man" revealed to Ezekiel (see the note on Ezek. ix. 2). It is also the "Ephod" of the High Priest (see the note on Ex. xxviii. 31), "woven without seam:"—"a high-priestly-royal robe" (Ewald).

and girt about **at the breasts** *with a golden girdle.*] See Luke xi. 27; cf. ch. xv. 6.

Bengel and others have attempted to reproduce this description pictorially; but with an unhappy result.

14. **And** *his head and his* **hair** *were white* **as white wool, [white] as snow;**] (See *vv. ll.*). As in Dan. vii. 9; not, however, the hoary head as of "the Ancient of days," but "a part of the transfiguration in light of the glorified Person of the Redeemer" (Trench, p. 34):—see Matt. xvii. 2; Mark ix. 3. So of the Angel at the empty tomb (Matt. xxviii. 3), it is "not the garment of innocence but of glory" (Trench, *Studies in the Gospels*, p. 194). White is the colour and livery of heaven; and has throughout the Apocalypse a Messianic reference: ch. ii. 17; iii. 4, 18; iv. 4; vi. 2, 11; vii. 9, 13; xix. 8, 11, 14; xx. 11. (In the Apocalypse λευκός is not *albus*, but *candidus*:—"aliud est *candidum* esse, id est *luce* quidem *nitente* per-

15 And his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the sound of many waters.

16 And he had in his right hand seven stars: and out of his mouth went a sharp twoedged sword: and his countenance *was* as the sun shineth in his strength.

17 And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; ᶠI am the first and the last:

ᶠ Is. 41. 4. & 44. 6.

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fusum; aliud *album*, quod *pallori* constat esse vicinum."—Wetst.). Reuss insists that the colour *white* is here the characteristic feature of old age; and in his *Introduction* (p. 34) he argues from this that the Apocalypse was not written by the Apostle John, who was acquainted with the Lord's appearance. He also notes on this verse that Christ does not appear "as the historical personage who died before He reached His fortieth year, but as a Divine Person invested with the symbolical attributes of eternity."

as a flame of fire;] As in Dan. x. 6; cf. ch. xix. 12. Fire, throughout Scripture, is the symbol of Divine wrath:—Gen. xix. 24; Num. xi. 1; 2 Kings i. 10, 12; 2 Thess. i. 8.

15. *like unto* **burnished** *brass,*] See Ezek. i. 7. The etymology and meaning of this term (*Chalco-libanos*, or—*on*, a noun fem., or rather neuter: see note E at the end of this chapter), found only here and in ch. ii. 18, have hitherto been merely guessed at. Thus we have the senses: 'Brass of Mount Lebanon,' (so Arethas, and the Syriac version);—'Mountain-brass' (Vulg., *aurichalcum*, the vulgar form of *orichalcum*, and erroneously taken to be a compound of *aurum* and χαλκός,—more precious than gold, cf. Plaut. *Curc.* i. 3, 46);—'Brass of the furnace' (Words.);'—'Brass at a white heat' (Bochart);—'Brass the colour of frankincense' (Ausonius, *ap.* Wetst.);—a metal like *electrum* (Suidas), a word which signifies both *amber*, and the metal *electrum*. A combination of the last two explanations may give the true sense, 'A metal like electrum, having the colour of amber,'—*amber* being the colour of *frankincense*, which is the commercial name of "the gum-resin *Olibanum*," (Brande and Cox *Dict. of Science*). Grimm gives as the general meaning imposed by the context: "Metallum auro simile, si non eo præstantius."

as if **it had been refined** *in a furnace;*] (Compare Zech. xiii. 9, LXX.). This version reads the dative of the participle,—see *vv. ll.* Reading the genitive, we get the same meaning, the construction being irregular,—cf. ch. ii. 20; iii. 12; iv. 1, &c. The nominative masculine plural, adopted in A.V., would agree with "*feet*;"—cf. ch. x. 1.

as **a voice** *of many waters.*] Cf. ch. xiv. 2; xix. 6; Ezek. xliii. 2. The form of the sentence now changes; the description proceeding as if with pencil touches;—cf. ch. xix. 12; xxi. 12.

16. *And he had in his right hand seven stars:*] See ch. ii. 1; where also the preposition is "*in*," not "*on*," as in ver. 20. Some would explain, "which he grasped as a garland," *i.e.*, "a crown of stars;"—the words of Jer. xxii. 24, suggest to others the idea of seven signet rings on the right hand. At all events we learn that Christ holds in His right hand His own, represented by the Seven Stars.

and out of his mouth **proceeded** *a sharp twoedged sword:*] The sword *of Christ* is designated by a peculiar term in this Book,—see ch. ii. 12, 16; vi. 8; xix. 15, 21 (ῥομφαία, the heavy Thracian broadsword, found elsewhere in the N. T. only in Luke ii. 35). The shorter sword (μάχαιρα) occurs in ch. vi. 4; xiii. 10, 14. For the image, see Isai. xi. 4; xlix. 2; Hos. vi. 5; 2 Thess. ii. 8; Heb. iv. 12. This last text supports the reference to "the word of God." The early writers saw in the "two edges," the Law and the Gospel (Tertull., *Marc.* iii. 14; Augustin., *Enarr. in Ps.* cxlix. 6). Or the meaning may simply be that the words which Christ utters are of judgment and command,—ch. ii. 16; xix. 21.

and his countenance [*was*] *as the sun shineth in his strength.*] The construction is again broken. Not the Lord's general appearance, but His "countenance," His "face," is meant:—see John xi. 44. Düsterd., however, appealing to ch. x. 1; John vii. 24, and to the frequent use of πρόσωπον in the Apocalypse to denote the countenance (e. g. ch. iv. 7; ix. 7, &c.), takes ὄψις here to mean "the appearance," the whole form, radiant as with the brightness of the sun.

17. *as* **one** *dead.*] So Moses (Ex. xxxiii. 20); or Daniel (viii. 27). The state of prophetic ecstasy:—see Dan. x. 7–19; Matt. xvii. 6, 7; Acts x. 10; cf. Lee *On Inspiration*, p. 174, etc.

And he laid his right hand upon me,] See *vv. ll.* The prep. with the accus.,—see on ver. 20.

saying,] Omit "*unto me*,"—see *vv. ll.*

Fear not; I am the first, and the last,] These words explain ver. 8. The prerogative three

18 *I am* he that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.

19 Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter;

20 The mystery of the seven stars

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times claimed for Jehovah, Isai. xli. 4; xliv. 6; xlviii. 12, is three times claimed in this Book for Christ:—here; ch. ii. 8; xxii. 13. Some explain '*first* in glory, *last* in humiliation' (Phil. ii. 6–8). Richard of St. Victor (quoted by Trench, p. 46) writes: "Primus, quia Ego sum causa originis; novissimus, quia Ego judex et finis."

18. **and he that liveth;**] Or, **and the Living one;**] *I.e.*, 'Who is possessed of absolute being':—"I live for ever," Deut. xxxii. 40: see 1 Tim. vi. 16; cf. John i. 4; v. 26; xiv. 6, 19. All hopes of immortality are but shadows, compared with the guarantee which this truth of Christ's *Life* affords.

and **I was dead,**] Gr. "**I became dead,**" see on verse 9.

alive for evermore,] Gr. "**unto the ages of the ages,**"—see on ver. 6. Compare also ver. 5; ch. iv. 9, 10; x. 6; and also Acts ii. 24; Rom. vi. 4. (Omit "*Amen,*"—see *vv. ll.*).

and **I** *have the keys* **of death and of hell.**] See *vv. ll.* "Hell," Gr. *Hades*, is in like manner combined with *Death*, in ch. vi. 8; xx. 13, 14. "Hades," personified in ch. vi. 8; xx. 14, is here conceived of as a city with walls and gates, of which Christ had already spoken, Matt. xvi. 18;—cf. Isai. xxxviii. 10. (See the application of the symbol "*key*" in ch. ix. 1, 2; xx. 1).

In the natural order "death" precedes "Hades" (*Sheol*), the gathering place of departed souls. "Hell" (*Gehenna*, Matt. xviii. 9; James iii. 6) is "*the lake of fire*," the final abode of the lost, spoken of in ch. xix. 20; xx. 10, 14, 15. The "*keys*" are the symbol of authority,—see ch. iii. 7; ix. 1; xx. 1. Christ used these "keys" when the penitent was admitted into Paradise,—Luke xxiii. 43; and He asserted His power to use them, in John xi. 25, 43. Cf. the Jewish tradition as to the "four keys" (of which 'the key of the sepulchre' was one) which God entrusts neither to Angels nor Seraphim, but reserves in His own power:—see in Wetstein, on this verse, the Jerus. Targum on Gen. xxx. 22.

Note that in ch. xx. 14; Luke xvi. 23, "Hades" means the place of torment.

19. **Write therefore**] See *vv. ll.* In continuation either of ver. 11, or of ver. 18—*i.e.*, "having seen this Vision." (Note the occurrence here, and in ch. ii. 5, 16; iii. 3, 19, of the word οὖν,—a word characteristic of St. John's style: see Introd., § 7, IV., (*c*).

the things which thou **sawest,**] Namely, in *vv.* 12–16.

and the things which are,] *I.e.*, as contrasted with those which are about to happen, the things present being described in ch. ii.; iii. (so Arethas, Bengel, Lücke, Düsterd., Words., and others). Or, **and what things they signify or represent,** as explained in ver. 20 (so Ewald, De Wette, Alford, and others); and in proof it is urged, (1) that the plural εἰσίν distinguishes this clause from that in which we find the singular μέλλει; and (2) that εἰσίν must mean here what it means in ver. 20. The plain reference, however, of μετὰ ταῦτα to ἃ εἰσίν seems to decide in favour of the former sense.

and the things which **shall come to pass** *hereafter;*] *I. e.*, in Vision,—e.g. ch. iv. &c. Sequence merely, not Divine appointment, is signified,—see on ver. 1.

According to Bengel, Elliott, Bisping, and others, a threefold division of the Book is indicated in this verse:—(1) *vv.* 12–18; (2) ch. ii.; iii.; (3) ch. iv.–xxi. Hengstenberg, connecting this verse with ver. 11, refers it altogether to the Seven Epistles of ch. ii.; iii., —the words "*which are*" describing the real condition of the Churches, as contrasted with their outward appearance, e. g. ch. iii. 17; and the word "*hereafter*" telling the Churches of their Lord's coming. The command to "write" is suspended at ch. x. 4. The command is renewed at ch. xiv. 13; xix. 9; xxi. 5. The publication, as it were, is commanded at ch. xxii. 10. See above on ver. 11.

20. *the mystery*] Either governed by "*write*," ver. 19; or placed, as it were, absolutely, stating the "spiritual riddle of which the solution follows in the latter half of the verse,"—so Trench, p. 50. Throughout the N. T. a "*mystery*" denotes not an enigma, but what is *secret*,—a symbol before its meaning is explained,—that which lies beyond the reach of the natural understanding, and which God's Spirit only can unfold: in a word, the direct antithesis to *Revelation* or *Apocalypse*. See Matt. xiii. 11; Rom. xi. 25; Eph. v. 32; Col. i. 26; Rev. x. 7; xvii. 5—where see the note. Reuss notes that the Seven Stars and the Seven Candlesticks are the only images in this description which are peculiar to the author, who, accordingly, after the manner of the ancient prophets, himself explains them:—cf. Jer. i. 11, &c.; xxiv.;

which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches: and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches.

Amos, vii.; viii. This is a questionable statement,—see Introd. § 10.

of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand,] Gr., ὀπ. (Note that *ἐπί with a gen.* will be indicated throughout by the word "on;" *with an accus.* by "upon,"—see ver. 17. *With a dat.*, the context must decide: e.g. ch. iv. 9; vii. 10; ix. 14; xix. 4, 14; and see on ver. 16, where the *prep.* is *ἐν*).

The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches:] These "Angels" appear not merely at the head of each of the Churches (ch. ii.; iii.), but also as "Stars" in the right hand of the Redeemer:—cf. ver. 16; ch. ii. 1; iii. 1.

By the "Angels" here are to be understood the *Bishops*, in the *modern* sense of the title, of the Seven Churches,—the term 'bishop' (*ἐπίσκοπος*, Acts xx. 28; Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 7) not being as yet restricted to the Successors of the Apostles. This title, "Angel," to denote a high spiritual function may have been suggested by Hag. i. 13; and Mal. ii. 7: ("The priest's lips should keep knowledge . . . for he is the *messenger* (LXX. *ἄγγελος*) of the Lord of Hosts)." This symbol of the "Stars" is explained, as is that of the "Candlesticks" in the next clause, without an express application, which, however, is made in the following chapters where the address to each Church is *personal* to its "Angel;" the bishop being regarded as *persona ecclesiæ*, by the Chief "Shepherd and Bishop of Souls" —1 Pet. ii. 25. Primasius notes that in ver. 4 St. John addresses "the Seven *Churches*; but, in ch. ii.; iii., "the *Angels* of the Churches," taking "the *person* of the Church and of the Angel to be the same," ("unam videlicet faciens Angeli Ecclesiæque personam."—*Comm. in loc.*, *ap.* Migne, *Patrolog.*, vol. lxviii., p. 803). In the typical language of Scripture a "Star" is the symbol of highest dominion, Num. xxiv. 17; Isai. xiv. 12; Matt. ii. 2; and also of faithful or false teachers, Dan. xii. 3; Jude 13 (some refer, in this sense, to ch. vi. 13; viii. 10; xii. 4): and so, as Ewald (*in loc.*, s. 118) writes of the "Angels" here, "Es sind die Vorsteher der sieben Gemeinde"—"They are the presidents of the Seven Churches." Dean Vaughan notes: "The Angel of the Church is its chief minister or pastor. The title is borrowed from the Jewish Synagogue, in which the angel or messenger of the assembly was the person who presided over and arranged the meetings for worship, charged, as it were, with the messages of the people to God . . . exercising also (it is said) something of discipline over its members."—*Lectures on the Rev.*, 3rd ed. vol. i. p. 20. It has also been suggested "that the Apostolical bishops may have been called 'Angels' as ministering the New Testament, with reference to the fact of the Law having been received" "at the ministration of Angels"—Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 2 (Walcott, in Blunt's *Annot. B. of Com. Prayer*, p. 531). See Trench, p. 51, &c.

Reviewing some of the interpretations which have been proposed,—the sense cannot be, (*a*), as Alford and Reuss argue, 'the Angels who are guardians of the Churches:' 'If,' it is said, 'single persons (Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; cf. Dan. x. 21; xii. 1) have their Angels, why not Churches'? But, on such a theory, how explain the language of ch. ii. 4, 5, 14, 20; iii. 1, 2, 15, 17? If Angels in heaven are meant, how account for the command to the Seer to "write" to such and such an "Angel"? To argue that, because elsewhere in the Book "Angel" is used in its strict sense, it must be so here, is to assert a principle which cannot be carried out:—our Lord is once styled Logos, the Word, in ch. xix. 13; elsewhere in the Apocalypse the term is used in its lower sense:—the noun *θηρίον*, "the beast," is employed once in its literal sense in ch. vi. 8; elsewhere it is used symbolically. The interpretation thus supported by Alford was anciently held by Andreas and Arethas; and, with a modification, the same theory has been maintained, (*b*), in recent times, by De Wette, Lücke, Düsterd., Gebhardt,—viz., that the "Angels" of the Churches are the personified spirits of the Churches, "die persönlich vorgestellten Geister der Gemeinden" (Gebhardt, *Der Lehrbegr. der Apoc.*, s. 39), or the Churches themselves;—as we read of the "Angels" of the various elements; of the winds, ch. vii. 1; of fire, ch. xiv. 18; of the waters, ch. xvi. 5. To this entire theory Rothe (*Die Anfänge der Christl. Kirche*, s. 423) justly objects that we should thus have a Star the symbol of an Angel, and an Angel the symbol of a Church, to which in the same context another symbol, that of the Candlestick, is attached,—a manifest confusion of symbols. (*c*) For Bishop Lightfoot's explanation that the heavenly representatives of the Churches are meant,—"the celestial guardian, or only a personification, the idea or spirit of the Church,"—an explanation which combines more than one of these various shades of opinion,—see note F at the end of this chapter.

Nor, (*d*), can we understand by the "Angels" "the *messengers*" from the Churches to St. John, as in Phil. ii. 25; iv. 18; Col. iv. 12. One does not address a letter *to* such messengers,—the letter is sent *by* them. (*e*) Again, the notion of Brightman, revived by Hengstenberg, that the "Angel" is no one person, but "the collective presbytery," — "das gesammte Kirchen-Regiment,"—is opposed to the distinct relations which the Seven Epistles set forth as subsisting between each Church and its "Angel."

See the argument of Godet (quoted Introd. § 4, p. 33) founded upon the use of the word *Angel* in chapters ii. and iii., for fixing the date of the Apocalypse.

and the seven **candlesticks are seven churches.**] Omit *which thou sawest*,—see *vv. ll.* Verse 12 is now explained. "The candlestick or lampstand . . . . is not light, but it is the bearer of light, that which diffuses it, that which holds it forth and causes it to shine throughout the house; being the appointed instrument for this. It is thus with the Church."—Trench, p. 29. Compare the Lord's words in Matt. v. 14:—"Ye are the light of the world."

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. I.

NOTE A ON VER. 1.—"RATIONALISTIC" EXEGESIS.

The rationalistic interpretation of the Apocalypse may be summed up as follows, after Professor Reuss of Strasbourg, one of the latest expositors of this school (*L'Apocalypse*, Paris, 1878):—

(*a*) The design of the Book is to set forth the "revelation" of Christ in the *objective* sense;—*i.e.*, the extraordinary *manifestation* of Christ's future coming to His Kingdom, as the word ἀποκάλυψις is used in 1 Cor. i. 7; 2 Thess. i. 7; 1 Pet. i. 7, 13. Accordingly, the 'Apocalypse of John' means the 'Book of the re-appearance of Christ described by John.' In it the Author brings together the various eschatological ideas which circulated, during his lifetime, in the Jewish and Judæo-Christian world; and to add aught to, or to take away aught from the popular conviction was held by him to be an act of sacrilege (ch. xxii. 18, 19). Far from containing new and marvellous disclosures, the Apocalypse gives but a meagre outline of what the majority of its readers already knew and believed. The hopes and fears of the early Christians led them to expect the immediate manifestation of Messiah; and this expectation the Apostles everywhere encouraged ("nourissaient et caressaient"),—Matt. xxiv., xxv.; Acts i. 6; Heb. x. 25; James v. 7–9; 1 Pet. iv. 7; 1 John ii. 18. This current of ideas our Author describes with prophetic enthusiasm; and he gains the ear of the masses by lending the charm of poetic allegory to frequent reminiscences borrowed from the supreme authority of Scripture. All his facts are strung on one chronological thread; the principal facts of this continuous evolution being the purification of the Holy City, and the destruction of Rome (pp. 3–18).

(*b*) Visions:—Our fathers, writes Professor Reuss, have spoken of the "Visions" of the Prophet of Patmos, as if he had ever been in the state of prophetic ecstasy. Of ecstatic Visions, we have, indeed, examples in the history of St. Paul; but our Author was a mere *visionary*, as many ardent men, at all times, are visionaries. For him "heaven had nothing to reveal which the other Apostles have not also known and believed: consequently 'Visions,' in the theological sense, would be quite as superfluous as they would be psychologically incomprehensible" (p. 23).

(*c*) The time of the End:—The entire duration of the Roman Empire from the time when the Author wrote, down to the final catastrophe, he himself fixes, after Daniel, at three years and a half (ch. xi. 2, 3; xii. 14). "This conclusion can only be evaded by substituting for the proper sense of the text a so-called spiritual interpretation, which is in truth quite arbitrary, and condemned beforehand by the Author himself, who at every instant repeats that he wishes to be understood literally,—ch. i. 1, 3; ii. 5, 16; iii. 11; xi. 14; xxii. 6, 7, 10, 12, 20, &c." (pp. 25, 36).

(*d*) The Apocalypse is to be interpreted on the "Preterist" theory:—The Author has sharply defined the horizon which embraces the entire range of his prophetic vision, "even designating by name [*i.e.*, the name of Nero—see on ch. xiii. 18] the principal personages of the drama which he unfolds before our eyes." This fact men persist in disbelieving:—forsaking the region of primitive Christian history, they seek for the meaning of the Book along the obscure vista of the future. And yet, the entire Apocalypse is no more than a "summary, as complete as it is lucid, of the hopes which animated the churches in the Apostolic age; and which gave them the

strength to brave the world, and the courage to conquer it" (pp. 3, 4).

(*e*) The date:—The date of the Apocalypse can be determined with greater exactitude than that of any other Book of the New Testament, and even absolutely fixed; although there is not a Roman Emperor, from Claudius to Hadrian, under whom expositors have not sought to place its composition:—"The Apocalypse has been written under the reign of Galba; that is to say, in the interval between the two epochs when men might have known in Asia the death of Nero, which took place June 9, 68, and that of Galba, who was killed January 16, 69" (p. 26). Many commentators, indeed, hold that the Book was composed under Domitian, "on account of the ancient legend which tells that the Apostle was exiled to Patmos by that Emperor; and above all, because they suppose that the Author may be thus spared the reproach of having been deceived in one of his principal predictions" [e. g. as to the preservation of the Temple of Jerusalem, assumed to be predicted in Rev. xi. 1]. "We acknowledge," continues Professor Reuss, "that we are touched but in a moderate degree by this advantage; since, to speak the truth, we do not see that one single prediction of his has been realized" (p. 24). Indeed, "scarcely two years after the composition of our Apocalypse there came to pass events . . . which in a glaring manner falsified it. The three years and a half [Rev. xi. 2] had not passed away, and yet Jerusalem, instead of becoming the abode of the Saints, was no more than a heap of ruins; Rome was not destroyed by Antichrist;" &c., &c. (p. 37).

Note B on ver. 4—"Asia."

The phrase "Asia Minor,"—first found in Orosius (i. 2), or Ἀσία ἡ μικρά (Constant. Porphyr. *De Prov. Them.* i. 1), was not used until the fourth century after Christ. The Roman Province "Asia" properly embraced, not all Asia Minor, but only its western divisions. For the Peninsula, which we now call "Asia Minor" (otherwise *Anatolia*, *Natolia*, Ἀνατολή) there had previously been no proper name; and the region was styled Ἀσία ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἅλυος (Strab. xii., p. 534; Herod. i. 28); or ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου (Strab. *b.*); or Ἀσία ἡ ἰδίως καλουμένη (Strab. xii. p. 577; Ptol. v. 2); or "Asia propria," or "proprie dicta" (Plin. *H. N.* v. 27, 28); or absolutely "Asia" (Cic. *pro Flacco*, 27; *pro lege Man.* 6; Liv. xxvi. 24):—see Forbiger *Handb. der alt. Geogr.* B. ii. s. 92. St. Irenæus uses the expression ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ (*Ep. ad Florin.*, ed. Ben. p. 399). Neubauer (*Geogr. Talm.* p. 308) observes that "Asia" (אסיא, עסיא) is used by the Talmudists as vaguely as by Latin and Greek writers, since they speak of "Asia" sometimes as a city (Antioch or Laodicea), sometimes as a country. In the New Test. "Asia" and "Cilicia" (Acts vi. 9) are both regarded as Roman Provinces in Asia Minor.

"Asia Minor under the Romans was divided into districts, each comprising several towns and having its chief city, in which the Courts were held from time to time by the proconsul or legate of the province. Each of these political aggregates was styled in Latin *conventus*, in Greek διοίκησις . . . . At the head of the most important of these political dioceses, the 'Cibyratic convention' or 'jurisdiction,' as it was called, comprising not less than twenty-five towns, stood Laodicea. Here in times past Cicero, as proconsul of Cilicia, had held his court. (See *Ad Attic.* v. 16, 21; vi. 2). . . . . In its metropolitan rank we see an explanation of the fact, that to Laodicea, as to the centre of a Christian diocese also, whence their letters would readily be circulated among the neighbouring brotherhoods, two Apostles address themselves in succession, the one writing from his captivity in Rome (Col. iv. 16), the other from his exile at Patmos (Rev. iii. 14),"—Bishop Lightfoot, *Epp. to the Col. and Philem.*, p. 8. After the year B.C. 49, the three cities, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Colossæ, with the rest of the Cibyratic union, seem to have been permanently attached to "Asia": before that time they are bandied about between Asia and Cilicia:—see Bergmann, *De Asia provincia*, Berlin, 1846. Laodicea is assigned to "Asia" in Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr.* 6512, 6541, 6626: "As an *Asiatic* Church accordingly Laodicea is addressed in the Apocalyptic letter" (*Ibid.* p. 19). There appears, too, to have been a very intimate relation between the other Asiatic cities and Ephesus. Thus the *Concord of the Laodiceans and Ephesians*, the *Concord of the Hierapolitans and Ephesians*, are repeatedly commemorated on medals struck for the purpose,—Eckhel, iii. pp. 155, 157, 165 (*Ibid.* p. 31).

Note C on ver. 10—"The Lord's Day."

The following are some instances of the early use of ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα to denote our *Sunday*, or 'First day of the week': St. Barnabas thus refers to and defines the phrase:—ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν (*Epist.*, c. 15). Dionysius of Corinth:—τὴν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.*, iv. 23). St. Ignatius:—μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες (*ad. Magn.* c. 9). Tertullian:—"Die dominico jejunium nefas ducimus (*De Corona*, 3); and again:—"Non dominicum diem, non Pente-

costem" (*De Idol.* c. 14). Clemens Al.:—*κυριακὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ . . . τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων* (*Strom.* vii. 12). As representing the interpretation of Rev. i. 10 by later writers, we may take the words of Andreas: *Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ γενόμενος κάτοχος . . . ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, κἂν τούτῳ τιμηθείσῃ διὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, κ. τ. λ.* (*in loc., l. c.*, p. 8.)

On the other hand, the reference of Wetstein and of the "Futurists" to the Day of Judgment receives some support from the reference of Julius Africanus to the *Ogdoad*, or *eighth* millennium of the world: *τάχα τε σημαίνει τὸ πολυχρόνιον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον ὀγδοάδα, Κυριακὴν ἡμέραν* (*Chronicon*, 5, *ap.* Routh, ii. p. 240): cf. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* v. 28; Victorinus, *de Fabr. Mundi*, *ap.* Cave, i. p. 148. (Victorinus is speaking of Ps. vi., the title of which is "*Upon the eighth*," *ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης*,—"David pro die octavo Dominum rogat . . . . hic est enim revera futuri illius judicii dies octavus").

The usual form in the New Test. for the first day of the week is *ἡ μία τῶν σαββάτων*, Luke xxiv. 1; John xx. 1, 19; Acts xx. 7; cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. The great "Day of the Lord," is expressed by *ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου*, 2 Thess. ii. 2;—or *ἡ ἡμέρα Κυρίου*, 2 Pet. iii. 10;—or "the Day of Christ," *ἡμέρα Χριστοῦ*, Phil. ii. 16: never by *ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα*. The adjective occurs only here and in 1 Cor. xi. 20 (*Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*).

NOTE D ON VER. 11—"PERGAMUM."

The form usual with Greek and Latin writers is the *neuter*, "Pergamum." Thus Forbiger (*l. c.*, ii. 158) writes: "*Pergamum* (*τὸ Πέργαμον*: Strab. xiii. 4, pp. 603, 619, 623 f.; Xen. *Anab.*, vii. 8, 8, 23; Polyb. iv. 48, 2; v. 78, 6; Plin. v. 30, 33). *Πέργαμος* bei Ptol. v. 2; noch j. Pergamo oder Bergama." The Greek commentators use the *feminine*: thus Arethas on Rev. ii. 15:—*θρόνον δὲ τοῦ Σατανᾶ τὴν Πέργαμον καλεῖ* (*ap.* Cramer, *Catena*, p. 208). "Instances of the feminine. *ἡ Πέργαμος* (Ptolemy, i. 2), are excessively rare (see Lobeck, *Phryn.*, p. 422); while the neuter, *τὸ Πέργαμον* in Greek, and "Pergamum" in Latin, occurs innumerable times."—Trench, on ch. ii. 12, p. 113.

Besides "Pergamum" in Asia Minor, we read of "Pergamos" which denoted a town in Crete, near Cydonia (Plin. iv. 14, 20),—see Virg. *Æn.* iii. 133; or a fortress in the Pieric hollow by which Xerxes passed (Herod vii. 112):—see Smith's *Dict. of Geogr.*

NOTE E ON VER. 15.—"CHALCOLIBANOS."

Χαλκολίβανος, ου, ἡ (or—*βανον, ου, τό*), Suidas explains to be a kind of *electrum*, a metal much prized by the ancients (*ἤλεκτρον, i.e., ἀλλότυπον χρυσιον μεμιγμένον ὑελῷ καὶ λιθείᾳ*). *Electrum* is "a natural alloy of gold and silver in the proportion of two of gold to one of silver."—Brande and Cox, *Dict. of Science, in verb.*

The Vulgate translates here by *aurichalcum* (otherwise *orei*—, or *orichalcum*). This word, found in the New Test. only here and in ch. ii. 18, seems to be taken from the נחשת קלל of Ezek. i. 7 (A.V. "burnished brass"; LXX. *ἐξαστράπτων*), and of Dan. x. 6 (LXX. *χαλκὸς στίλβων*): cf. חשמל Ezek. i. 4, 27; viii. 2 (LXX. *ἤλεκτρον*).

In the *Critias* of Plato (p. 114, E), among the productions of the island Atlantis, is mentioned *orichalcum*,—*τὸ νῦν ὀνομαζόμενον μόνον, τότε δὲ πλέον ὀνόματος ἦν τὸ γένος ἐκ γῆς ὀρυττόμενον ὀρειχάλκου . . . πλὴν χρυσοῦ τιμιώτατον ἐν τοῖς τότε ὄν.* So too we read: "Tibia non, ut nunc, orichalco vincta."—Hor., *Ars Poet.* 202; and "Ipse dehinc auro squalentem alboque orichalco"—Virg., *Æneid.* xii. 87 (cf. Cic., *De Off.*, iii. 23, 12).

The rule as to compounds in Greek (and also in English, e.g. *brass-mountain* and *mountain-brass*) that the important word comes last, and the qualitative first, ought not (see Abp. Trench, *l.c.*, p. 36) to be urged against the suggestion, as old as Arethas,—a suggestion older still, see below,—that the meaning depends on the word *λίβανος*; and that the meaning therefore is "brass of *Mount Lebanon*" (so also Ebrard):—"Libanus pro quolibet monte," says Wolf. Salmasius (followed by Hitzig and Ewald) reads *χαλκοκλίβανος*="brass *of the furnace*." Alford suggests *χαλκολιβάδιον* = "a stream of melted brass." Bochart (followed by Grotius, Vitringa, Hengst., Trench, Words.) proposes "a hybrid formation" from *χαλκός*, and לבן = *albare*, *to make white*, *i.e.*, "brass at a white heat." Words. rather prefers the suggestion of Schwartz, viz. from *λείβω liquo* (as *πιθανός* from *πείθω*), with the sense, *liquid* or *molten-brass*. Züllig thinks there may be an enigma here, founded on the meaning given by Suidas, *ἤλεκτρον* signifies *a metal*, and also signifies *amber*. Some take *λίβανος* to be *frankincense* (ch. xviii. 13; see Note B on ch. viii. 3), and we have (as *χρυσό-πρασος*, *χρυσό-λιθος*) a sense, copper in ignition, like *frankincense* when red hot. So Ausonius (*ap.* Salmas., *ad Solin.*, p. 810):—*ὁ λίβανος ἔχει τρία εἴδη δένδρων, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄῤῥην ὀνομάζεται χαλκολίβανος, ἡλιοειδὴς καὶ πυῤῥὸς ἤγουν ξανθός.* Düsterdieck thinks that the word may have been a provincialism of Asia Minor.

In his interpretation of the Arabic text of the (lost) commentary of St. Hippolytus (see Note A on ch. xii. 3), Ewald says that Hippolytus agrees with the Peschito,—"Brass of Mount Lebanon"—"weil der Libanon das beste Erz getragen habe" (s. 5).

NOTE F ON VER. 20.—"THE ANGELS," OF THE CHURCHES.

The use of the word "Angel" to signify the Bishop of a Church is not common; but the instances which are met with in early writers indicate that the title was clearly understood. St. Jerome thus comments on 1 Tim. iii. 2: "*Oportet enim Episcopus*] Aut Ecclesiæ princeps non erit, &c. . . . *doctorem*] Tam verbo quam exemplo . . . quia *Angelus* Dei Omnipotentis est" [Mal. ii. 7].—*Opp.*, ed. Vallars., t. xi. p. 1047. The historian Socrates also, giving a catalogue of the Egyptian Solitaries, describes by this title Serapion, bishop of Thmuis (*circ.* A.D. 359): *ὁ τῆς Θμουϊτῶν Ἄγγελος Σαραπίων.—Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23; St. Jerome styling Serapion "Thmueos Egypti urbis Episcopus."—*De Vir. Ill.* c. 99. Cassiodorus (A.D. 500) notes on Rev. i. 20: "Cum sit earum rerum innumera multitudo, septem ponuntur ad perfectionem scilicet indicandam: unde Angelo Ephesiorum, hoc est Episcopo, commonet scribendum."—*Complex. in Apoc.*, ed. Migne., t. lxx. p. 1405. Primasius (A.D. 550) notes on the same verse: "Angeli Ecclesiarum hic intelligendi sunt rectores populi, qui singulis Ecclesiis præsidentes, verbum vitæ cunctis annunciant."—ed. Migne, t. lxviii. p. 803. See Melito and Gregory Naz. already quoted, Introd., § 2; and the note on ch. ii. 13.

As stated above Andreas writes thus on Rev. i. 20: *τούτων δὲ ἑκάστῃ ἄγγελος φύλαξ ἐφέστηκε*: and Arethas: *ἀστέρας δὲ τοὺς Ἀγγέλους τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐφόρους καλεῖ . . . ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης τὸ φῶς χωρηγουμένους . . . ἑκάστῃ δὲ ὅτι Ἄγγελος ἐπιστατεῖ καὶ ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος παραθέμενος ἐπιστώσατο—ap.* Cramer, *l.c.*, p. 199.

This explanation, fanciful as it is, has been accepted in modern times by writers of repute. Thus Lücke (s. 430), who criticizes the theory of Vitr., Beng., and others,—viz. that by the use of the term "Angel" St. John meant to transfer to the Christian Church the technical expression of the Jewish synagogue שליח צבור or "Legatus Ecclesiæ,"—and who observes that there is no proof that this expression, which most probably signifies simply "precentor," was in use in St. John's day, and that such a title is unsuitable to the office which is here assigned to the "Angels" of the Churches;—himself adopts the theory put forward by Salmasius (*De Episc.*, p. 182), by Gabler (*De Episc.*, p. 14), and by De Wette (*in loc.*), namely that St. John, who has elsewhere (ch. xiv. 18; xvi. 5; cf. John v. 4) recognized Angels as presiding over the elements, here follows the usage of Daniel (x. 13, 20; xii. 1) by recognizing Guardian Angels over the Churches ("welche den Gemeinden immanent vorstehen").

Bishop Lightfoot considers that the Stars, as opposed to "the earthly fires" of the Candlesticks, are the heavenly representatives of the Churches, "the star shining steadily by its own inherent light." Were this so, each "Star" or "Angel" must, surely, be equally faultless; and yet the "Angels" of the churches of Smyrna (ch. ii. 9–11) and Philadelphia (ch. iii. 8–11) alone of the Seven are spoken of without reproof. Again, he objects that the "Angel" is "made responsible" for the Church "to a degree wholly unsuited to any human officer,"—*Ep. to the Phil.*, p. 198. This is a matter of opinion; but the objection is scarcely reconcilable with the statement at the close of the Essay that "the Christian minister is the representative of man to God—of the congregation primarily" (p. 265).

The circumstances under which the Apostolic office was extended, and the government of the Church committed to the Episcopal Order, are no doubt obscure. And yet Tertullian writes expressly: "Habemus Johannis alumnas Ecclesias; nam etsi Apycalypsin ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen Episcoporum ad originem recensitus in Johannem stabit auctorem."—*adv. Marc.* iv. 5. Eusebius also (*H. E.* iii. 23) reports the saying of Clemens Al. to the effect that St. John, having on the death of the Tyrant removed (*μετῆλθεν*) from Patmos to Ephesus, *ἀπῄει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρῳ ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων.—Quis Dives salvetur*, c. 42.

Bishop Lightfoot admits that "this change must have been brought about during the last three decades of the first century; and, consequently, during the life time of the latest surviving Apostle" (*l. c.*, p. 199). The Apocalypse here supplies the missing link; and by the use of the word "Angel" furnishes the term which marked the gradual change of name from "Apostle" to *Ἐπίσκοπος* or "Bishop," as denoting the supreme Order in the Church. The title "Angel" or "Messenger" is applied to men in Hagg. i. 13; Mal. ii. 7; iii. 1; and its use here is characteristic of the symbolical language of this Book. Rothe (*Die Anfänge der christl. Kirche*, s. 427) quotes 3 John, 9, 10, where Diotrephes is described by St. John himself as holding a position far higher than that of Presbyter,—the Apostle's language being unintelligible did Diotrephes not fill an office of a very special character. That the "Angels of the Churches" mean Bishops in the strict sense —"monarchische Bischöfe"—is held by Bunsen (*Ignatius*, s. 85); while Rothe sees in them "an ideal anticipation of Bishops" (*l.c.*, s. 423);—the title *Ἄγγελος*, he adds, is very significant, denoting not only the consciousness that the office was necessary, but also the conscious effort to realize it. The Apocalypse knows the idea of the Episcopate,

not merely as relative to a single community, but as relative to the assemblage of single communities, that is, to *the Church*. Consider ch. i. 16, 20; ii. 1; iii. 1:—what is meant by these texts but this, that the (ideal) personages, in whom the single communities are each comprehended in a concrete unity, are again comprehended in one by Christ Himself, Who is present and works in all as their common centre? And thus the full idea of the Episcopate was already formed out of the process of the collective Christian life; not as a foreign institution, but as the realizing of an Ideal innate in the Christian consciousness itself (s. 425, ff.).

The "Apostolical Constitutions" supply information as to the tradition which had reached their writer. In Book VII. c. xlvi. (ed. Cotel., t. i. p. 385) the names of "the Bishops ordained" by the Apostles are given (*περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν χειροτονηθέντων Ἐπισκόπων*). Among these the writer mentions that St. John appointed John to succeed Timothy at Ephesus;—at Smyrna, Ariston is the first Bishop, and after him Stratæas, son of Lois, who is succeeded by another Ariston;—at Pergamum, Gaius;—at Philadelphia, Demetrius;—at Laodicea, Archippus is named (see Col. iv. 17; Philem. 10). No other Apocalyptic Church is mentioned; but the names of "John" (who is said to have succeeded Timothy) and of Ariston, or Aristion (see Introd. § 2, p. 3), are deserving of notice. The date of this seventh Book is, like the rest of the "Constitutions," uncertain;—part of it, at least, belongs to the beginning of Cent. iii.: so Hilgenfeld (*Nov. Test. extr. Can.*, fasc. iv. p. 93). Jacobson, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.*, fixes the date as the beginning of Cent. iv.

Accepting "the tradition" as to the appointment by St. John of Bishops at the head of the different churches, Neander (*Allg. Gesch. der Kirche*, 3te Aufl. B. i. s. 104) will not allow that this Apostle intended to found the Episcopate; or, admitting that some exigency of the time led St. John himself to ordain Bishops ("das Institut der Bischöfe . . . eingesetzt hätte"), Neander will not concede that this form of Church government was intended for all future time. By such arbitrary conclusions any Apostolical ordinance, proved to be such, might equally be set aside. An impartial writer like Godet observes: "Rothe, Thiersch, Neander himself, attribute to the influence exercised by St. John the stable constitution of the churches of Asia Minor during Cent. ii., the first traces of which we already find in the Apocalypse ('the *Angel* of the Church'), and a little later in the Epistles of Ignatius."—*Comm. on St. John's Gospel*, Engl. transl., vol. i. p. 60.

We have here another illustration of the importance of fixing the date of the Apocalypse. Bishop Lightfoot is in favour of the earlier date. Taking for granted that "probably not more than two or three years have elapsed from the date of the Pastoral Epistles" (A.D. 66 or 67) and the Book of Revelation; and also that no distinct traces of Episcopal government had appeared in the former, Bishop Lightfoot holds it to be scarcely possible that the Episcopal organization could have been so mature, when the Apocalypse was written as the interpretation (here assumed to be the true one) of the name "Angel" must involve. The interval supposed "seems," he thinks, "quite insufficient to account for so great a change in the administration of the Asiatic Churches" (p. 198, &c.). (For a different conclusion see the argument of Godet, quoted in the Introd., § 4, p. 33.)

"I repeat my conviction," concludes Archbishop Trench, "that in these 'Angels' we are to recognize the Bishops of the several Churches" (*l.c.*, p. 57).

Ch. II.; III.—The Epistles to the Seven Churches.

What the parables of the Gospels are to individual men, these Epistles are to the Church of all time. In this sense they may be regarded—and so the whole Book may be regarded—as prophetic; but yet not as foreshadowing, as many hold, different states of the Church down to the end of all things. Thus, Mede considers that we have here "patterns and types of *the several ages* of the Catholic Church from the beginning thereof unto the end of the world;" a picture, in short, of "a sevenfold temper and constitution of the whole Church *according to the several ages thereof*." —*Disc. lii. on Rev. iii.* 19, p. 296. On the same principle, Vitringa regards Ephesus as representing the Church from Pentecost, to the Decian persecution; Smyrna, from the Decian to that of Diocletian inclusive; Pergamum, from Constantine to Cent. viii.; Thyatira, the Church's mission—during the first half of the Middle Ages—to the end of Cent. xii., and the rise of the Waldenses; Sardis, thence to the Reformation; Philadelphia, the first Century of the Reformation period; and Laodicea as the type of the Reformed communities in the subsequent times: —see note A at the end of chapter ii.

One cannot, however, overlook the historical character which is stamped on the Epistles throughout,—e. g. ch. ii. 6, 10, 13, 15; iii. 4, 9, 17,—and which distinctly points to a state of things actually before St. John's

mind as existing in his own day in the several Churches. The Apostle, of course, employs such facts as the foundation of his inspired teaching; just as he employs the existence of the Seven Churches themselves,—or, throughout the Book, other historical facts (e. g. the Egyptian Plagues, see on ch. viii. 6),—or the details of Jewish worship,—or the different phenomena of nature. That such teaching is *applicable* for reproof or for encouragement throughout all future time, is firmly to be maintained; but that *definite* periods of the Church are here predicted, or that these Epistles refer severally to *successive* aspects of the Divine Kingdom, may well be doubted; and this will appear more fully as the exposition proceeds. This historical character, however, of the Seven Epistles, which are merely the introduction to the Book, is by no means to be ascribed to the rest of the Apocalypse, in the sense maintained by Preterists and Rationalists alike;—see Introd. § 12; and Note A, (*d*) on ch. i. 1.

Ittameier, in his commentary (Nördlingen, 1880), starts from this point,—namely, that these Seven Asiatic Communities are not types of *successive* ecclesiastical *periods*, but of different *conditions* or *states* of the whole Church ("Kirchenzustände"):—the Seven Epistles are not to be regarded as forming a section apart from the rest of the Book, but the rest of the Book, and the entire contents of the Revelation, are addressed to the Seven Churches; and merely expand and develop the warnings and the promises which are attached to each Epistle.

The Seven Epistles are all constructed on the same model, and all rest on the same fundamental thought,—the Coming of the Lord, as announced at ch. i. 7. Each Epistle consists:—(1) of an inscription containing the command to write to such or such a Church, uttered by Christ Himself Who there claims one or more of the titles drawn from the attributes already ascribed to Him (ch. i. 4–20), and preceded by the constant prophetic formula, "These things saith He" (cf. Amos i. 3, 6, 9, 11, 13; ii. 1, 4, 6);—(2) of the special import of the Epistle, introduced by the announcement, "I know" the condition of each; and followed by praise or censure, warning of dangers present or future, together with words of encouragement, or consolation, or threatening (ch. ii. 2–6, 9–10, 13–16, 19–25; iii. 1–4, 8–11, 15–20);—(3) of a conclusion, consisting of two parts, (*a*) an appeal, "He that hath an ear," &c., reminding each at the same time that what is said to one Church, is said to all; and (*b*) a promise "To him that overcometh."

And yet with all this symmetry, the element of diversity is here. Thus, in the case of the last four, the order of (*a*) and (*b*) is inverted, thereby dividing the Seven Epistles into groups of three and four (viz. *three* churches in ch. ii. 1–17, and *four* churches in ch. ii. 18—iii. 22), as in the case of the Vials (see ch. xvi.):—for the Seals and Trumpets, see on ch. vi. 1; viii. 1. (Cf. the Seven parables of Matt. xiii.,—the first four being connected by the words, "Another parable put He forth unto them;" the last three by, "Again the Kingdom of Heaven is like," &c.). The form, too, borrowed from the symbolism of ch. i. 4–20, under which Christ appears as He addresses each Church, is different. The contents also are varied:—thus, for Smyrna and Philadelphia, there is praise; for Sardis and Laodicea, reproof; for Ephesus, Pergamum, and Thyatira, praise and reproof intermingled.

A division more ingenious than accurate, and which does not suit that division into *consecutive* groups of *three* and *four*, or *four* and *three*, which is adopted throughout the Apocalypse, has been given by Godet (*Etudes Bibl.*, p. 294). He, too, divides the Seven Epistles into two groups,—but they are denoted by the odd numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, and by the even 2, 4, 6; the former numbers indicating "the different possible degrees of the dominion of sin over the Christian life in a Church;" and the latter "the different degrees of the victory of the work of God over sin." Thus the tone of reproach is raised progressively from Ephesus, through Pergamum and Sardis, to Laodicea; while Smyrna, *Thyatira*, and Philadelphia are praised. This division is clearly inaccurate as regards Thyatira, the *fourth* Church. There is, indeed, one feature which connects the Churches of the *odd* numbers, viz. that "in these only the formula "Repent" is introduced (ch. ii. 5, 16; iii. 3, 19), followed by a menace in case of obstinate hardening,"—"cette alternance de tableaux lumineux et sombres qui sera l'un des caractères les plus frappants du livre entier." And yet here, too, we can read in the case of Thyatira (ch. ii. 21):—"And I gave her [Jezebel] time *that she should repent;* and she is not willing *to repent* of her fornication."

CHAPTER II.

What is commanded to be written to the angels, that is, the ministers of the churches of 1 *Ephesus,* 8 *Smyrna,* 12 *Pergamos,* 18 *Thyatira: and what is commended, or found wanting in them.*

UNTO the angel of the church of Ephesus write; These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks;

[Ver. 1 τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. Ver. 2 *om.* 2nd σου.—ἐπείρασας τ. λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀπ. [these words, not found in 1, Er. supplied, after the Vulg., *qui se dicunt apostolos esse*]. Ver. 3 ὑπομονὴν ἔχ. κ. ἐβάστ.—*om.* 3rd καί (bef. διά).—καὶ οὐ κεκοπίακες.—*om.* καὶ οὐ κέκμηκας (added by Er. for the rendering of the Vulg., *et non defecisti*, which is, however, the rendering of καὶ οὐ κεκοπίακας. In 1, the verse began with καὶ ἐβάπτισας. Er. afterwards learned from Stunica, and adopted, the correct reading, but did not remove καὶ οὐ κέκμηκας). Ver. 5 *om.* τάχει. Ver. 7 ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. Ver. 8 τῆς ἐν Σμ. ἐκκλ. Ver. 9. *om.* τὰ ἔργα καί.—ἀλλὰ πλούσιος.—ἐκ τῶν λεγ. Ver. 10 μή.—[ℵ, B read καὶ ἕξετε. A., P read καὶ ἔχητε].—Ver. 13 *om.* τὰ ἔργα σου καί.—*om.* ἐν αἷς [Er., by an error of transcription, reads ἐμαῖς].—ὁ πιστός μου. Ver. 14 *om.* ἐν bef. τῷ Βαλάκ. Ver. 15 *om.* τῶν.—ὁμοίως (for ὃ μισῶ. P reads ὁμοίως ὃ μισῶ,—a reading suggested by Bp. Wordsworth before P was collated). Ver. 16 μεταν. οὖν. Ver. 17 *om.* φαγεῖν ἀπό.—οἶδεν [ὃ οὐδ. ἔγνω εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβ., wanting in 1, Er. supplied after the Vulg., *quod nemo scit nisi qui accipit*]. Ver. 19 τ. ἀγάπην, κ.τ. πίστιν, κ.τ. διακον.—*om.* καὶ bef. τὰ ἔσχ. Ver. 20 *om.* ὀλίγα.—ἀφεῖς (for ἐᾷς).—ἡ λέγουσα.—καὶ διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾷ τούς. Ver. 21 ἵνα μεταν., καὶ οὐ θέλει μετανοῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πορν. αὐτῆς. Ver. 22 ἔργων αὐτῆς. Ver. 24 λέγω τοῖς λοιπ. τοῖς.—*om.* καὶ bef. οἵτινες.—τὰ βαθέα.—βάλλω.].

THE EPISTLE TO EPHESUS. (1–7.)

CHAP. II.—1. *Unto the angel*] The Bishop officially represents his particular Church:—see on ch. i. 20, and Introd. § 4, p. 33. A few years later (A.D. 107, or A.D. 116) Ignatius wrote to the Ephesians: "We have received your abundance in the name of God by Onesimus, who is your Bishop in love unutterable."—*Epp. Ign.*, Cureton's *Recension*, p. 13.

of the church in] See *vv. ll.* In ver. 18 the reading is the same. In the case of the other Epistles, we read as in ver. 8.

Ephesus] Ephesus was the chief city of Ionia, on the Caystrus, near the sea, between Smyrna and Miletus; the civil as well as the ecclesiastical centre of 'Asia' (see note B on ch. i. 4), of which, in the time of Strabo (xix. 1, 24), it was the most important seat of commerce. It was styled by Pliny "Asiæ lumen" (*H. N.* v. 29, 31). Under the Byzantine emperors Ephesus became the capital of the entire province of 'Asia,' (Hierocl., p. 658):—see Forbiger, *l. c.*, ii. p. 189. Here St. Paul had laboured (Acts xix.; xx. 31), and ordained Timothy as its Bishop (1 Tim. i. 3; 2 Tim. i. 6); the very Bishop, perhaps, to whom this first of the Seven Epistles was addressed—if we accept the statement that Timothy died as a martyr under Domitian or Nerva, which his youth at the close of St. Paul's career renders not impossible (1 Tim. iv. 12; cf. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 4; Theodoret. *Comm. in Epp. ad Tim.*; Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 11). By others the martyrdom of Timothy is placed under Nero (cf. Photius, *Cod.* 254). Dorotheus of Tyre (see on ver. 6), *circ.* A.D. 300, states that Gaius (1 Cor. i. 14; Rom. xvi. 23) was Bishop of Ephesus after Timothy the disciple of the Apostle Paul,—*l. c.* p. 126. Ephesus was the chief seat of St. John's later ministry (Euseb. v. 20, 24; see Introduction, § 4); and from it, as centre, he exercised jurisdiction over the surrounding churches (3 John 9, 10). The chief church at Ephesus (once the seat of the celebrated temple of Diana, Acts xix. 27) was dedicated to the Apostle (see Procop. *Æd.* v. 1; Anna Comn., p. 319). This once famous city is now a mass of ruins; its "Candlestick" is indeed removed (ver. 5). The sea, it is true, has not "as has been supposed, receded far, if at all, from the ancient seaboard;" but Ephesus and the Turkish town at Ayasalouk have alike fallen into decay. "The cause of the decay is to be found in the malaria from the marshes near the river Cayster,"—Wood's *Ephesus*, pp. 4, 14.

write; These things saith he] On this opening, common to all the Epistles (see above), cf. Isai. viii. 11; Ezek. ii. 4, &c. Christ is the speaker throughout. The symbols of ch. i. 13, 16, explained in ch. i. 20, are now combined.

that holdeth the seven stars] The verb—cf. *vv.* 13, 25; ch. iii. 11—is more forcible than in ch. i. 16, and recalls the promise in John x. 28, while it is suggestive of the warnings of ver. 5 and ch. iii. 16. Even Sardis and Laodicea are still "*in his right hand*,"—are not yet cast away.

2 I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars:

3 And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted.

4 Nevertheless I have *somewhat* against thee, because thou hast left thy first love.

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he that *walketh*] An addition to ch. i. 13: He now appears exercising His Divine action among the Churches,—in order, perhaps, that the lamps may burn pure and bright. The thought refers literally to Lev. xxiv. 2-4, and symbolically to Lev. xxvi. 12.

in the midst of] As in ch. i. 13:—Christ "*in the midst of*" all, renders the individual Churches one body,—namely, the Church Universal, of which He is the centre. See on ch. i. 20, together with the argument of Kothe in note F on that verse.

2. *I know thy works,*] Cf. the first prayer of the disciples, Acts i. 24:—"*works*" generally, good or evil: see also *vv.* 9, 13, 19; ch. iii. 1, 8, 15.

In the *personal* address here, and in each Epistle, the rule is observed: "Unam facit Angeli Ecclesiæque personam,"—see on ch. i. 20.

and thy **toil and patience,**] (See *vv. ll.*). The active and passive sides of the Christian life combined (Words., Alf.),—qualities so needful in the idolatrous city of Diana: cf. ch. i. 9; xiv. 13.

and **that** *thou canst not bear*] See on ver. 3.

evil men,] The word used here, κακός, refers rather to the *essence* and *character*, while πονηρός refers to the *acts* or *manifestation*: πονηρός is the *concrete* appearance of what is κακός,—(Cremer, *Wörterb. d. N. Test.*, s. 465; Trench, *N. T. Synon.* p. 298); for both words cf. ch. xvi. 2; 1 Cor. v. 8.

and **did st try**] 'Make experiment of,' as in ver. 10;—see 2 Cor. xiii. 5. The different verb in 1 John iv. 1, means *to prove*, to *acquire a definite knowledge of*. Christ proposes the test, Matt. vii. 16.

them which **call themselves** *apostles, and* **they are not,**] (See *vv. ll.*). These persons (see Acts xx. 28–30; 2 Cor. xi. 12–15) were most probably the Nicolaitans spoken of in ver. 6, and more particularly described in *vv.* 14, 15; cf. the language of ver. 20. Professor Plumptre (see below on ver. 4) makes "the false teachers" to be Hymenæus, Alexander, and Philetus (1 Tim. i. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 17). This title "*apostles*," argues Reuss, is a proof that the Book was not written at the end of the century, as the Fathers held; for then, no one would have dared to usurp the name.

and **didst find them false;**] The adjective is found only here, in ch. xxi. 8, and in Acts vi. 13. The false teachers, notes St. Hippolytus (Arabic text; see Note A on ch. xii. 3), were Jewish-Christians sent from Jerusalem, with whom St. Paul also had to contend.

The theory first started by Schwegler has now become a commonplace with German critics,—e. g. Volkmar (*Zur Offenb.*, Einleit. s. 25 ff.), and Keim (*Jesu von Nazara*, i. s. 160), and the same result is repeated by Renan (*L'Antechrist*, pp. 363–476; *Saint Paul*, pp. 303, 367)—viz. that the Apostle Paul and his teaching, as being that of "Gentile Christianity," is here, and throughout the Apocalypse, assailed by St. John, the teacher of "Jewish Christianity." [Volkmar writes: "Direct verworfen wird Paulus erstens in den Briefen an die 7 Gemeinden, cap. i.–iii.,"—s. 28]. Neander justly censures this theory as being utterly destitute of proof;—see his *Gesch. der Pflanz.*, Bohn's transl., vol. ii. p. 161; and, below, note A. on ch. iii. 19. The notion, indeed, that the author of the Apocalypse, writing to *the church of Ephesus*, could apply the language of this verse to St. Paul, the founder of that church, carries with it its own refutation.

3. **and thou hast patience and didst bear for my name's sake, and hast not grown weary.**] The text which the A.V. represents is very corrupt,—see *vv. ll.* This may be due to the perplexity of the scribes at the affinity of the verb, here rendered "to grow weary" (κοπιάω), with the noun rendered "**toil**" (κόπος), in ver. 2; cf. John iv. 6. As the verb "to bear" (βαστάζω), in its figurative sense (cf. John xvi. 12), is repeated in this verse the meaning is "There are things which thou *canst not* bear [as in ver. 2], and things which thou *canst* bear [as here]" (Trench, p. 76). "Thou toilest, but dost not feel the toil" (Words.). For the use of the verb in its literal sense "to carry," see ch. xvii. 7; and cf. Luke x. 4; John xii. 6.

4. **But I have [this] against thee,**] Cf. the similar form, Matt. v. 23.

that thou didst leave *thy first love.*] Here (see also ver. 20) the A. V. inserts "*somewhat*," and thus mitigates the censure; this, however, the Greek does not authorize, as it does in ver. 14. The words "*thy first love*"

5 Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.

6 But this thou hast, that thou

plainly convey the same meaning as "*the first works*" in ver. 5. This fact sets aside the interpretation of Hengst., Ebrard, Bisping, which would apply the words "*thy first love*" not to the love of Christ, but to the exercise of brotherly love. St. Paul, it is said, noted the same failing at Ephesus (Eph. iv. 2; v. 2); and the falling away which is censured here, may have arisen from the zeal of different members of that church against the teachers of error, out of which grew mutual coldness and mistrust. This restriction, however, is not authorized by the context.

The Church is here, for the first time in this Book, addressed as a Bride,—see Jer. ii. 2; cf. ch. xix. 7. In ver. 19, Thyatira is commended for that in which Ephesus is here pronounced wanting. Neither in St. Paul's Epistle to this Church, nor in his parting charge, Acts xx. 17, &c., is there any sign that its love for Christ had, as yet, grown cold, —although he warns them of dangers which were to "enter in" after his "departing," Acts xx. 29, 30. A generation at least must have passed away, and the thirty years from Nero to Domitian must have elapsed, ere the change here noted could come to pass. We may observe the analogous change in the condition of Israel, in the generation after Joshua:—see Josh. xxiv. 31; Judges ii. 10, 11 (Trench, p. 78). Hence the bearing of this verse on the date of the Apocalypse:—see also Godet, as quoted Introd. § 4 b.

Professor Plumptre, who places (*l. c.* p. 3) the date "shortly after the death of Nero (say *circ.* A.D. 68 or 69)," disputes (*l. c.*, p. 68) this reasoning. The Church of Ephesus, he thinks, had its shortcomings in St. Paul's time; "the false apostles" (2 Cor. xi. 13), "who followed him with ceaseless hostility in Galatia, Corinth, Philippi, and Colossæ, were *hardly likely* to leave Ephesus untouched" (*l. c.*, p. 64) This, however, is mere conjecture.

5. *do the first works;*] 'As in the time of thy first love' (ver. 4).

or else **I come** *unto* **thee,**] On the omission of the word "*quickly*," see *vv. ll.*; and cf. ver. 16; ch. iii. 11.

and **I will move** *thy candlestick out of his place,*] Cf. ch. vi. 14. Perhaps, the metaphor was suggested by the removal from the Temple of the Seven-branched Candlestick, which graced the triumph of the Roman conqueror, and is still visible as represented on the Arch of Titus at Rome. The same transfer of a church's privileges is expressed under other images, e. g. Matt. xxi. 41; Rom. xi. 17;—Christianity herein differing from Judaism, in that this transfer can take place only in the case of a particular Candlestick, (as, for instance, in the case of Ephesus itself, or of the church of North Africa—once the church of Augustine), and not of the Church Catholic: see Matt. xvi. 18; xxviii. 20.

6. *But this thou hast,*] The Lord, in His Divine compassion, again (see ver. 2) brings forward some good thing which he had found in Ephesus.

that thou hatest **the works**] Cf. 2 John 10: "True Christian charity 'amat errantes, odit errores.'" (Words.).

of the Nicolaitans,] As noted in the remarks introductory to this chapter, the Seven Epistles present a distinctly historical character;—see, e. g. ver. 13. As with the names found elsewhere in this Book,—Egypt, Babylon, Sodom,—so here also Balaam, Balak, Jezebel, are historical names, although they may be applied mystically. In reply, then, to the question, Who were the Nicolaitans? analogy itself suggests the answer:—'An actual sect here denounced by St. John.' Nor is historical proof wanting. Tertullian, Irenæus, Hippolytus, followed by Jerome, Augustine, and others, expressly state that a licentious sect of antinomian Gnostics did exist, whose founder was the Deacon Nicolas, Acts vi. 5:—see St. John's own allusion to the Gnostics in ver. 24. Clemens Al. merely says that this sect misapplied the words of Nicolas—"One must misuse the flesh" (*Strom.* ii. p. 162); and Dorotheus of Tyre states that Nicolas, "one of the Seven," became bishop of Samaria, and apostatized from the faith along with Simon Magus (see the illustrations of the Paschal Chronicle, *ap. Corp. Scriptt. Hist. Byzant.*, vol. xv. p. 122, ed. Niebuhr). Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 29) expressly tells us that the Nicolaitans were a sect who claimed the Deacon Nicolas as their founder; that they were censured by St. John in the Revelation; and that the sect disappeared in a very short time. Ewald too (*Gesch. des V. Isr.*, vii. s. 175) admits the possible existence of this Gnostic sect, even before the destruction of Jerusalem. This accordingly, would be the earliest instance under Christianity of a sect named after its founder. Ewald (*l. c.*, s. 172) also quotes a further statement of St. Hippolytus, that Nicolas was the forerunner of Hymenæus

hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which I also hate.

7 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

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and Philetus (2 Tim. ii. 17),—*ap.* T. Lagarde, *Analecta Syr.* p. 87, &c. As stated above, the historical existence of this sect is not opposed to the mystical interpretation of which the key is given in ver. 14, where "*the teaching of Balaam*" points to "*the teaching of the Nicolaitans*" (ver. 15). The name Balaam, moreover,—which, in Hebrew, denotes "he who vanquishes, or destroys the people,"—would thus be the equivalent of Nicolas, as a Greek compound, after St. John's manner:—e. g. Apollyon = Abaddon, see on ch. ix. 11. Balaam, who resisted Moses, is the well-known Old Testament type of Antichrist. Thus the Targum of Jonathan, on Isai. xi. 4, explains that "Messiah will slay *Armillus*, the wicked one;" where Armillus (= *Eremolaos*) the final Antichrist = *Nicolas*, or *Balaam* (note B at the end of this chapter). St. John himself (1 John ii. 18) tells us: "Even now have there arisen many antichrists." As a matter of fact, the tempters of the Church in the Apostolic age were those who, like Balaam (Numb. xxxi. 16), introduced the freedom of the flesh,—Acts xv. 20; 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude 11; and thus, irrespectively of the etymology of the names, the licentious Nicolaitans may well be spoken of under the type of Balaam, ver. 14. Züllig, *in loc.*, denies the existence of a *sect* of Nicolaitans; but he regards the identification of the persons here censured with the followers of Balaam, as certain,—"Nikolaiten = Bileamiten." Archbishop Trench (p. 87), points out that in this verse we have not a mere repetition of the praise bestowed in ver. 2, which would identify the "**evil men**" of that verse with the Nicolaitans here,—but mention of a further merit which the Lord acknowledges in His Church at Ephesus.

Renan (see on ver. 2) calmly notes on the Nicolaitans:—"Les partisans de saint Paul" (*l. c.*, p. 363).

7. *He that hath an ear,*] Cf. ch. xiii. 9:—the wonted invitation, not found in St. John's Gospel, to solemn attention; cf. Matt. xi. 15; Mark iv. 9; Luke viii. 8; &c.

what the Spirit saith] Archbishop Trench notes (p. 168): "It is the Lord himself who speaks throughout . . . That the Master is speaking and not the servant is remarkably attested in the fact of the numerous points of contact between these Seven Epistles and the words of Christ as recorded in the Gospels, in the three synoptic Gospels above all:"—see on ch. iii. 3, 5. The Revelation thus proceeding from Christ (ch. i. 1), the Spirit Who inspired St. John (ch. i. 4) guides the words in which it is conveyed:—cf. ch. i. 10.

unto the churches.] The plural, although but one church is addressed, indicates the universal character of the Seven Epistles in each of which this formula occurs,—see on ch. i. 11. Here also Christ declares: "What I say unto you I say unto all," Mark xiii. 37; cf. ver. 23. What follows is put absolutely. This appears from the last four Epistles, in each of which the 'promise' comes before this formula: hence a full stop is required at the word "Churches," and so in *vv.* 11, 17.

To him that overcometh,] The verb is used absolutely in this formula which is common to all these Epistles; elsewhere it is absolute only in ch. xxi. 7 (cf. ch. xv. 2); and, in the case of Christ Himself, in ch. iii. 21; v. 5; vi. 2. On the other hand, while the strife is proceeding the object of the verb is expressed:—e. g. ch. xi. 7; xii. 11; xiii. 7; xvii. 14; and so in John xvi. 33; 1 John ii. 13, 14; iv. 4; v. 4, 5. This fact sets aside the objection of Lücke (s. 677; see Introd. § 7), that νικᾶν is used differently in the Johannean writings, and in the Apocalypse. This word is characteristic of St. John. It occurs *once* in the Gospel, *six* times in the first epistle, *sixteen* times in the Apocalypse; and elsewhere only in Luke xi. 22; Rom. iii. 4; xii. 21.

to him *will I give*] The pronoun is repeated for emphasis;—see ver. 17, and cf. ch. xx. 8; John xviii. 11. Christ throughout these Epistles (cf. ch. xxi. 6) assumes for Himself, without qualification, the distribution of rewards (Heb. xi. 6) in the kingdom of glory. Elsewhere, St. Paul writes, "the gift *of God* is eternal life" (Rom. vi. 23); here it is the gift of Christ (Trench, p. 91).

to eat of the tree of life,] *I.e.* to "*live for ever*," see Gen. ii. 9; iii. 22:—"They that do things that please him shall receive the fruit of the tree of immortality" (Ecclus. xix. 19). At this stage, the promise pauses at the pledge of immortality,—see on ver. 11. Note too the reference here, in "*the tree of life*," to the New Jerusalem, ch. xxii. 2.

which is in **the Paradise** *of God.*] See *vv. ll.*; for the reading "**my God**" (B, *Vulg.*), cf. ch. iii. 2, 12; John xx. 17. "After the completed victory of Christ, the true and perfect Paradise can only be above" (Stier,

8 And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna write; These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive;

9 I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, but thou art rich, and *I know* the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but *are* the synagogue of Satan.

on Luke xxiii. 43);—"The tree which disappeared with the disappearance of the earthly Paradise reappears with the appearance of the heavenly" (Trench, p. 91). The LXX. render by "Paradise" the word "garden" where the "garden of Eden" is meant (e.g. Gen. ii. 8; iii. 1; Ezek. xxviii. 13); and sometimes the word "garden" generally (e.g. Isai. i. 30; Jer. xxix. 5):—it is formed from *Pardês*, an Aryan rather than a Shemitic word. It is usually held to be Persian; and the A.V. translates it by "orchard" in Eccl. ii. 5; Cant. iv. 13; and by "forest" in Neh. ii. 8. Elsewhere in the New Testament we find the word "Paradise" only in Luke xxiii. 43, denoting the invisible world in which the souls of the faithful await their full felicity; and in 2 Cor. xii. 4, denoting "the third heaven" where is the presence of God.

Archbishop Trench (p. 95) observes that the various promises in these Epistles "look on to, and perhaps first find their full explanation in, some later portion of the Book:"—Thus, deliverance from "*the second death*" (ver. 11) points to ch. xx. 14; xxi. 8; —"*the new name*" (ver. 17) to ch. xiv. 1;—"*authority over the nations*" (ver. 26) to ch. xx. 4;—"*the morning star*" (ver. 28) to ch. xxii. 16;—"*the white garments*" (ch. iii. 5) to ch. iv. 4; vii. 9, 13;—the name written *in the Book of Life* (ch. iii. 5) to ch. xiii. 8; xx. 15; xxi. 27;—"*the new Jerusalem*" (ch. iii. 12) to ch. xxi. 2, 10; xxii. 14; —the sitting with Christ in His *throne* (ch. iii. 21) to ch. iv. 4. The final promise (ch. ii. 11) is in contrast to the doom announced in ch. xxi. 8;—above all, "*the Tree of Life*," which we meet here at the opening of the Book, forms the crowning blessing at its close, ch. xxii. 2, 14, 19.

THE EPISTLE TO SMYRNA (8–11)

This is the shortest of the Epistles, as that to Thyatira is the longest.

8. *And unto the angel*] According to Tertullian (*De Præscr.* 32), Polycarp was appointed Bishop of Smyrna by St. John (Irenæus, iii. 3, 4, says "by the Apostles"); and, as Ussher argues on the authority of Irenæus, was the "Angel" referred to here, —see *The Original of Bishops*, Works, Elrington's ed., vol. vii. p. 50. As stated in the Introduction (§ 2), M. Waddington proves that the baptism of Polycarp (which most probably took place when he was some years old) is to be assigned to the year 69 (*Mém. de l'Institut*, t. xxvi. p. 235); and, as the date of the Apocalypse is to be assigned to the year 96 (see Introd. § 4), all chronological difficulty is removed, and *vv.* 9, 10, represent an historical event as well as *vv.* 6, 13, 15. Dorotheus of Tyre (*l. c.*, p. 124) states that Apelles (Rom. xvi. 10) was "Bishop of Smyrna before the holy Polycarp." Among its Bishops the "Apostolical Constitutions" give the name of Aristion,—see Introd., § 5, p. 38, note [1].

of the church in Smyrna] See *vv. ll.*

Smyrna was a populous city of Ionia to the north of Ephesus, at the head of the bay named after it, to the east of the mouth of the Hermes, and on the little stream Meles. Its excellent harbour rendered it one of the most flourishing centres of commerce under the Romans. It boasted to be the birthplace of Homer, to whom a statue was erected in a building styled τὸ Ὁμήρειον; and there was also a Temple of Cybele (Strabo, xii. 3, 27; xiv. 1, 37). It is still the centre of the trade of the Levant. Polycarp was Bishop of Smyrna (see above), and suffered martyrdom there on Feb. 23, A.D. 155, under Antoninus Pius, eighty-six years, as he himself testified, after his baptism.

the first and the last,] A title taken from ch. i. 17, and found again only in ch. xxii. 13.

which was dead, and **lived [again];**] These words are taken from ch. i. 18. Gr. **became dead**:—for the idea conveyed by ἐγένετο, see on ch. i. 9.

9. *I know* **thy tribulation, and thy poverty**] The words, "*works, and,*" read in *vv.* 2, 19; ch. iii. 1, 8, 15, are omitted here and in verse 13:—see *vv. ll.*

but thou art rich,] *i.e.*, before Christ;—cf. ch. iii. 17; Matt. vi. 20; 2 Cor. vi. 10. Hengstenberg sees here a reference to the name "Polycarpus, *rich in fruits*;" he also sees an allusion to James ii. 5–7.

and the blasphemy of them] *I. e.*, "proceeding from them:"—see *vv. ll.*

which say they are Jews, and **they are** *not,*] As in ch. iii. 9,—"are not worthy to be so called" (Rom. ii. 28, 29; cf. John iv. 22; viii. 39). In this Book, by "Jews" are denoted the people of God,—the true Israel: see on ch. xi. 2. The "Epistle of the Church of Smyrna," giving the account

10 Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast *some* of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.

of the martyrdom of Polycarp (c. 12, 13, 17), tells how the Jews joined the heathen in their persecution:—cf. Acts xiii. 50; xiv. 2, 5, 19; xvii. 5; xxvi. 2; 1 Thess. ii. 14, 15. This reference to Jews properly so called (some try to maintain that they were false Christians,) is confirmed by the words which follow:—

but [*are*] **a synagogue** *of Satan.*] Cf. ch. iii. 9; and see ch. xii. 9; John viii. 44; xiii. 27. The term "*synagogue*" is confined to the Jews (see Trench, *Syn. of N. T.*), except in James ii. 2; and thus, it represents here the *Jewish* antagonism to the Church. So, "*the throne of Satan*" (ver. 13) denotes the *heathen* antagonism; "*the depths of Satan*" (ver. 24) denoting the *heretical* antagonism. Renan again notes here: "Les partisans de saint Paul;"—cf. on *vv.* 2, 6. See the proof for the date of the Apocalypse founded on this verse, Introd. § 4.

Smyrna and Philadelphia (ch. iii. 8) alone are not censured:—Smyrna, alone of the Seven Churches, remains to this day.

10. *Fear* **not the** *things which thou* **art about** *to suffer:*] Cf. Acts ix. 16; Matt. x. 16–31. Why this suffering is to be prized will be declared presently.

the devil] Gr. *Diabolos* (cf. ch. xii. 9, 12; xx. 2, 10),—the rendering given in the LXX. (e. g. Job i. 6) of *Satan*, as the "*accuser*" (ch. xii. 10); not *daimonion*, which signifies an evil spirit of inferior order (see ch. ix. 20; xvi. 14, xviii. 2), and which is always used by St. John instead of *daimon:* e. g. John vii. 20; viii. 48, 49, 52; x. 20, 21 (Introd. § 7).

is about to *cast*] That the Devil was the author of their sufferings is implied in the reference in ver. 9 to Satan, who uses Jews and heathen as his instruments (John xiii. 27;—cf. *The Epistle of the Church of Smyrna*, c. 3).

that ye may be tried;] *I.e.*, by God's gracious *trials*, James i. 2, 3; 1 Pet. i. 6, 7 (Trench; Ewald). Others understand the *temptations*, just referred to, of the Devil as the agent (note the use of *ἵνα*), and pointing to ch. iii. 10; Luke xxii. 31 (Düsterd., Alf.).

and ye shall have] Or, according to the reading of some manuscripts, "**and may have**," see *vv. ll.*:—so Düsterd., who refers to the limit which the Lord assigns to His servants' trials; Matt. xxiv. 22.

tribulation ten days.] Or, Gr., **a tribulation of ten days.**] The expositions are various:—(1) Ten literal days (Grotius, Bengel, Herder); or, perhaps, in a wide sense, the days during which the outbreak of the persecution under M. Aurelius lasted, in which Polycarp suffered, Euseb. iv. 15 (Stern, Words.);—(2) a very short period, see Gen. xxiv. 55; Num. xi. 19; 1 Sam. xxv. 38; Dan. i. 12 (Ewald, Trench, and the majority);—(3) a very long period, see Gen. xxxi. 41; Num. xiv. 22; Job xix. 3 (Ribera, Cor. a Lapide), *ten* standing for a multitude, e. g. *ten* talents: Mr. White (*Symbolical Numbers*, p. 115) explains "to the very end:" cf. Deut. xxiii. 3, with Neh. xiii. 1;—(4) on "the Year-day" theory (see Ezek. iv. 6, and Introd. § 11), the *ten years'* persecution, A.D. 81–91, under Domitian (Cluverus *ap.* Calov.); or under Decius and Valerian, A.D. 249–259 (Vitringa); or under Diocletian, A.D. 303–313 (Daubuz, Faber, Birks): see note C at the end of this chapter;—(5), the *ten* persecutions said to have occurred from Nero to Diocletian (Stier, Ebrard). Perhaps (2), with a reference to (1), suits best the numerical symbolism of the Apocalypse; "a day" denoting a comparatively short division of time,—cf. ch. xviii. 8; and see Introd. § 11 (b).

Be thou faithful] Or "**Shew thyself faithful**" (*γίνου πιστός*—see Thuc. v. 6), cf. John xx. 27.

On the force of the singular "thou,"—that is, the "Angel,"—see on verse 2.

unto death.] *I.e.*, not to thy life's end, but, 'even to the endurance of death,' 'to the worst that the enemy can inflict,' see ch. xii. 11; Matt. xxiv. 13;—the death of the body, distinguished from "the second death," ver. 11: cf. Acts xxii. 4. How this fidelity is exhibited we learn from ch. xvii. 14.

the *crown of life.*] The gen. of apposition, —**life as a crown** (De Wette),—the life over which death has no power: compare "thy crown," ch. iii. 11. Only here, and in Jas. i. 12, does this expression "*the crown of life*" occur: but we have the kindred expressions "the crown of righteousness," 2 Tim. iv. 8; "the crown of glory that fadeth not away," 1 Pet. v. 4,—the latter passage clearly expressing the sense, "the garland of victory," a metaphor fully explained by such texts as 1 Cor. ix. 24, 25; 2 Tim. ii. 5. No emblem is more frequent in the Bible; it was common to the Jews and to other nations. With the Greeks the wreath or garland (*στέφανος*) of olive leaves, was the emblem of victory in

the public games; with the Romans the victorious general received a garland or crown of laurel. Among the Jews also a similar usage prevailed:—the garland which was the emblem of joy (Ecclus. vi. 31; xv. 6; 3 Macc. vii. 16), was also the ornament at the solemn reception of a prince and leader (Jud. iii. 7), or in celebration of a victory (Jud. xv. 13); and, in a religious sense, the festive decoration of the temple (1 Macc. iv. 57):—cf. Acts xiv. 13. As with the Greeks and Romans, the Jews also used garlands at feasts (Isai. xxviii. 1, 4; Ezek. xxiii. 42); and at marriages (Cant. iii. 11). The garland or crown is the typical representation of an honourable decoration (Job xix. 9; Isai. lxii. 3; cf. Phil. iv. 1; 1 Thess. ii. 19). Hence the allusions to the Greek games which occur (see above), in a religious sense, in the New Testament as metaphors to describe the Christian *course*,—e. g., in Gal. ii. 2; Phil. iii. 14; here also, and in ch. iii. 11; iv. 4, 10. For the full sense, 'the conqueror's crown,' see ch. vi. 2. Stier sees in the symbolical name of the First Martyr—Stephanos = "a crown"—a prophecy of the "*crown of life*" which awaited him:—*The Words of the Apostles*, Engl. tr. p. 138.

In his *New Test. Synonyms* (p. 76), Archbishop Trench sees here "the emblem, not of royalty, but of highest joy and gladness (Ecclus. vi. 31), of glory and immortality." Commenting, however, on this verse (p. 109), he explains the word "crown" as meaning "the *diadem* of royalty" (so also Züllig, *l. c.*, i. 310),—although a different word (διάδημα, *diadem*) is employed, in this signification, in ch. xii. 3; xiii. 1; xix. 12. The "golden crowns (στέφανοι)" he adds, "of ch. iv. 4, 10, can only be royal crowns (cf. ch. v. 10)." And again "στέφανος is the word which all the Evangelists employ of the crown of thorns, evidently a caricature of royalty, which was planted on the Saviour's brows" (see below). St. Paul, proceeds the Archbishop, freely drawing his imagery from the Greek games, can describe the victor's garland as "a crown:"—his culture was Hellenic as well as Jewish; but not so the Christians of Palestine. To them these Greek games were not only strange, but "the objects of their deepest abhorrence" (Joseph. *Antt.* xv. 8, 1–4). Tertullian's point of view (*Scorp.* 6) would very much have been theirs: "And then (he adds) to me at least, decisive on this point is the fact, that nowhere else in the Apocalypse is there found a single image drawn from the range of heathen antiquity. . . . . The palms in the hands of the redeemed who stand before the throne (ch. vii. 9), may seem an exception to the universality of this rule; but really are far from being so. It is quite true that the palm was for Greek and Roman a token of victory, but this 'palmiferous company' . . . do not stand before the throne as conquerors,—Tertullian's exposition, 'albati et *palmis victoriæ insignes*' (*Scorp.* 12), being at fault,—but as those who keep the true Feast of Tabernacles, the Feast of Rest, of all the weary toil in the wilderness accomplished and ended. As such, and to mark them for what they are, they bear, according to the injunctions of the Old Testament, the branches of palms in their hands (Lev. xxiii. 40),"—*l. c.*, p. 110. (Hengstenberg, on ch. vii. 9 adopts the same interpretation).

Two points, however, are to be noted with respect to this interpretation of the metaphor:—(1) It is not quite evident that the three Evangelists who mention "the crown of thorns" (Matt. xxvii. 29; Mark xv. 17; John xix. 2, 5) understood thereby "a caricature of royalty." Their narratives, when examined, seem to indicate that the minds of the Roman soldiery were occupied by the charge that our Lord incited an insurrection against Cæsar; and that, in order to scoff at His pretensions, the soldiers crowned Him with a mock laurel wreath, like that worn by the Emperors (who did not wear a *kingly* crown), and which is represented on their coins. The "thorns" of which the mock wreath was made, were the numerous and sharp thorns of a plant found in Palestine, the flexible twigs of which replaced the laurel:—see the note on Matt. xxvii. 29. (2) As to the absence from the Apocalypse of images drawn from the range of heathen antiquity, one must recollect the use of the term, ἶρις, to denote a "rainbow,"—of which the only instances in the New Test. are in Rev. iv. 3; x. 1,—and which is, surely, an exception to the universality of the rule: see also the instances which seem to be afforded by ver. 17, and ch. xiii. 16. In place of the mythological Iris the Septuagint has τὸ τόξον to denote "*the bow* in the cloud" (Heb. קֶשֶׁת), Gen. ix. 13, 14, 16; Ezek. i. 28;—τόξον being found in the New Testament only in Rev. vi. 2, and there signifying the implement of war.

"The garland," or "crown of victory," then, seems to be the sense which must be adopted here. The "diadem," not the "crown," was the ancient emblem of royalty; and this distinction it is important to keep in view with reference to the interpretation of Rev. xiii. and Rev. xvii. On this distinction see Note D, at the end of this chapter.

The writer in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Smyrna*, would refer to the custom of presenting a crown to the priest at the end of his year of office; the title "garland-wearer" (στεφανηφόρος), in this sense, occurring in the inscriptions of Smyrna:—see Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Græc.*, vol. ii. p. 752, No. 3190, &c.

Zeller has raised a question on the fact noted above,—viz., that the phrase, "the

11 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death.

12 And to the angel of the church in Pergamos write; These things saith he which hath the sharp sword with two edges;

13 I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, *even* where Satan's seat *is:* and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith,

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crown of life," is found in the New Test. only in this place, and in Jas. i. 12. He considers it to be a difficulty which expositors have not answered, 'where is "the crown of life" spoken of in Jas. i. 12 promised?' His conclusion is that Rev. ii. 10, "and no other, is the passage which floats before the mind" of St. James. Forgetting that the idea of the Christian *course*, and of the *prize* resulting from it (1 Cor. ix. 24), is, as pointed out above, the idea which underlies the whole teaching of the New Testament, Zeller can find no other solution of "the difficulty" caused by the use of this phrase in the Epistle of St. James, than that the author wrote subsequently to the composition of the Apocalypse—which he saw and copied—most probably before the end of the first century. The author of the Apocalypse, Zeller "conjectures," "first formed the idea of 'the crown of life' from 'the crown' of Zechariah (vi. 14, LXX.);—'the crown of life' standing in expressive contrast to 'the truth unto death,' thus presenting a thought similar to that in Matt. x. 39."—*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1863, s. 93. Zeller concludes by adding that in the Epistle ascribed to St. James we have thus gained a valuable testimony to the Apocalypse, and one, too, of the highest antiquity ("wohl durch kein anderes von gleichem Alter zuersetzendes").

11. *unto the churches.*] A full stop is to be placed after "churches;"—see on ver. 7.

shall not be hurt] "**in no wise**":—much more than a mere negative,—see John vi. 37.

of the second death.] A phrase found only in the Apocalypse:—it is defined to be "*the lake of fire*," in ch. xx. 14; xxi. 8; cf. ch. i. 18. Natural death is common to all men—the death of the body (ver. 10); the *second death* is that of body and soul. This expression is not unusual in the later Jewish theology: e.g. "—improbos, qui moriuntur morte secunda et adjudicantur Gehennæ,—*Targ. in Ps.* xlix. 11, *ap.* Wetst.; see also Mede, *Works*, p. 572. "The death in life of the lost, as contrasted with the life in death of the saved" (Trench, p. 111). Note, that St. John, in ver. 10 and elsewhere, abstains from the use of the phrase, "the *first* death," which we might have looked for, in this context, as the antithesis to "the *second* death. See on ch. xx. 5, 6; on which place Victorinus thus comments: "The first resurrection is now,—the resurrection of souls by faith, which does not permit men to pass to *the second death.* Of this resurrection the Apostle (Col. iii. 1) writes: 'If ye then *be risen* with Christ,' &c." (*ap.* Galland., iv. p. 63.)

In verse 7 the promise pauses at *immortality*,—"the life that knows no ending." Here, it rises to deliverance from the doom (*Gehenna*) foreshadowed in Matt. x. 28 ("Vita damnatorum mors est,"—August.); cf. ch. xx. 6. Hengst. notes on ch. xx. 14: "The first death has, as it were, two lands over which its rule extends:—(1) One in time, before the separation of soul and body (Luke xv. 32; 1 John iii. 14), the state of those who allow sin to reign over them in this life. (2) The other death follows after the first; and into it they fall who have not been softened by the judgment of the first death:"—see ch. xxi. 8. This thought of "*the second death*," or exclusion from eternal life, is peculiar to St. John,—see John xi. 25, 26; 1 John v. 16, 17.

THE EPISTLE TO PERGAMUM (12–17).

12. *And* **unto** *the angel*] See on ver. 1.

in Pergamum] On the form of this word see Note C, at the end of ch. i. Pergamum, in Mysia, on the Caicus, the most northerly of the Seven Churches, is styled by Pliny (*H. N.* v. 33) "by far the most illustrious city of Asia." (see Note B, at the end of ch. i.). Under the Byzantine emperors its prosperity declined when Ephesus became the capital of the newly-formed province of 'Asia Minor':—see on ver. 1. It had been the chief seat of the kings of the family of Attalus, under whose dynasty it became a city of temples,—Zeus, Athene, Apollo, Dionysus, Aphrodite, being the objects of worship. Its principal cultus, however, was that of Æsculapius, whose temple, of which the ruins still remain outside the city, was regarded as an "asylum" (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 63). Here Galen the physician was born (*ob.* A.D. 200). Its famous library of 200,000 volumes, founded by Eumenes II. (B.C. 197–159), was given by M. Antonius to Cleopatra (Plut. *Anton.*, 58), and was destroyed, with that at Alexandria, under the Caliph Omar. Parchment (*charta pergamena*) derives its name from Pergamum (Plin. xiii. 11, 21).

even in those days wherein Antipas *was* my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.

14 But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of [a] Balaam, [a] Num. 25. 1.

the sharp **two-edged sword;**] The attribute of Christ in ch. *i.* 16 is repeated, and is the basis of ver. 16 below.

13. I know where thou dwellest,] The reading as in ver. 9:—omit "*thy works, and,*" see *vv. ll.*

[*even*] *where* **the throne of Satan is:**] The notorious idolatry of Pergamum gives this description, repeated at the close of the verse, its historical foundation. The Æsculapius of Pergamum rivalled the fame of Diana at Ephesus, and of Apollo at Delphi. The chief reference, accordingly, is to the worship of Æsculapius whose well-known symbol was a serpent (see ch. xii. 9; xx. 2, and cf. 1 Cor. x. 20); "and who is so represented on the coins of Pergamum, and is called 'Pergameus Deus'—*Martial.* ix. 17" (Words.). For this obvious sense others substitute simply a reference to ver. 10,—where the devil is represented as the author of persecution which, at Pergamum, was always intense (Euseb. iv. 15), and of which this verse supplies an instance. Burger insists on the fact that Pergamum was the seat of a supreme Court of Justice, from which the first sentences of the Roman magistracy against the followers of Christ proceeded; and hence the expression "*the throne of Satan.*" Of course this aspect of Satan's work is included here. The A. V., by rendering, throughout the Apocalypse, the Greek noun θρόνος by "*throne,*" when it refers to our Lord (e. g. ch. iii. 21); but by "*seat,*" when it refers to Satan (as here; ch. xiii. 2; and ch. xvi. 10), or to the faithful (ch. iv. 4; xi. 16),—obliterates the two great ideas which pervade the whole New Testament; viz., "the hellish parody of the heavenly *kingdom*" by Satan; and the share of the faithful in Christ's sovereignty: see Trench, *On the Auth. Vers.*, p. 53.

and thou holdest fast my name,] Cf. ver. 1; ch. iii. 11;—*i. e.*, still, at the present time. This fidelity was proved on a special occasion, as follows:—

and **didst not deny** *my faith,*] Cf. ch. xiv. 12; the "*name,*" as *objective* (John i. 12; Acts ix. 14), is parallel to the "*faith,*" as *subjective.*

even in **the days of Antipas my witness,**] Or "*martyr,*"—cf. Acts xxii. 20. Omit "*wherein,*" see *vv. ll.* Luther, following the error of Erasmus, translates "*in meinen Tagen.*" [A reads ἀντείπας,—and the Copt. renders "*et in diebus* **prodidisti** *testem fidelem.*"]

my faithful one,] The text here is perplexing: in that which is adopted, Antipas is regarded as the gen. of an indeclinable proper name (so De Wette, Bleek, Alf.) with appositional nominatives as in ch. i. 5 (Ewald notes: "für Ἀντίπας, ist Ἀντίπα herzustellen."—s. 133). The alternative reading gives: "**even in the days wherein [was] Antipas, my faithful witness**" (so Words.). Ebrard takes the clause as an 'anacoluthon,' and the sense to be: "**Wherein Antipas . . . who was slain,**"—the latter words having been changed into a relative clause, owing to the addition of "**my faithful witness.**" Düsterd. considers that the Vulgate ("et in diebus [illis] Antipas testis meus fidelis, qui occisus est") represents the true reading:—"**and in [those] days [was] Antipas my faithful witness, who was slain**" ("und in den Tagen [war] A. mein treuer Zeuge welcher, *u. s. w.*"). Bengel, reading αἷς, supplies, "**Even in the days in which A.** *did not deny my faith.*"

who was **killed**] Explanatory of "**witness,**"—see ch. vi. 9; xx. 4. Of Antipas (= Antipater, Joseph., *Antt.* xix. 1–3) nothing historical is known. Andreas (*in loc.*) tells us that "he had read" the account of his martyrdom at Pergamum; perhaps the account of the ancient martyrologies (see *Menol. Gr.* iii. 5) which state, on his day, April 11, that he was the predecessor of the "Angel" or Bishop, and that he suffered under Domitian:—see Stern *in loc.*, who quotes to this effect Simeon Metaphrastes. Döllinger (*The first Age of the Church*, Oxenham's transl., i., p. 168) observes that "there can be no mistake here as to Domitian and his persecution being meant." This persecution is referred to by Dion Cassius (lxvii. 15); and so severe were its cruelties that they were noticed by a heathen writer of the period, Bruttius (see Euseb. *Chron.* ii., *ad Olymp.* 218; cf. *Chron. Pasch.*, vol. i. p. 468, ed. Dindorf). Tertullian also names Antipas as a martyr ("Item ad Pergamenorum [angelum] de Antipa fidelissimo martyre interfecto in habitatione Satanæ."—*Scorpiace*, c. 19).

Aretius, followed by Hengst. and Stier, explains the name symbolically, as 'the opponent of all,' 'Antikosmos;' for Antipas = ἀντὶ πάντων, just as Timothy = 'Honour God.' And thus, with Cocceius, Antipas is a mystic name under which Athanasius (viz., 'Athanasius contra mundum') and others of the orthodox are to be prophetically understood; and Vitringa (p. 98) makes the mystic Pergamum to be Alexandria, the see of Athanasius.

who taught Balac to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.

15 So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I hate.

16 Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.

17 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden

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E. Schmidt notes, "Antipas = Ἀντίπατρα." But all this is to trifle with the sacred text.

That a martyr Antipas suffered at Pergamum, this verse renders certain: "Il n'est pas douteux qu'il n'y ait là-dessous un martyr." —Renan, *l.c.*, p. 183.

where Satan dwelleth.] Burger appeals to this repetition of the reference to Satan, after the mention of the martyrdom of Antipas, in confirmation of his explanation (see above) of the phrase "*The throne of Satan.*" [The Arabic] Hippolytus, observes Ewald (see Note A on ch. xii. 3), understands by these words Jerusalem, "because he could find no other as the faithful martyr who had fallen there except Christ. It follows therefore that the author did not know the reading Antipas" (*l. c.*, s. 6).

14. *But I have a few things*] Few as compared with the things approved in ver. 13,—cf. ver. 4; not (as Luther, Hengst.) "a little matter."

thou hast there **some** *that hold*] Even "*there*" where my name is held fast, see ver. 13.

the doctrine of Balaam,] See on ver. 6. The name Balaam had become typical of any who played the part of a prophet with regard to the heathen, and of a seducer with regard to Israel:—see Num. xxii. 5; xxv. 1–9; xxxi. 16. The history of Balaam is held out as a constant warning in the New Testament:—1 Cor. x. 8; 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude 11.

who taught Balak] See *vv. ll.*;—the dative here (the accus., as in ver. 20, is the regular construction) is a Hebrew idiom, as most writers hold;—cf. Winer, § 32. It is not a *dativus commodi*, meaning "**for Balak**," "in the interests of Balak," as Bengel and Hengst. argue. On the sin of Balaam, see Josephus, *Antt.* iv. 6, 6.

a stumbling block] "Properly *a trap*, or more precisely, that part of the trap on which the bait is laid, and the touching of which causes the trap to close upon its prey; then generally any *loop* or *noose* set in the path."—Trench, *in loc.*, p. 118.

sacrificed unto idols,] Cf. Acts xv. 29; xxi. 25; 1 Cor. viii. 10–13;—a temptation (see Trench, p. 119) "which addressed itself exclusively to the converts from heathenism," in whose former existence sacrifice had bound itself up in almost every act of social life. And thus a searching test was supplied from the first of the Christian's sincerity,—1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

fornication.] A reference to the impure character of the heathen festivals:—cf. the reference to both sins, 1 Cor. x. 7, 8; Num. xxv. 1, 2; and see on ch. xvii. 1. Renan (cf. on *vv.* 2, 6) discovers here a new allusion to the teaching of St. Paul, relying upon an assumed indifference on his part, as shown in 1 Cor. x. 23–27, to heathen usages. This notion is at once set aside by 1 Cor. viii. 9–13; x. 28–31. As Balaam was the forerunner of the "False Prophet" (ch. xvi. 13), so was Jezebel (ver. 20) of the great Harlot (ch. xvii. 1). See on ver. 17.

15. *So hast thou also*] 'As Balak had Balaam for a false teacher, so hast thou also, &c.,—for the sins to which Balaam allured Israel were a type of the sins (ver. 14), to which the doctrines of the Nicolaitans now seduce thee.' Or, 'So hast thou as well as the ancient Church of Israel.' Or, 'as well as the Church of Ephesus,' ver. 6. Or, "So" (οὕτως) is *pleonastic*, 'Thou hast also,'—see ch. iii. 5, 16; ix. 17; John iv. 6; xiii. 25.

some *that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans*] Viz. the sins to which Balaam had tempted,—eating things offered to idols, and fornication. The sin of Pergamum, described in ver. 14, is here identified with "the teaching of the Nicolaitans;"—see on ver. 6, and note B at the end of this chapter. As this sect had its parallel in the days of Balaam, so also (ver. 20) it has a representative in the more recent case of Jezebel,—1 Kings xxi. 25, 26. Professor Plumptre denies the identity of the Balaamites and the Nicolaitans; although he admits that the latter "arrived at the same goal by a different path" (*l. c.*, p. 121):—viz., by an overstrained asceticism and scorning the body.

in like manner.] The true text gives this sense, in place of the Authorized Version, "*which thing I hate,*"—see *vv. ll.*

16. *Repent* **therefore;** *or else* **I come to** *thee quickly,*] The insertion of "**therefore**" (οὖν,—see *vv. ll.*) is important, as indicative of St. John's style:—see Introd. § 7. On the word "quickly," see ch. iii. 11; xxii. 7,

manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth *it*.

12, 20; and cf. ver. 5. As noted on ch. i. 3, language specially referring to the Second Advent, is associated with a judgment about to fall on Pergamum:—see on ch. iii. 3.

and **I will make war** *against them with the sword of my mouth.*] Cf. ver. 12. Many see here a reference to the Angel's sword, Num. xxii. 31; and to the sword by which Balaam was slain,—Num. xxxi. 8; Josh. xiii. 22. It is surely more natural to refer to ch. i. 16, for the source of this metaphor.

17. *unto the churches.*] A full stop is to be placed at "churches"; see on *vv.* 7, 11.

To him that overcometh, **to him**] For the construction, see on ver. 7.

will I give of *the hidden manna,*] (Omit *to eat,*—see *vv. ll.*) Cf. on ch. xi. 19; and also what we read of "the Ark of the Covenant" in Heb. ix. 4. The heavenly food—"Angel's food" (Ps. lxxviii. 25) given to Israel—is here opposed to the idol-offerings of Pergamum: the idol-offering is to be spurned, and the prize is to be "*the hidden manna.*" "In almost all these promises there is a peculiar adaptation of the promise to the self-denial by which it will have been won" (Trench, p. 126). The reference is plainly to Ex. xvi. 32–34 (cf. Deut. viii. 3, LXX.), as well as to John vi. 32–35.

The life eternal, it is true, begins on this side of the grave, where Christ is Himself the true manna (John vi. 51), "the medicine of immortality" (Ignat. *ad Ephes.* 20). This gift begins with "the new birth unto righteousness,"—with "the first resurrection" (see on ch. xx. 5); but there is yet a higher gift which it hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive,—the manna which is *hidden*; and this, like that manna laid up in the holy place, the Lord reserves for those who "*overcome.*" Thus He says, John iv. 32: "*I have meat to eat which ye know not of;*" see also John xi. 25.

and I will *give him a white stone,*] Gr. "**pebble**:"—the word rendered "*stone*" is found only in this verse, and in Acts xxvi. 10. "I gave *my vote.*" On the word "*white,*" see on ch. i. 14.

Here; in *vv.* 26–28; and in ch. iii. 5, two distinct rewards are included in each promise.

The interpretations given to the "*white stone*" are various:—(1) The Jewish notion is alluded to, viz., "Cadebant Israelitis una cum manna lapides pretiosi,"—*Joma* 8 (*ap.* Wetst.);—(2) "the white stone" was of old the mark of good fortune (Pers., *Sat.* ii. 1);—(3) by it the Greeks were wont to give sentence of acquittal: so the earliest explanation, by Andreas; and so Victorinus, Erasm. Vitr. (cf. Ovid, *Met.* xv. 41);—(4) the victor at the games received a *ticket* (*tessera,* ψῆφος), which entitled him to food at the public expense; here to the heavenly feast, ch. iii. 20; xix. 9: so Arethas (*ap.* Cramer, p. 210), Hammond, &c. (cf. Plin. Ep. ad Traj. 119, 120; Ziphilin. *Epit. Dion.* p. 228). To the same effect Ewald (who is followed by Professor Plumptre, *l. c.*, p. 128) refers to the mention of the heathen-feasts in ver. 14; and sees here the contrasted feast, represented by the manna, which is to be the reward of the faithful (cf. Matt. viii. 11; xxii. 10),—the manna being as yet reserved in the heavenly temple (ch. xi. 19; cf. Heb. ix. 4), and no longer on earth. To this heavenly feast the *tessera hospitalis* (Plautus, *Pœnulus,* v. 1, 8), the "*white stone,*" admits each worthy guest;—(5) the last two senses combined, signifying *justification* and *election* (De Wette, Stern, Words., Bisping): Burger, who excludes the *justification* which is promised on earth, restricts the meaning to *acquittal* at the Last Judgment, see Luke xxi. 36;—(6) it was an ancient custom to use *pebbles* on which to engrave various inscriptions; and thus, without any further significance, the use here is simply to receive "*the new name,*" so Bengel, Hengst., Düsterd., Alf.;—(7) Stier, M. Stuart, and Bisping explain this verse by referring to Ex. xxviii. 36, 37,—the "*white stone*" being here substituted for the High Priest's golden frontlet with its inscription:—(8) Archbishop Trench, setting aside every allusion to heathen usages (see on ver. 10), accepts the solution of Züllig (i. s. 405 ff.; and so Ebrard, s. 178), premising that the mention of manna in the same clause points to Jewish history; while the priestly dignity of the victorious Christian (ch. i. 6) also points to the prerogatives of the High Priest. Hence, the "*white stone*" (and ψῆφος in later Greek is used for a *precious stone,* the gem in a seal ring,) is a *diamond*; in fact is the mysterious *Urim* (Num. xxvii. 21), which was concealed in the High Priest's "breastplate of judgment" (see the note on Ex. xxviii. 15; cf. Lev. viii. 8). For this precious gem, the Urim, and to conceal it, the High Priest's "*breastplate*" existed, "quite as much as the Ark existed for the sake of the tables of the law." Except the High Priest no one knew what was graven on it; and what can with greater probability have been graven on it than the Holy Tetragrammaton,—the ineffable name of God

18 And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira write; These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet *are* like fine brass;

(יהוה)? In Ex. xxviii. alone do we read of stones with names engraved on them: among these the *diamond* does not appear, for it is allowed that the word *Jahalom* (LXX. ἴασπις), so rendered in ver. 18, is not the diamond,—"as though this stone had been reserved for a higher honour and dignity still."—*l.c.*, p. 133. To this conclusion, however, there exist two grave objections:—

(*a*) The Hebrew noun (*Shamir*) translated "*diamond*" in Jer. xvii. 1, is translated "*adamant*" in Ezek. iii. 9; Zech. vii. 12;—and this is the name (*adamas*) by which our *diamond* (in low Latin, *petra de adamante*) was known to the ancients. Theophrastus, writes Mr. King (*Nat. Hist. of Precious Stones*, p. 39), "does not include the Adamas in his list of gems, and only once incidentally alludes to it (19) as an incombustible substance. . . . The first indisputable mention of the Adamas as the true diamond . . . is met with in Manilius (iv. 926,—'Sic Adamas *punctum* lapidis pretiosior auro'); and this poet flourished in the latter part of the Augustan age." Pliny mentions it as of the highest value among gems (xxxviii. 15); and clearly refers to the mention of the Adamas in Plato's Timæus (59 B), as being "the germ of gold;"—the connexion of the diamond with gold being an ancient belief, which is confirmed by modern discoveries. The diamond was thus known to be most precious in the age of St. John; and the chief difficulty in conceiving it to be referred to here, or in Exod. xxviii., is the mention of the engraving of a name upon it. The method of even *cutting* the diamond *to a pattern* was not known in Europe before A.D. 1475; Mr. King thinks it possible that the *art of engraving* the diamond was discovered in 1564; but he suspects that Costanzi (*circ.* 1700) was the first who really engraved one (*l.c.*, p. 99).

(*b*) As Professor Plumptre observes, there is no allusion to the Urim and Thummim elsewhere in the New Testament; where also not ψῆφος, but λίθος (e.g. Luke xxi. 5; 1 Cor. iii. 12; Rev. iv. 3; xvii. 4; &c.) is used to denote "*a precious stone*" (p. 126).

Perhaps the old interpretation of the *tessera hospitalis*, see (4) above, admitting to the heavenly feast (ch. iii. 20), is that which best suits the present passage.

and **upon the stone** *a new name written, which no* **one** *knoweth*] Cf. 1 John iii. 2; 1 Cor. xiii. 9. See *vv. ll.*

save *he that receiveth it.*] *I.e.*, receiveth the "*white stone.*" As "*white*," so also "*new*" is one of the key-notes of the Apoc. "A truly Apocalyptic word" notes Bengel:—here, "a *new* name;" ch. iii. 12, "the *new* Jerusalem;" ch. v. 9, "the *new* song;" ch. xxi. 1, "a *new* heaven, and a *new* earth;" ch. xxi. 5, "Behold I make all things *new*." Here it is the "*new name*,"—some hold, of God, or of Christ (see ch. iii. 12, "*My new name*"),—a revelation of glory, only in that higher state to be imparted to the redeemed,—Matt. xi. 27; cf. Rev. xiv. 1 (Trench, p. 134). It seems better, however, to say, in the language of symbolism, that we have here the symbol of a new and transfigured character (Plumptre). And to the same effect, the greater number (Bengel, De Wette, Ebrard, Düsterd., Alf., &c.) understand the recipient's own name,—a "*new name*" revealing his new relation to God (cf. Gen. xvii. 5, 15; xxxii. 28: see Isaiah lxii. 2; lxv. 15; Rev. iii. 12; vii. 3; xiv. 1),—and excluding the reference to Christ. So Olshausen (on Matt. xvi. 18) identifies St. Peter's faith with his personality, "not with the old Simon, but with the new Peter:" cf. the new names, "Cephas," "Boanerges." Burger compares the giving a "*new name*" in baptism.

Those over whom "*the second death*" (ver. 11) has no power, are now strengthened with heavenly food;—they receive the token of their Divine calling, and bearing the "*new name*" are enrolled in the company of heaven.

With this admission to the Divine Society the *first* group of Epistles closes.

The Epistle to Thyatira (18–29).

The *second* group of *four* Epistles begins here. The Epistle to Thyatira is the longest of the Seven Epistles:—see on ver. 8.

18. *Thyatira*] Thyatira, a Macedonian colony (Strabo, xiii. 4, 4, p. 625) called in old times Pelopia and Euhippia (Plin. v. 31), now *Ak Hisar* ("the white castle"), was a town of Lydia, on the river Lycus, to the south-east of Pergamum, and north of Sardis. In Acts xvi. 14 allusion is made to its famous guild of dyers, to which, doubtless, belonged St. Paul's convert Lydia to whom this Church probably owed its origin. "A fane stood outside the walls, dedicated to Sambetha [see note E on ver. 20] the Sibyl who is sometimes called Chaldean, sometimes Jewish, sometimes Persian. . . . In Thyatira was a great amalgamation of races, . . . together with a syncretism of different religions. . . If the Sibyl Sambetha was really a Jewess lending her aid to [a syncretism of different religions], and not discountenanced

19 I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last *to be* more than the first.

20 Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman [b] Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach [b] 1 Kin. 16. 31.

by the authorities of the Judæo-Christian Church," the reference to "Jezebel," *vv.* 20–23, receives a singular illustration if not explanation:—see Dean Blakesley, in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Thyatira*.

See also the note on ch. i. 11.

saith the Son of God,] This title, frequent in St. John, occurs only here in the Revelation. It points to Ps. ii. 7;—as in *vv.* 26, 27 the reference is to Ps. ii. 8, 9. In ch. i. 13, the Lord had appeared as the "*Son of Man*:"—cf. also His title in ch. xix. 13.

who hath his eyes **like a flame** *of fire,*] For Christ's attributes here see ch. i. 14, 15:—cf., too, the allusion at ver. 23 to this verse in the words "*He which searcheth*" &c.—the "*eyes*" searching every secret thought; and at ver. 27, where '*the feet of brass*' trample to fragments everything impure.

and his feet are **like unto burnished brass**;] See note E, on ch. i. 15.

19. *I know thy works, and* **thy love and faith and ministry and patience,**] See *vv. ll.*:—Gr. "and *the* love and *the* faith . . . and *the* patience of thee."

and that thy last works [are] more *than the first.*] (See *vv. ll.*). *I.e.*, **are more excellent than the first,**—cf. Heb. xi. 4. This praise is to be contrasted with the censure of Ephesus, ver. 5: cf. also Matt. xii. 45; 2 Pet. ii. 20. On the constr. cf. ch. xi. 3; and see Winer, § 53, 3.

20. **But I have [this] against thee, that** *thou sufferest*] See *vv. ll.*:—"**that thou leavest alone,**"—"**that thou hinderest not;**" as the verb signifies in John xi. 48; xii. 7.

the *woman Jezebel,*] The authorities for the reading, "**thy wife**" (which Wordsworth and Alford favour), in place of "*the woman*" (see note F at the end of this chapter), are insufficient, although the reading is an ancient one. No historical foundation for such a reference is suggested; and Alford merely observes that "the conscience of the Thyatiran Church could not fail to apply the severe reproof to whatever influence was being exerted in the direction here indicated;" and Words. notes: "Doubtless a female false teacher." Hengst. understands "heresy personified." Ebrard and Bisping consider that false prophecy, fornication, and idolatry, are symbolized by "the woman Jezebel:" in these respects Thyatira sinned more than Pergamum which merely allowed the Nicolaitans, after the manner of Balaam, to seduce some; while Thyatira allowed the Nicolaitans a recognized position as a teaching and persecuting *sect*,—the position which Ahab allowed to Jezebel. This is an interpretation which may fairly be maintained. So also Trench, *l. c.*, p. 139.

Tertullian's comment is: "An heretical woman, privily introduced into the Church, who had undertaken to teach what she had learned from the Nicolaitans."—*De Pudic.* 19.

Renan notes on "Jezebel:" "Some influential woman of Thyatira, a disciple of St. Paul."—*l. c.*, p. 366; see on ver. 2.

An historical foundation, however, for the reference here to a well-known female, a teacher of error, is suggested by Dean Blakesley on the evidence already given:—see on ver. 18. The evidence for this fact as stated above,—that there was at Thyatira a temple of the Chaldæan or Hebrew Sibyl, who was known as Sambetha, and who is here referred to under the name Jezebel,—is very strong, and seems to clear up the meaning of this passage;—see note E at the end of this chapter. The existence of a Sibylline prophetess at Thyatira, in the age of St. John, would thus be in conformity with historical facts; and, this being admitted, Jezebel would be the symbolical name given to this woman. Jezebel's hatred to God's prophets, and devotion to the prophets of Baal, is recorded in 1 Kings xvi. 31–33; xviii. 4, 13, 19. After Balaam (see ver. 14), she is the chief representative, in Old Testament times, of heathenish seductions.

which calleth herself a prophetess;] See *vv. ll.*:—the construction is a case of irregular appositional nominative, as in ver. 13; or, as Winer (§ 59, 11) explains, the words contain a mixture of two constructions:—he renders, "**who, giving herself out for a prophetess, teacheth and seduceth;**" cf. ch. vii. 9. Jezebel was probably herself a prophetess of Baal, 1 Kings xvi. 31–33; xxi. 25. Cf. the case of the damsel "having a spirit of divination" (Πύθωνος), Acts xvi. 16:—see also Acts xxi. 9; 1 Cor. xi. 5.

and she teacheth and seduceth *my servants*] (See *vv. ll.*). The faithful,—see ch. vii. 3; xxii. 3. The public teaching of women is also condemned by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 34.

Haupt on 1 John i. 8 (*l. c.*, p. 44) notes that the verb *to seduce* (πλανᾶν) is found oftener in the Apoc. than elsewhere in the N. T. It never denotes mere error as such;

and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.

21 And I gave her space to repent of her fornication; and she repented not.

22 Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.

23 And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that [c] I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.

24 But unto you I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira, as many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as

[c] Jer. 11. 20. & 17 10.

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but always, as here, fundamental departure from the truth.

fornication,] The sin also of Pergamum, ver. 14. For Jezebel's impurities, see 2 Kings ix. 22, 30; cf. Jer. iv. 30:—cf. "*he that worketh abomination,*" ch. xxi. 27.

things sacrificed unto idols.] This is the sin condemned by St. Paul, 1 Cor. viii. 10; x. 7–11.

21. *and I gave her* **time.**] "Time" is not given to Pergamum, ver. 16. The word here used (χρόνος) "is *time* simply contemplated as such; the succession of moments (Matt. xxv. 19; Heb. iv. 7)."—Trench, *Synon. of New Testament.* See on ch. i. 3; x. 6.

that she should repent; and she is not willing to repent of her fornication.] (See *vv. ll.*). The verb "*to repent*" is used here both absolutely as usual, and with the preposition ἐκ (as in ver. 22; ch. ix. 20, 21; xvi. 11). Besides this use of the prep. ἐκ, ἀπό is used once, Acts viii. 22; and ἐπί once, 2 Cor. xii. 21. On the construction here (with ἵνα) cf. ch. viii. 3; ix. 5; xii. 14; xix. 8; John xvii. 4; 1 John iii. 1, &c.:—(with the infin.) cf. ch. iii. 21; vii. 2; xiii. 7, 14; xvi. 8; xvii. 17; John i. 12; &c.

22. *Behold,* **I cast her**] The verb of itself includes a reference to a bed of sickness,—see Matt. viii. 6, 14: "There where she has sinned shall she also be punished." (Trench, p. 141.)

into a bed,] On the word rendered "*bed*" (κλίνη, Heb. עֶרֶשׂ, or מִשְׁכָּב, or מִטָּה),—see the note on Ps. xli. 3, where the words denote an entire change from sickness to health. Here the contrary is the case;—cf. 2 Kings i. 4.

and them that commit adultery] The verb is changed; that which is used here (μοιχεύω, not πορνεύω) embracing both the sins specified in ver. 20,—it is the term applied to idolatrous and rebellious Israel (Jer. iii. 9; Ezek. xvi. 32; xxiii. 37). We are to note also that the sin is of those who "commit adultery with her," and that the idea of "*adultery*" is applied to the *heathen* Jezebel only indirectly:—see on ch. xvii. 1.

they repent **of her works.**] See *vv. ll.*:—"*they,*" *i.e.,* Christ's "*servants*" (ver. 20), led astray by her seductions; as distinct from "*her children,*" ver. 23. Archbishop Trench, however, understands the chief abettors of her wickedness; "*her children*" being the less forward partakers in her sin.

23. *her children*] Her proper adherents; cf. John viii. 44; and see Isai. lvii. 3. That the history of Jezebel is used typically in this passage, may be confirmed by bearing in mind the slaughter of the sons of Ahab [and Jezebel], as told in 2 Kings x. 7. And thus the sect of the Nicolaitans is described (1) as Jezebel; (2) as those "that commit adultery with her;"—*i.e.,* who allow themselves to be seduced by her; (3) as "her children," who perpetuate her immoral practices (Ebrard):—see on ver. 20.

with death;] A general threat of signal doom. Hengst. refers to the death of the adulteress, Lev. xx. 10; Ezek. xvi. 40: Bengel, Ewald, &c. to pestilence, cf. ch. vi. 8; xviii. 8—"*pestilence*" (דֶּבֶר, Ezek. xxxiii. 27) being generally rendered "*death*" (θάνατος) by the LXX.: see the note on Job xxvii. 15. Others refer to the punishment recorded in 1 Kings xviii. 40; 2 Kings x. 6, 7, 25.

and all the churches] See on ch. i. 11; ii. 7:—the Church Catholic consisting of its different local churches.

unto **each one** *of you according to your works.*] The Lord's own rule of judgment,—Matt. xvi. 27; cf. Matt. vii. 16–20.

24. *But unto you I say,* [**even**] **unto the rest that are** *in Thyatira,*] See *vv. ll.* The particular address to this church is resumed with reference to ver. 20, and to the fact of its freedom from idolatry,—a fact which Jewish history (1 Kings xix. 18) illustrates.

this doctrine,] Viz. that of Jezebel.

they which *have not known the depths of Satan,* **as they say;**] Or **the deep things.** See *vv. ll.*,—omit *and.* The adjective is to be read here, the substantive in 1 Cor. ii. 10;—cf. *vv.* 9, 13. The antinomian Gnostics

they speak; I will put upon you none other burden.

25 But that which ye have *already* hold fast till I come.

26 And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations:

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known even in St. John's day as Nicolaitans (see on ver. 6), are identified, in *vv.* 14, 15, with those who hold "*the doctrine of Balaam.*" The Lord, using their own technical phrase, "*the depths,*" here denounces their so-called *knowledge* (*Gnosis,*—"the knowledge which is falsely so-called," 1 Tim. vi. 20) as "the depths *of Satan*" ["Altum est aiunt," writes Tertullian of them (*Adv. Val.* 1); "profunda Bythi," writes Irenæus (ii. 22, 1)]. St. Hippolytus states that the Ophites (*i. e.*, the *Naasseni*—νάας δὲ ὁ ὄφις καλεῖται) were the first who called themselves Gnostics, "saying that they alone *know the depths*" (τὰ βάθη γινώσκειν).—*Refut. omn. Hær.*, v. 6, p. 132, ed. Dunker. For the Christian this expression presented a fearful contrast to "*the deep things of God,*" of which St. Paul writes 1 Cor. ii. 10. Archbishop Trench (p. 145) agrees with Hengstenberg in thinking that the Gnostics themselves talked of "the depths *of Satan,*" which it was expedient for them to fathom; and so Burger:—see also Baur, *Das Chr. der drei ersten Jahrh.* s. 192. On the other hand, Ebrard, Stern, Bisping, and others, make the subject of the verb "*say,*" to be "*the rest that are in Thyatira*" (see above), who thus express their abhorrence by designating Gnostic doctrine as "*the depths of Satan.*"

However we may explain this, the emphasis lies on the word "*depths.*" There is, first, the "*synagogue of Satan*" in Smyrna (ver. 9); secondly, "*the throne of Satan*" in Pergamum (ver. 13); thirdly, here, the anti-Christian perversion which had arisen from these "*deep things,*" or "*depths,*" as a doctrine and a power.

I cast *upon you none other burden.*] See *vv. ll.* The ellipsis is supplied by Acts xv. 28, 29, where this very word "*burden*" occurs in the same sense of abstinence from idol-meats and fornication. On this use of the word "*burden*" (βάρος), see Matt. xi. 30; where, however, a different noun (φορτίον) is used in the Greek (Trench, p. 146). Stier and Ebrard explain,—'none other than to resist Jezebel's seductions and oppression.' De Wette and Bisping understand the "burden" of suffering implied in their "patience" (ver. 19). Ebrard compares the Old Testament use of the word "burden" (Heb. מַשָּׂא) in prophecies announcing heavy calamities (Nah. i. 1; Hab. i. 1);—a meaning which should not be left out of sight here.

25. **Howbeit**] The word rendered "**howbeit**" (πλήν), does not occur elsewhere in St. John's writings [John viii. 10 cannot be regarded as an exception]; cf. Acts xv. 28; xx. 23.

that which ye **have, hold** *fast*] Cf. ch. iii. 11.

till I come.] Or **until what time I shall come**:—the Lord speaks of His coming with designed *indefiniteness*, see ch. iii. 3. The "Day of the Lord," as always in Scripture, not the day of death, is the close of the Christian conflict (Trench, p. 146).

26. *And he that overcometh,*] Here only is the promise connected by "*And*" with what precedes; ver. 25 being, in fact, repeated in this verse. Note that in this, the first of the second group of Epistles (see the remarks introductory to ch. ii.), the promise (*vv.* 26–29) comes before the proclamation; cf. *vv.* 7, 11, 17. Note also—as indicating how essential to the Christian life are personal purity and holiness—that this *fourth* Epistle repeats the object for which, as stated in the third Epistle (compare ver. 20 with ver. 14), the servant of God must strive.

and he that *keepeth my works*] *I. e.*, commanded by me,—cf. John vi. 28, 29; and contrasted with "*her works,*" ver. 22.

to him will I give] The verb refers to "*he that overcometh.*" Under the head "of some particular kinds of *anacoluthon,*" Winer writes, on this verse: "At the head of a sentence there stands a *nom.* or an *accus.* with which the verb of the sentence does not agree (*casus pendentes*),"—*l. c.*, § 63, 2, *d.* See ch. iii. 12, 21; John vi. 39; vii. 38; 1 John ii. 24, 27.

authority *over the nations:*] Cf. Luke xix. 17. The reign of the saints is a leading thought in the Apocalypse; see ch. i. 6, 9; iii. 21; v. 10; xx. 4; xxii. 5. Christ here shares his royal dignity with the inheritors of immortal life (see *vv.* 7, 11, 17); and how and when this "**authority**" shall be the prerogative of the Church, Scripture again and again unfolds,—Ps. cxlix. 5–9; Dan. vii. 22, 27; Matt. xix. 28; 1 Cor. vi. 2. In ch. xx. 6 this dignity is the privilege of those on whom "*the second death*" (see on ver. 11) "*hath no power.*" The import of the promise here differs from that in ver. 17; although, as noted above, the sins are the same which the Christian is called upon "*to overcome*" in Pergamum and Thyatira (see *vv.* 14, 20).

[d] Ps. 2. 9. 27 [d] And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father.

28 And I will give him the morning star.

29 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

27. *and*] In fulfilment of Ps. ii. 9, which sets forth the prerogative claimed for Christ in this place, in ch. xii. 5, and in ch. xix. 15:—which three quotations are taken from, and therefore sanction, the LXX. version of these words of the Psalmist.

he shall rule them] The Hebrew original admits of the rendering of the LXX. (*tir'hem*, וְתִרְעֵם = ποιμανεῖς αὐτούς); although, read with the vowel points of our Hebrew Bibles, the word denotes "*thou shalt break them*" (*terohem*, תְּרֹעֵם). The Greek verb here signifies literally "to tend as a shepherd;" it denotes the whole office of the *Shepherd*, leading, feeding, guarding his flock,—see ch. vii. 17; and cf. Matt. ii. 6. In Homer, kings are "shepherds of the people."

with a rod of iron,] The shepherd's *staff*; also a royal *sceptre*, Heb. i. 8. The pastoral staff will become "*a rod of iron*" in the case of false teaching. Cf. Mic. vii. 14; and see the notes on Ps. ii. 9.

as the vessels **of the potter are broken** *to shivers*;] Or, **with a rod of iron; as the vessels of the potter are they broken to shivers.**

as I also have received from] Viz. in Ps. ii. 9; see also Luke xxii. 29. We have here the prelude to the promise in ch. iii. 21.

28. *the morning star.*] According to His title in ch. xxii. 16 the Lord here promises His faithful ones that He will give to them Himself, sharing with them His royal dominion (ch. iii. 21). The Star is the symbol of royalty in Matt. ii. 2, and is linked with the sceptre in Num. xxiv. 17. The beauty of the "Morning Star" is the constant theme of poets:—

"Cœlo nitidissimus alto,"
OVID, *Trist.* i. 3, 71;

"Hesperus, that led
The starry host, rode brightest,"
MILTON, *Par. Lost*, iv. 605;—

cf. Isai. xiv. 12. And "thus does he who is fairer than the children of men claim all that is fairest and loveliest in creation, as the faint shadow and image of His perfections" (Trench, p. 151). De Wette understands "the heavenly glory," Dan. xii. 3; Matt. xiii. 43; and Stier, a pledge of the spiritual light which will dawn hereafter,—referring the promise to a future reformation in the Church. Victorinus explains, "He shall have part in the 'first resurrection,'"—ch. xx. 6.

According to Andreas, (1) Thyatira is Lucifer (Isai. xiv.; Luke x.) to be trodden down by the saints;—or (2) 2 Pet. i. 19 is referred to;—or (3) we are to understand Elijah and John the Baptist, who usher in the First and Second Advents of Christ (*l. c.*, p. 17).

It is more in accordance, however, with the context to understand that, in addition to the promises in *vv.* 7, 17, Christ now promises Himself, as the sum of every spiritual blessing (Trench, *ib.*).

The rule of the saints who form the company of heaven (see on ver. 17) commences here.

29. *He that hath an ear*] Note the changed position of these words, indicating the first Epistle of the second group of *four*:—see the remarks introductory to this chapter.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. II.

NOTE A. THE PROPHETICO-HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE SEVEN EPISTLES.

This principle of exposition is very ancient; Andreas, in his commentary on verse 5 (*l. c.*, p. 12), mentions some who had applied that verse to the transfer of the chief jurisdiction from Ephesus (τὸν ἀρχιερατικὸν τῆς Ἐφέσου θρόνον) to Constantinople; and he refers ch. iii. 10 either to the cruel persecution of the Christians by the rulers of Rome, or to the times of Antichrist. Coming down later, the Abbot Joachim (*circ.* A.D. 1200) and the Spiritualist Brethren—as subsequently Mede—expounded the Seven Epistles as prophetic of the *Seven Ages* of the Church, so that all good should there be prophesied of themselves and all evil of Rome (see Trench, *l. c.*, p. 228). Later still Vitringa expounded the Epistles on the same principle; and he writes (pp. 32–36): "Existimo Spiritum S. sub typo et emblemate Septem Ecclesiarum Asiæ nobis.... voluisse depingere septem variantes status Ecclesiæ Christianæ.... usque ad Adventum Domini"; adding—"demonstratur illas *Prophetice* non *Dogmatice* esse exponendas."

Mede ("Works," *Advert.*, ch. x., p. 905)

states his opinion more fully as follows: "If we consider their number being Seven, which is a number of revolution of times, or if we consider the choice of the Holy Ghost in that he taketh neither all, no nor the most famous Churches in the world, as Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, . . . If these things be well considered, may it not seem that these Seven Churches, besides their literal respect, were intended to be as patterns and types of the several *Ages* of the Catholic Church *à principio ad finem*? that so these Seven Churches should prophetically sample unto us a Sevenfold successive temper and condition of the whole visible Church according to the several *Ages* thereof. . . . And if this were granted. . . . then surely the First Church (viz., the Ephesian state) must be the first, and the Last be the last. . . . The mention of false Jews and the synagogue of Satan, &c. (Apoc. ii.) in the Five middle ones, will argue that they belong to the times of the Beast and Babylon. And for the *Sixth* in special we have a good character where to place it, viz., partly about the time the Beast is falling, and partly after his destruction, when the New Jerusalem cometh."

Brightman sees in the first four Churches the following periods typified: A.D. 30–100;—A.D. 100–382;—A.D. 382–1300;—A.D. 1300–1520;—and then in Sardis, the Lutheran;—in Philadelphia, the Reformed;—in Laodicea, the Anglican Church. L. Crocius (*Syntagma Sacr. Theol.*, 1636) sees in Ephesus, the "Ecclesia *Apostolica*;"—in Smyrna, the Church "*Martyrumene*;"—in Pergamum, "*Polemica*" from Constantine to Charles the Great;—in Thyatira, "*Devota*" from Charles the Great to Charles V.;—in Sardis, "*Politica*" from Charles V. to A.D. 1636;—in Philadelphia, "*Fraterna*" beginning in his own lifetime, to which the conversion of Israel is to belong;—in Laodicea, an "Ecclesia *Tepida*" to be looked for hereafter.

According to Sir I. Newton, the Epistle to the Church of Ephesus prefigures the condition of the Church Universal from St. John to the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 302);—the Epistle to Smyrna, thence to that of Licinius (A.D. 303–323);—the Epistle to Pergamum, the Church under Constantine and his sons (A.D. 324–340);—the Epistle to Thyatira, the Church under the divided rule of the sons of Constantine (A.D. 340–350);—the Epistle to Sardis, the Church under the sole rule of Constantius (A.D. 350–361);—the Epistle to Philadelphia, the faithfulness of the Church under Julian (A.D. 361–363);—the Epistle to Laodicea, the lukewarmness of the Church under Valentinian and Valens (A.D. 363–378).—*Works*, vol. v. p. 452, ed. 1785.

Stier (*Words of the Risen Saviour*, Clarke's tr. p. 143) sees in these Epistles the Spirit of Prophecy embracing, in a parallel scheme, the times and history of the Old Test. and of the New, in their entire development:—(1) The primitive world, and primitive Christendom (Noah—Constantine); (2) The preparation of God's people, and of the European peoples (Moses—Charlemagne); (3) Israel in its decline, and the Romish Church as the tolerated transition (Nebuchadnezzar—Hildebrand); (4) The Babylonish period, and the Papal-worldly period (Zerubbabel—Luther); (5) The Persian-Greek period, and the Protestant political age (Alexander—Napoleon); (6) The Greek-Roman period, and the second Reformation; (7) The Advent of Christ, and the Millennial kingdom.

NOTE B. ON VER. 6.—"THE NICOLAITANS."

The sect of the Nicolaitans and its founder are thus referred to by early writers:—

E. g. "Alter hæreticus Nicolaus emersit: hic de Septem Diaconis fuit. Satis est nobis quod istam hæresim Nicolaitarum Apocalypsis damnavit."—Tertull., *De Præscr.* 46; cf. *adv. Marc.* i. 29. "Nicolaitæ magistrum habent unum ex Septem qui primi ad Diaconium ab Apostolis ordinati sunt. . . . Plenissimè per Johannis Apocalypsin manifestantur qui sint."—St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, i. 26; cf. iii. 11. Νικόλαος . . . εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ εἰς διακονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καταστα θείς, ὃς ἀποστὰς . . . ἐδίδασκεν ἀδιαφορίαν βίου . . . οὗ τοὺς μαθητὰς . . . διὰ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννης ἤλεγχε.—St. Hippolytus, *Ref. omn. Hær.*, vii. 36. Clemens Al. (cf. *Strom.* ii. 20; iii. 4) and St. Ignatius (*ap.* Stephanum Gobarum, *Phot. Cod.* 232) merely deny that the founder of the sect was the *Deacon* Nicolas.

To the statement of Eusebius in his Chronicle (Olymp. 221) that Simon son of Cleopas, bishop of Jerusalem, suffered martyrdom, in Trajan's persecution, the Paschal Chronicle adds that he was "accused by the followers of Cerinthus, and by those who were called Nicolaitans" (διαβληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς μοίρας Κηρίνθου, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Νικολαϊτῶν.—ed. Dindorf., i. p. 471).

The word Νικόλαος (*i. e.*, νικῶν τὸν λαόν) is identified with Balaam (see ver. 14) after the following manner:—בלע = *to destroy, to vanquish*, and עם = *people* (Witsius, Hengstenberg);—or simply בלע, with terminal ם, = *devourer, destroyer* (Fuerst, Dietrich). On the other hand, Gesenius thus explains the word Balaam: "comp. ex בל et עם *non-populus*, fort. i. q. *peregrinus*":—"All three derivations are admissible according to the rules of the language," observes Kurtz (*O. T. Covenant*, on Num. xxii.; cf. Keil and Delitzsch, *The Pentateuch, in loc.*). Cocceius (A.D. 1650) seems first to have suggested this identification of Nicolaos and Balaam. Philip of Aquino (*ob.* 1650), a converted Jew, also

identifies Balaam, the Old Test. type of Antichrist, with the Armillus of the Targums,—ארמילום = ἐρημόλαος = Balaam (or Nicolaos, as above defined): so the Targum of Jonathan on Isai. xi. 4; see Gfrörer, *Das Jahrh. des Heils*, ii. s. 406. Armillus is the name by which the final Antichrist who shall seduce the Christians to their ruin, is known among the Jews:—see Eisenmenger, *Entd. Judenthum*, ii. p. 705; and Trench, p. 83, &c. See also Stern, *l. c.*, pp. 141–145; Wieseler, *Apost. Zeitalt.*, s. 263.

NOTE C OF VER. 10—"THE TRIBULATION OF TEN DAYS."

Mr. G. S. Faber (*Sacred Calendar of Prophecy*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 33) thus interprets this prophecy:—St. John "foretells a great persecution of the Church, which he limits to ten days. Now we find not recorded any persecution of which the short period of ten literal days was the precise limit. But we actually find it recorded that the final and pre-eminent persecution, which was carried on by Paganism [under Diocletian] against Christianity, lasted *ten complete years*. Eusebius (*H. E.* viii. 16) contents himself with roundly saying that that persecution entirely ceased in the tenth year, though at the end of the eighth year it had begun to experience some remission. But Lactantius (*De Mort. Persec.* 48) states it, with absolute precision, to have continued from February 23, A.D. 303, to June 13, A.D. 313. Its exact duration, therefore, was: ten years, three months, and nineteen days. Or, in a round number, its duration was ten complete years."

If the latitude of "round numbers" is allowed, the range of interpretation may be considerably extended; especially if the interpreter is to be at liberty to lay down his own theory. Mr. Faber adopts the "Year-day" theory; and considers that each day in the chronological statements of "Daniel and St. John is not a natural day, but a year; and [in opposition to 'Mr. Fleming, and Mr. Marshall, and Bishop Lloyd' (p. 52),—he might have added Mr. Elliott and Mr. Birks] that each number is equivalent to a series, not of *years* of 360 *days* each, but of natural *solar years*" (p. 56). Mr. Birks, who likewise refers to the persecution under Diocletian, observes: "It is notorious that it lasted *just ten years*" (*Elements of Prophecy*, p. 374);—*i.e.*, on Mr. Birks' system of years of 360 days, nine (ordinary) years, ten months, and fifteen days. See Introd. § 11.

NOTE D ON VER. 10—Στέφανος AND Διάδημα.

It is important, with reference to the interpretation of future chapters, to fix the meanings of the words στέφανος and διάδημα, and to mark the distinction between them.

The word διάδημα is found in the New Test. only in Rev. xii. 3; xiii. 1; xix. 12; and always denotes "*the diadem of royalty*." "It is quite true," notes Abp. Trench, as already quoted (*l. c.*, p. 109), "that στέφανος is seldom used in this sense; much oftener διάδημα (see my *Synonyms of the N. T.*, § 23); yet the 'golden crowns' (στέφανοι) of ch. iv. can only be royal crowns (cf. ch. v. 10):"—see, within, the notes on ch iv. 4, 10; v. 10. In his *Synonyms*, however (p. 74), Abp. Trench writes: "I greatly doubt whether anywhere in classical literature στέφανος is used of the kingly or imperial crown. It is the crown of victory in the games, of civic worth, of military valour, of nuptial joy, of festal gladness—woven of oak, of ivy, of parsley, of myrtle, of olive, or imitating in gold these leaves or others—of flowers, as of violets or roses (see Athenæus, xv. 9–33): the 'wreath,' in fact, or the 'garland,' the German 'Kranz,' as distinguished from 'Krone;' but never, any more than 'corona' in Latin, the emblem and sign of royalty. The διάδημα was this βασιλείας γνώρισμα, as Lucian calls it (*Pisc.* 35); being properly a white linen band or fillet, 'tænia' or 'fascia' (Curtius, iii. 3), encircling the brow."

The diadem—the *cidaris* (see Ex. xxviii. 35, 36; Ezek. xxi. 26, LXX.)—was the badge of Persian royalty.[1] In Esther i. 11; ii. 17, διάδημα is used by the LXX. as the equivalent of *kether* (כתר): in both places, it is rendered in the A. V. by "*crown*."[1] Curtius (lib. vi. c. 6; cf. iii. 3) mentions that Alexander the Great borrowed this emblem from the Persians: "Purpureum diadema, distinctum albo, quale Darius habuerat, capiti circumdedit." See Ezekiel Spanheim, *De usu Numism. antiq.*, Diss. v. i.; and cf. Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 29.

[1] In Isai. lxii. 3, "*diadem*," διάδημα, is the rendering of *tzeniph* (צניף) in the A. V. and the LXX; and in both "*crown*" (στέφανος) is the rendering of *'atârah*.

[2] In Esther i. 11 the "*crown* royal," or "ordinary head-dress of a Persian *king* was a stiff cap, probably of felt or cloth, ornamented with a blue and white band or ribbon—which was the '*diadem*' proper" (see note *in loc.*). In Esther viii. 15 "the great *crown* of gold" was "not a crown like the king's (*kether*), but a mere golden band or coronet ['*atârah*]" (note *in loc.*) The '*diadem*' is often mentioned in the Apocrypha:—e. g. 1 Macc. i. 9; vi. 15; viii. 14, &c. Among the Hebrews indeed, as among other peoples, the insignia of royalty included—together with the sceptre, the gorgeous attire, and ornaments—the "*diadem*," *nezer* (נזר, A.V. "*crown*"), 2 Sam. i. 10; 2 Kings xi. 12; Ps. lxxxix. 40; or the "*crown*," *'atârah* (עטרה), 2 Sam. xii. 30; Ezek. xxi. 31 [26]; Zech. vi. 11, 14. Both names are derived from the fundamental sense of "surrounding," "enclosing:"—by the former is also described the

Selden (*Works*, vol. iii., London, 1726) in his treatise on "Titles of Honour," distinguishes the *diadem* from the *crown*. The *diadem*, he writes, "was no other than only a fillet of silk, linen, or some such thing. Nor appears it that any other kind of crown was used for a royal ensign, except only in some kingdoms of Asia, but this kind of fillet, until the beginning of Christianity in the Roman Empire" (§ 8, c. 2, p. 249). "The coins of the old kings of Sicily . . . . have their heads circled with this fillet or diadem . . . . Neither was Alexander's using of a diadem by that name singly, taken to be at all strange to his Macedonians, but the using of just such a one as the Persian kings had, and the wearing it upon his *causia* or Macedonian cap in such fashion as it was like the Persian *cidaris*. So must Justin be understood where he says: 'habitum regum Persarum et diadema insolitum ante regibus Macedonicis, velut in leges eorum quos vicerat transiret, assumit' (*Hist.* xii.)"—*ib.*, p. 254.

Selden having referred to the probable use of the diadem by the early Roman kings, and to coins of the age of Pompey, observes that his "testimonies" shew "that the Romans at that time conceived (as other nations) this diadem or fillet to be the proper ensign of a king, and therefore endured not the use of it while they hated the name of king. Thence is it that he that put a white fillet or diadem upon the laurel of Julius Cæsar's statue was committed to prison (Sueton. *Julius*, 79), as one that thereby derogated from the public liberty in giving him that which was proper to a king [see below]. . . By reason of this suspicion of the diadem . . the Emperors at first abstained from meddling with any diadem. Caligula indeed ventured to put it on; but durst not use it.[1] . . . None afterward for about cclxxx years openly affected it. . . . . The first of them afterward that wore it, and sometimes, perhaps, publicly, was Aurelian (A.D. 270)."—*Ib.* p. 257. And Selden quotes a passage from Eutropius (*Hist.* x.), which was misunderstood by a paraphrast of the Middle Ages, as if all Emperors "before Diocletian had used diadems; when clearly none did otherwise than is before noted. . . . . Soon after Aurelian the diadem grew to be a principal ensign of the Empire" (*Ib.* p. 258). Constantine continually wore the diadem:—so "says Victor or his epitomator . . . . and the author of the Chronicle of Alexandria; Constantine first used a diadem of pearls and rich stones."—*Ibid.*

But further, in order to fill up the history:—Plutarch describes the kingly crown which Antonius offered Cæsar as διάδημα στεφάνῳ δάφνης περιπεπλεγμένον (*Cæs.* 61). "Here the στέφανος ('*crown*') is only the garland or laureate wreath, with which the *diadem* proper was interwoven; indeed, according to Cicero (*Phil.* ii. 34), Cæsar was already 'coronatus' (=ἐστεφανωμένος): this he would have been as Consul, when the offer was made. It is by keeping this distinction in mind that we explain a version in Suetonius (*Cæs.* 79) of the same incident. One places on Cæsar's statue 'coronam lauream candidâ fasciâ præligatam;' . . . . on which the tribunes command to be removed, not the 'corona,' but the 'fascia;' this being the diadem, in which alone the traiterous suggestion that he should proclaim himself king was contained."—Trench, *Synon.*, p. 75.

Spanheim (*l. c.*, Diss. viii.) concludes that the earliest of the Cæsars who assumed the diadem *occasionally* was Caracalla (A.D. 212); and he shows that Sulpitius Severus is in error when he describes Vespasian as "diademate capiti imposito ab exercitu Imperator consalutatus."

Gibbon (ch. xiii.) thus sums up the facts: "The pride, or rather the policy, of Diocle-

priestly head-dress (Ex. xxix. 6; xxxix. 30; Lev. viii. 9); by the latter the garland of the newly-wedded (Cant. iii. 11), or of the reveller (Isai. xxviii. 1), as well as the head-dress of the ruler (Ps. xxi. 4; Esth. viii. 15). It is conjectured that together with the anointing of the king—which, like our crowning, typified the Divine consecration, but is not mentioned at each change of ruler—there was also united the imposition of the crown-diadem, as the token of royal dignity. Of this, however, we do not read before Joash: see the note on 2 Kings xi. 12. According to scriptural usage, *'atârah*, "*crown*," is employed chiefly to denote an ornament of honour (Job xix. 9; xxxi. 6) for the most worthy, the most noble, the best (Prov. xii. 4; xiv. 24; xvii. 6):—thus Zion is so named, Isai. lxii. 3. As to the form of the Hebrew crown we know nothing. It is conjectured that it consisted, like a diadem, of a circlet, over the forehead, with a broader ornament; and that subsequently it assumed a form like modern crowns. See Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon*, art. *Krone*.

[1] Aurel. Victor (*Cæsar* 4) says of Caligula: "His elatus dominum dici, atque insigne regni capiti nectere tentaverat;" and in the "Epitome" the same author asserts that Caius actually wore the diadem. Suetonius, however, merely says that he was very near assuming it, and only desisted on the assurance that he had risen above the highest eminence of kings and sovereigns:—see Merivale, *l. c.*, v. p. 463. The words of Suetonius are: "Hactenus de principe; reliqua ut de monstro narranda sunt. Exclamavit, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς. Nec multum abfuit quin statim diadema sumeret, speciemque principatus in regni formam converteret."—*Calig.* 22. And more definitely still, Eutropius also says of Caligula: "Primus diademate imposito, dominum se appellari jussit."

tian engaged that artful prince to introduce the stately magnificence of the court of Persia. He ventured to assume the diadem, an ornament detested by the Romans as the odious ensign of royalty, and the use of which had been considered as the most desperate act of the madness of Caligula."

To suppose that St. John could have introduced the *diadem* into the symbolism which indicated the Roman Cæsars of his generation, is to contradict the most certain facts of history: see *infra* on ch. xiii. 1, and ch. xvii.; and note C on ch. xiii. 3.

NOTE E ON VER. 20.—THE SIBYL SAMBETHA.

I. The existence of a Hebrew, or rather Hebræo-Gentile Sibyl is to be accounted for by the contact of Alexandrine Judaism with Greek literature. Friedlieb (*Orac. Sibyll.*, 1852, Einl., s. xxxviii.) regards "the old pre-Christian Sibyl of Erythræ in Bœotia (known to Alexander Polyhistor, Varro, Josephus, &c., and quoted by Theophilus, Athenagoras, and Lactantius) as being the same as the Cumæan Sibyl of Virgil's fourth Eclogue,—the Cumæan Sibyl being assigned very different names by Varro. Josephus (*Antt.* i. 43) quotes from the Sibylline Books (Book iii. 98, &c.) an account of the Tower of Babel, copied from Gen. xi. (LXX.)—a passage which had been referred to by the heathen writer Alexander Polyhistor, a contemporary of Sulla. From Judaism this Sibylline literature passed over to Christianity; and Sibylline verses claiming prophetic authority continued to be produced down to Cent. v. These "Oracles" are quoted with more or less respect by Justin M. (*Apol.* i. 20, 44, &c.), Clemens Al. (*Strom.* i. 21; v. 14; &c.), Theophilus Antioch. (*ad Autol.* iii. 2), &c. Celsus (*ap.* Origen., *c. Cels.*, v. 61, t. i. p. 625) scoffs at the Christians as Σιβυλλισταί. Among Western writers Lactantius most frequently refers (e. g. vii. 15) to the Sibylline Books. Eusebius and St. Augustine do not conceal how little value they attached to them. The earliest portion of the existing Sibylline Oracles is part of Book iii.[1] (ver. 97, &c.), which is ascribed to a Jew of Alexandria. It is assigned by Ewald to B.C. 124; by others to B.C. 169:—see Pusey, "*Daniel the Prophet*," p. 362, &c.; "*Oracula Sibyllina*," curante C. Alexandre, Paris, 1869, p. 351; Delaunay, "*Moines et Sibylles*," p. 246; Edinburgh Review, July 1877; *The Sibylline Oracles*,—Two Lectures by R. Gibbings, D.D., Dublin, 1878; &c.

[1] In Book iii., writes Mr. Drummond (*The Jewish Messiah*, p. 13), "we possess by far the larger part of the Verses (amounting, according to Lactantius, *Div. Instt.* i. 6, to about a thousand) of the old Hebrew or Erythræan Sibyl."

Of the extant collection of the "Christian Sibyllines" Alexandre (*l. c.*, *Excursus* v., pp. 312–440) assigns B. i. and B. ii. to Cent. iii. after Christ; *part of* B. iii. (lines 1–96, 295–488) to Cent. ii. and Cent. iv. after Christ;[1] B. iv. to the age of Titus, A.D. 79 ("Vix de ejus ætate ambigi potest . . . sub Tito nempe, vel Domitiano."—p. 326).[2]

The popular notion was that the Sibyls were prophetesses who uttered predictions of evil as to cities and countries. As these "Oracles" copied Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, &c., so they copied the LXX. (see above), and also the Apocalypse:—thus in "The Woe on Egypt" (B. iii. 317), Rev. vi. 8 is closely followed:

Ῥομφαία γάρ τοι διελεύσεται ἀμμέσα σεῖο.
Σκορπισμὸς δέ τε θάνατος καὶ λιμὸς ἐφέξει.

At *vv.* 319, 512 ("Gog and Magog"), we recall Rev. xx. 8; Ezek. xxix. At *vv.* 396–400 ("the Ten Horns"), Rev. xvii. 12; &c.

[1] Mr. Drummond however (*l. c.*, p. 13) regards lines 46–96 as "of Jewish and pre-Christian origin;" and assigns this section, from its clear allusion to the Triumvirs and to Cleopatra, "to the period immediately preceding the battle of Actium, 31 B.C." The intervening lines (97–294, 489–828) of this third Book, Alexandre ascribes to the years between B.C. 170 and B.C. 164. Hilgenfeld (*Jüd. Apok.*, s. 75) places B. iii. between 142 and 137 B.C. Friedlieb ascribes this Book to an Egyptian Jew, B.C. 160;—B. v. he also ascribes to an Egyptian Jew in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 117–138; but Bleek ascribes it to a Christian on account of the reference in it to Nero as Antichrist, and because Hadrian is favourably mentioned: Mr. Drummond, however, questions this conclusion of Bleek, because the opinion that Nero was Antichrist (or Anti-Messias,—Βελίαρ, see B. ii. 167) might have been "held by a Jew; and at the time when the Book was composed Hadrian may not have begun to display his hostility towards the Jews."

There are in all fourteen Books. Of these, Books ix. and x. are still missing; but these, Alexandre conjectures, are included in B. viii. (A.D. 211), where, at line 217, begins the well-known acrostic on the name of our Lord, quoted by St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 23. B. xii. was printed for the first time in 1817 by Cardinal Mai, who has also published the last four collectively in 1828 in his *Scriptt. Vett. Nov. Coll.*, vol. iii. pars. 3, p. 202. B. xii. is assigned by Friedlieb to an Egyptian Jew of Cent. iii.; and the remaining books to Christian writers of Cent. ii., and Cent. iii., or, it may be, later.

[2] "Christianorum Sibyllinorum primus habendus est" (*l. c.*, p. 443). "It seems to have been composed about the year A.D. 80, while the burning of the Temple (v. 125) and the destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii (vv. 130, 131) were still recent."—*Ed. Rev.*, *l. c.*, p. 55.

II. As to the Sibyl Sambetha, Suidas (*art.* Σίβυλλα Χαλδαία) writes: ἡ καὶ πρός τινων Ἑβραία ὀνομαζομένη, ἡ καὶ Περσὶς, ἡ κυρίῳ ὀνόματι καλουμένη Σαμβήθη, ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Νῶε:—Of the *ten* Sibyls, adds Suidas, the Chaldæan called Sambetha was the first. Lactantius (*De falsa Relig.* i. 6) states that M. Varro (*ob.* A. U. C. 727) mentions ten *Sibyls*, of whom he writes, "primam fuisse de Persis;" and we read in Ælian (*Var. Hist.* xii. 35) that some count *four* Sibyls, to which number others add *six*—ὧν εἶναι καὶ τὴν Κυμαίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. Pausanias (*Græc. Descr.; Phocia*, lib. x. 12, Leipz. 1796, t. iii. p. 186) tells us that παρὰ Ἑβραίοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς Παλαιστίνης γυνὴ χρησμολόγος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Σάββη· Βηρώσου δὲ εἶναι πατρὸς . . . φασι Σάββην· οἱ δὲ αὐτὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Σιβύλλαν καλοῦσιν Αἰγυπτίαν. Perizonius (in Ælian., *l. c.*) notes that this Sabbe is the same as Sambethe—the letters M and B being interchangeable; adding: "Ceterum hæc Sambethe etiam Divinis honoribus seu sacellis videtur a quibusdam culta. Certe ad eam referendum quod legimus in illustri inscriptione Thyatirena apud Sponium." In Spohn's travels entitled: "Voyage d'Italie et du Levant, fait aux Années 1675, 1676, A la Haye, 1724"—this Inscription is to be found (vol. i. p. 316); and also in Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Græc.*, § vii. *Thyatir. Inscr.* No. 3509 (vol. ii. p. 839), who states that at Thyatira, in the space surrounding the temple of a Chaldæan deity, Fabius Zosimus had deposited a chest, or cinerary urn (σορόν),—ἐπὶ τόπου καθαροῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῷ Σαμβαθείῳ ἐν τῷ Χαλδαίου περιβόλῳ. And Boeckh notes: "Σαμβάθειον est fanum Sambathæ Sibyllæ Chaldææ." Photius (*ap.* Montfaucon., *Bibl. Coislin.*, p. 347, Quæstio 160) thus reports the ancient tradition that of the ten Sibyls πρώτη ὄνομα Σαμβήθη, Χαλδαίαν δέ φασιν αὐτὴν οἱ παλαιοὶ λόγοι, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον Ἑβραίαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἑνὶ παίδων Νῶε εἰς γυναῖκα ἁρμοσθῆναι. This tradition is copied from the Scholiast on the *Phædrus* of Plato, 244 B. It was said, adds Photius, that she had predicted the fate of the Tower of Babel; and that, before the confusion of tongues, she had uttered her oracles in the Hebrew language.

NOTE F ON VER. 20.—THE READING τὴν γυναῖκά σου.

This reading is certainly ancient; it is supported by the MSS. A., B., together with several[1] cursives, among which is the cursive *g* ("Parham, No. 17"), pronounced by Dr. Scrivener (*Cod. Augiensis*, p. lxxii.) "to yield in value and importance to no copy of the Apocalypse except the three Uncials" (then known to him,—*i.e.*, A, C, B):—see his collation, *l.c.*, p. 533. It is supported by the Syriac Version and by St. Cyprian. Andreas, Arethas, and Primasius also adopt it. St. Cyprian (*Epist.* lii. *ad Anton.*, p. 72) writes: "Alio item loco pœnitentiæ tempus datur, et pœnitentiam non agenti Dominus comminatur: '*Habeo* inquit, *adversus te multa, quod uxorem tuam Jezabel, quæ se dicit propheten*, &c.'" Andreas (*l. c.*, p. 15) quotes the verse, reading τὴν γυναῖκά σου, but thus interprets: ἀλλὰ δικαίως ὑμῖν ἐπιμέμφομαι, ὅτι τὴν τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν αἵρεσιν, τὴν τροπικῶς ὠνομασμένην Ἰεζαβελ, κ. τ. λ. And so Arethas (*ap.* Cramer, p. 212): λέγει δὲ τροπικῶς ταύτην διὰ τοῦ τῆς Ἰεζαβὲλ ὀνόματος τῆς τῷ Ἀχαὰβ συνοικησάσης, κ. τ. λ. Primasius (ed. Migne, t. lxviii. col. 807) also reads "*thy wife*":—"Sed habeo adversus te multa, quod sinis uxorem tuam Jezabel, quæ se dicit prophetam," &c.

For the omission of σου the *Uncials* ℵ, C, P testify; many *cursives*, e. g. 1, 7, 36, 38, 95; together with the Vulgate, Coptic, Arm., and Æthiopic versions. Tertullian also adopts the reading τὴν γυναῖκα:—"Joannes in Apocalypsi . . . . ubi ad angelum Thyatirenorum Spiritus mandat *habere se adversus eum, quod teneret mulierem Jezabel, quod se prophetin*," &c.—*De Pudicit.*, c. 19.

[1] Tischendorf (8th ed.) notes: "Gb, Sz, Ln, Ti, add σου cum AB al[40] syr Andacp Are Cyp[72] Prim."

CHAPTER III.

2 *The angel of the church of Sardis is reproved,* 3 *exhorted to repent, and threatened if he do not repent.* 8 *The angel of the church of Philadelphia* 10 *is approved for his diligence and patience.* 15 *The angel of Laodicea rebuked, for being neither hot nor cold,* 19 *and admonished to be more zealous.* 20 *Christ standeth at the door and knocketh.*

AND unto the angel of the church in Sardis write; These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead.

2 Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready

[Ver. 1 [T.R. omits 1st ἑπτά].—*om.* τό. Ver. 2 ἔμελλον.—*om.* τά [so A, C;—ℵ, B, P read τὰ ἔργα]. —τοῦ θεοῦ μου. Ver. 3 *om.* 1st ἐπί σε [not in 1, but added by Er. after the Vulg.]. Ver. 4 ἀλλὰ ἔχεις.—*om.* 1st καί. Ver. 5 οὕτως.—ὁμολογήσω [the words ἐκ τῆς βίβλ. . . . τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, omitted in 1, were supplied, after his manner, by Er. from the Vulg.]. Ver. 7 ὁ ἀληθινός, ὁ ἅγιος [so ℵ, A;—C, B, P read ὁ ἅγ., ὁ ἀλ.].—κλείσει.—κλείων [so 1; but Er. altered this reading after the "*claudit*" of Vulg., although κλείων was confirmed by Valla].—[A, C, P, 1 read ἀνοίγει. ℵ, B read ἀνοίξει]. Ver. 8 ἦν for καί bef. οὐδείς. Ver. 9 ἤξουσιν.—προσκυνήσουσιν. Ver. 11 *om.* ἰδού [so also 1; the Vulg. has *ecce*]. Ver. 14 τῆς ἐν Λαοδικίᾳ ἐκκλ.—ὁ ἀληθινός [so ℵ, C]. Ver. 15 ἦς [The words of T. R. ὄφελον ψυχρὸς εἶης ἢ ζεστός are not found *in the text* of 1; but in the beginning of the Commentary we read: ὁ θεολόγος φησὶ Γρηγόριος· ὤφελον ψυχρὸς ἦς, ἢ ζεστός. εἶης is due to Erasmus]. Ver. 16 ζεστὸς οὔτε ψυχρός. Ver. 17 οὐδέν. Ver. 18 ἐγχρῖσαι. Ver. 20 [A, P, 1 omit (before εἰσελεύσομαι) the καί, which is read by ℵ, B].]

THE EPISTLE TO SARDIS (1–6).

1. *in Sardis*] Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia and residence of its kings until Crœsus, was situated, to the south of Thyatira, and three days journey to the east of Ephesus, at the northern foot of Mount Tmolus. Pactolus, of the golden sand, a brook which came from Tmolus, ran through the agora of Sardis, and beside the great temple of Cybele. Sardis was remarkable in antiquity for its riches and its luxury; it was nearly destroyed by an earthquake under Tiberius, but was restored by that Emperor (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47). Although of diminished importance, it was still a considerable town (Strabo, xiii. 4, 5); and so continued down to the end of the Byzantine Empire. In Cent. xiii. it was destroyed by Tamerlane. Melito, who wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse (Euseb. iv. 26), was Bishop of Sardis, *circ.* A.D. 170. See Introd. § 2 (a).

that hath the seven Spirits of God,] For the attributes now ascribed to Christ, see on ch. i. 4, 16. This description is new in form rather than in meaning,—see ch. iv. 5; v. 6. Christ, as Son of God, *has* the Spirit of God. By the Spirit, the Lord addresses the Churches (ch. ii. 7, 11, 17, &c.); and to a church, as here, "sunken in spiritual deadness . . . He presents himself as having the fulness of all spiritual gifts" (Trench, p. 154). The phrase is important as bearing upon the "Procession" of the Holy Ghost from the Son;—cf. ch. v. 6. This reference to the Spirit, "the Giver of Life' (τὸ ζωοποιὸν of the Constantinopolitan Creed,—that Divine Life of which all "the Seven-fold Gifts" are but forms,—bears upon the spiritual condition of Sardis: see below, "thou hast a name *that thou livest*" (Plumptre, p. 157).

and the seven stars;] Cf. ch. i. 16, 20; and the note on ch. i. 16. This "is the only approach to a repetition in the titles of the Lord throughout all the Epistles. . . But the repetition is only apparent":—see ch. ii. 1. In the combination here we have "a hint of the relation between Christ, as the giver of the Holy Spirit, and as the author of a Ministry of living men in his Church,"—for "*the Stars are the Angels*" (Trench, *ib.*). Cf. Eph. iv. 7–12; John xx. 22, 23; and see on ch. i. 20. The Lord speaks as about to withdraw that Spirit, and to let that Star fall from His hand.

a name that thou livest, and **thou** *art dead.*] Spiritually dead: see above, and ver. 2; cf. Luke ix. 60. Some writers make the fantastic comment that, in the words "thou *livest*," there may be an allusion to the *name* of the bishop of Sardis, which may have been *Zosimus* or *Vitalis*.

2. *Be* **thou** *watchful,*] **"Become watchful,"** which thou art not now: "Awake and watch,"—see on ch. i. 9; cf. Eph. v. 14.

and **stablish** *the things* **that** *remain,*] The *parts* of the church which remain (Bleek); or the graces not yet extinct (Bengel, Ewald, Alf.). Others, regarding the *neuter* as denoting a fallen condition (cf. 1 Cor. i. 27; Ezek. xxxiv. 4; Zech. xi. 9), understand *persons*,—those members of the Church which yet remain, which are not yet dead though at the point to die;—so De Wette, Ebrard, Bisping; and see Winer, § 27, 5. Archbishop

to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God.

3 Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold
[r] 1 Thess. 5. 2. 2 Pet. 3. 10. fast, and repent. [r] If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

4 Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy.

Trench (*Auth. Vers. of the New Testament*, p. 167) writes: "The Angel . . . is not bidden to strengthen the graces that remain in his own heart, but the few and feeble believers that remain in the Church over which he presides." Burger denies this reference to the "*few names*" or *persons*, who, he observes, are spoken of in ver. 4. He understands the great majority of the members of this church, who are now sunk in spiritual sleep; and he considers that to rouse them up from their slumber is the duty here imposed on their Bishop.

which were *ready to die*:] See *vv. ll.*:—*things*, or *persons*, as before. The past tense is either "the epistolary aorist," as in ch. i. 2; or it is meant that the Lord, Who is the speaker, looks back to His inquiry into the state of this Church (De Wette).

for I have not found thy works perfect before **my God.**] Or **I have found no works of thine fulfilled**, or "**complete**," so as to reach the standard which God requires;—see *vv. ll.* See also John vii. 8; xv. 11; xvi. 24.

In the words "**my God**" (see ch. ii. 7), the judgment of the speaker is bound on to that of God (Alford). In Sardis only which is "*dead*," and in "*lukewarm*" Laodicea (ver. 16) is there no mention of foes within or without. How often has the coldness of a church been the result of its repose?

3. *Remember therefore*] See ch. i. 19 on word *therefore* (οὖν), found twice in this verse.

how thou hast received] On the thought here cf. Col. ii. 6: note also the *perfect* tense. The doctrine had not suffered from heresy. Sardis had kept *what* she had received, but had lost *the how*,—the manner in which she had once received it (Ebrard, Düsterd.). Vitr. De Wette and Hengst. also refer not to the *manner* of receiving but to *what* had been received, "qualem doctrinam ab apostolis acceperis" (Grotius). On the other hand,—the Lord is reminding Sardis of the heartiness, the zeal, the love, *with which* she received the truth at the first (Trench, p. 159). Burger would unite both the *manner*, and the *matter*,—cf. 1 Thess. i. 9; ii. 13.

and **didst hear**;] The tense is changed:—**how thou once didst hear**: the *perfect* implies the possession of the truth; the *aorist* points to the want of works corresponding. Ewald explains, "the *receiving*" the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which remain; and then the "*hearing* doctrine preached," which was a momentary act.

and **keep** [**it**], *and repent.*] The present tense ("*keep*") denotes an abiding habit. Note the use of the verb "*keep*" absolutely; the word is characteristic of St. John, signifying to "*keep*" my word, my commandments, &c.:—cf. ver. 8; John xiv. 15; 1 John ii. 3; and Introd. § 7, III. (*d*), 1. In the aorist ("*repent*") is implied "a quick and decisive act of amendment" (Alf.).

shalt not watch,] This warning, and that in ver. 18, are combined in ch. xvi. 15.

I will **come as a thief**,] See *vv. ll.*; and cf. ch. xvi. 15. He comes not "*quickly*," as to Pergamum (ch. ii. 16); nor after "*a time*," as to Thyatira (ch. ii. 21); but unexpectedly "*as a thief*." The *stealthiness* of the thief, not the *violence* of the robber, is implied in the original. The Lord repeats his own words, twice spoken, Matt. xxiv. 42, 43; Luke xii. 39, 40; words which profoundly impressed the early Church, cf. 1 Thess. v. 2, 4; 2 Pet. iii. 10:—see Trench, p. 160. This is a striking instance of the fact referred to in the notes on ch. i. 3; ii. 16, viz. the association of language specially referring to the Second Advent, with some signal judgment about to overtake the church of Sardis:—cf. ch. ii. 25.

what hour] Düsterd. points out that this is not a Hebrew construction (De Wette, Ebrard), but regular Greek;—cf. John iv. 52 and Winer, § 32, s. 205. From the similarity of the warnings here, and in ch. xvi. 15, Ebrard infers that Sardis (and also Laodicea, see ver. 18) will exist at the time of the sixth Trumpet and sixth Vial;—see on ver. 10.

4. But *thou hast a few* **names in** *Sardis*] See *vv. ll.* Perhaps there is a reference here to "thou hast *a name*," ver. 1; or "*names*" may be used for "*persons*," as in ch. xi. 13; Num. iii. 40; Acts i. 15. Bengel notes that these few had not separated themselves from the church of Sardis, fallen though it was. Cf. Matt. xiii. 30, 47.

which **did not defile** *their garments*:] For the metaphor here, see Jude 23:—their spiritual attire, the robe of baptismal purity, Gal. iii. 27; Eph. iv. 24; not the "*white*

5 He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the ✓ book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels.

✓ Phil. 4. 3. ch. 20. 12.

6 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

7 And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write; These things saith he that is holy, he that is true,

garments" twice referred to in the context, and which are assumed at the Resurrection,—ch. vi. 11; vii. 9.

with me] Cf. John xvii. 24.

in white;] Hereafter. "*In white garments*," "white" is the colour of heaven, see on ch. i. 14:—the ellipsis is filled up in ver. 5.

worthy.] Meet for the robes of heaven, cf. Matt. x. 10, 13, 37:—"There is another very fearful 'They are worthy' in this Book (xvi. 6)" (Trench, p. 164).

5. *He that overcometh,* **shall thus be arrayed**] (See *vv. ll.*). *I.e.,*—as those just mentioned; or, "**thus**" may be *pleonastic,* see on ch. ii. 15. See ch. vii. 13.

in white **garments**;] See on ver. 4:—cf. ch. vii. 14; xix. 8. *White* represents the effulgence of light; and we are reminded of the words "*Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun,*" Matt. xiii. 43; cf. also Ps. civ. 2; Dan. xii. 3.

and **I will in no wise** *blot out His name*] See John vi. 37. The benefit here is *personal.* We thus learn that a name, though written in "*the Book of Life,*" may be blotted out:—the result is told in ch. xx. 15.

out of the book of life,] See ch. xiii. 8; xvii. 8; xx. 12, 15; xxi. 27; and compare Ex. xxxii. 32; Ps. lxix. 28; Isai. iv. 3; Ezek. xiii. 9; Dan. xii. 1; Phil. iv. 3 (in addition to which express mention of "*the Book of Life,*" St. Paul elsewhere refers, without an image, to God's eternal purpose of love toward his saints, Eph. i. 4, 5:—see Trench, *Studies in the Gospels,* p. 234). In ch. xiii. 8 we read of "*the Book of Life of the Lamb;*" and the Lord speaks of those whose "*names are written in heaven,*" Luke x. 20; compare Heb. xii. 23. Some see here an emblem of "the Divine memory,"—cf. the words of St. Augustine quoted on ch. xx. 12. Others (Vitringa, Schöttgen, Züllig) derive the image from the genealogical tables of the priests: see Ezra ii. 62; Neh. vii. 64.

In ch. vii. Dan and Ephraim, both leaders of apostasy, are omitted from the names of the Twelve Tribes. There is not, however, in the entire Scripture any mention of a contrasted 'book of death:'—see on ch. xx. 12; and cf. Isai. xlviii. 19.

and *I will confess his name*] Here are combined the "confessions," of Matt. x. 32 and Luke xii. 8; "*What I say unto you I say unto all.*" The Lord is now setting His seal from heaven upon His words uttered on earth. (Trench, p. 168.)

The promise in this verse to him "*that overcometh*" is threefold, as in ch. ii. 17, 26–29 i—(1) the vesture of the company of heaven (see ch. xix. 14); (2) eternal life secured; (3) the public recognition that he is Christ's. The kingly rule of the saints had been indicated in ch. ii. 27, 28; here their priestly functions are implied in their white raiment:—see Ex. xxviii. 39, 42; Ezek. xliv. 17, 18.

The words—"*out of the book of life,* **and** *I will confess his name*"—omitted in his manuscript, were supplied by Erasmus after the Vulgate: see *vv. ll.*

6. *He that hath an ear,*] See on ch. ii. 29. This Epistle is in a great part woven together of sayings of the Lord preserved in the first three Gospels, rather than in St. John's: *e.g.* the watching and the coming as a thief, see ver. 3 (compare Mark xiii. 37);—"The Book of Life" (cf. Luke x. 20), with the "confessions," see ver. 5;—and also the words common to all these Epistles,—so constantly on our Lord's lips, and yet never found in the fourth Gospel,—"He that hath an ear, let him hear."

THE EPISTLE TO PHILADELPHIA (7–13).

7. *And* **unto** *the angel of the church in Philadelphia*] This city on the eastern frontier of Lydia, to the south-east of Sardis, on the little river Cogamus, at the foot of mount Tmolus to the north-west, was built by Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamum, B.C. 138. No city of Asia Minor suffered so much from earthquakes by which it was nearly destroyed, A.D. 17 (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47; Strabo, xiii. 4). To this event allusions have been found in the words "*thou hast a little power,*" ver. 8; and in the image of a "*pillar,*" ver. 12:—see on ver. 14. Ignatius writing to this church, calls it in the salutation of his epistle, "Philadelphia in Asia," to distinguish it from other cities of the same name. Its modern name is *Allah Schahr,* and under this name it alone is included in the list of modern cities: it still retains a Christian population; it has several churches, and an active trade.

In the "Apost. Constitutions" (vii. 46) we read: "Demetrius was appointed bishop of

he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth;

8 I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.

Philadelphia by me"—doubtless the Apostle John, who is referred to just before as having appointed the bishop of Ephesus; see on ch. ii. 1. This is probably the Demetrius mentioned in 3 John 12.

he that is true, he that is holy,] See *vv. ll.* These are titles which, in their absolute sense, belong to God only, see ch. iv. 8; vi. 10; John xvii. 3, 11;—cf. "Very God, of very God" in the Nicene Creed. The antithesis, according to the well-known distinction between ἀληθινός here (a word which is found in the New Testament in Luke xvi. 11; in 1 Thess. i. 9; three times in the Epistle to the Hebrews; and twenty-three times in St. John's writings, of which *ten* cases occur in this Book), and ἀληθής (not found in the Apocalypse),—is not between the *true* (John iii. 33) and the *false* (Titus i. 2), but between the *perfect* (John i. 9) and the *imperfect* (see on ver. 14). Hence no contrast is intended here between "truth" and "falsehood," as in ver. 9.

The title "*holy*" is emphatically ascribed to Christ in John vi. 69 (according to the true reading, "the Holy One of God"), and finds its explanation in John x. 36. The fundamental idea of ἅγιος—"a word of rarest use in Attic Greek"—is "separation," "consecration and devotion to the service of Deity." Thus the Jews were "*holy*," for God is "*holy*" (Lev. xix. 2). Hence the '*Trisagion*' of ch. iv. 8. For the word ὅσιος, which also denotes "*holy*," see on ch. xv. 4:—cf. Trench, *Syn. of the N. T.*, p. 313.

he that hath the key of David,] The "*key*" is the symbol of authority,—see on ch. i. 18. Christ's authority is exercised over the kingdom of God—to open its doors and invite all to enter—as being supreme Lord, and heir of the throne of David;—see ch. v. 5; xxii. 16, and cf. Luke i. 32. Of His own right the Lord "*hath*" this key; which was only entrusted to, or "*laid upon the shoulder*" of Eliakim (2 Kings xviii. 18), in that passage of Isaiah (xxii. 20–22) which is plainly referred to here. Eliakim had been installed as steward of the king's household; and "*the key*" had been committed to him as the symbol of his office. The historical bearing of this reference falls into the background. The words are chosen because they describe, in terms which the prophecy had made familiar, that aspect of the highest sovereignty which was now most needed (cf. Plumptre, p. 177). David is ever the type of the supreme ruler of the Theocracy—Jer. xxx. 9; Ezek. xxxiv. 23; xxxvii. 24; Hos. iii. 5. The "*house of David*" is, in the Old Test., the typical designation of the "*Kingdom of David*" (Ps. cxxii. 5; Isai. vii. 2); and the true kingdom of David is the Kingdom of Jesus Christ—the Church of God of which the Lord Himself has "*the keys*," and the power of admitting thereto (Matt. xvi. 19; xxviii. 18).

he that openeth,] There is more than one explanation, not altogether satisfactory, here: such as a reference to ch. i. 18;—or to the power of opening out the sense of Scripture, ch. v. 9; Luke xi. 52; xxiv. 32;—or, nearly to the same effect, that of Irenæus (iv. 20, 2) who applies these words to the opening of the Sealed Book, ch. v. 4, 5.

and no man **shall shut,** *and* **that** *shutteth, and no man openeth;*] (See *vv. ll.*). "He has not so committed the keys . . . to any other . . . but that He still retains the highest administration of them in His own hands." Trench, p. 173.

The attributes which the Lord here ascribes to Himself are not taken so fully from ch. i. as in the case of the other addresses. In ch. i. 13, 14, He appears as the Holy One, but is not so named;—in ch. i. 18, He holds the "*keys*," but not in the same sense as in this verse. Hengst., however, takes the sense to be the same: "To whomsoever He opens with the key of David, for him He shuts death and Hell."

8. *I know thy works*] Either put absolutely, conveying comfort, and *without* reference to the words which follow, "**because thou hast**" &c.;—or, as Bengel, De Wette, Ewald, explain, *with* that reference, and defining "*the works*," the intervening clause being parenthetic, viz.—"**I know thy works;** . . . *that thou hast*," as in *vv.* 1, 15: cf. ch. ii. 2.

(*behold, I have set before thee* **a door opened, which no man can shut**),] (*I. e.*, **I have given,** Gr. δέδωκα. See *vv. ll*).

A metaphor often used by St. Paul,—Acts xiv. 27; 1 Cor. xvi. 9; 2 Cor. ii. 12; Col. iv. 3. Christ, Who "*hath the key of David*," has opened the door for the Gentiles of Philadelphia; and, in general, for the missions of the Church,—see ver. 9; cf. Matt. xi. 12; Col. i. 13. Some take the words to mean "entrance into the joy of thy Lord," Matt. xxv. 21; 2 Pet. i. 11; others, "into the hidden meaning of Scripture;" &c.

9 Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.

10 Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.

Ebrard connects "*behold*" here, with "*behold*" which occurs *twice* in ver. 9:—(1) the blessing which the Lord *has given*; (2) the opposition which He *gives*; (3) the victory which He *will give*.

On the redundant pronoun here, frequent in relative sentences, cf. ch. vii. 2, 9; xx. 8: see Winer, § 22, 4, *a*.

that *thou hast*] Or, **because**. Either "*I know thy works . . . that thou hast*," &c., as in ver. 1; or—without the parenthesis—giving the reason of the privilege just stated.

a little **power**,] Thus rendered, the words express *one* of *three* good qualities, here stated, which mark this Church. The majority, however (omitting the indefinite article), understand "**thou hast little power, and yet**," &c.:—'they were poor in number and in wealth compared with the Jews.'

and didst keep *my word*,] See on ver. 3.

and didst not deny *my name*.] The tenses denote a past occasion in which Philadelphia had been faithful: or, "**and yet thou didst**," &c.,—see above.

9. *Behold*, **I give of the** *synagogue of Satan*,] "The partitive genitive" (Winer, § 59, s. 466),—"**certain persons from out of the synagogue**." The present tense "*I give*" is taken up below in the formal future "*I will make*." Düsterd. rejects the senses "*patiar*" (Wolf); "*I give to thee*" (Hengst.). Not false Christians, but Jews are meant; Jews of the class referred to in ch. ii. 9. See Introd. § 4, b.

of them *which say they are Jews*, **and, they are** *not*,] In apposition with "*the synagogue of Satan*:"—see on ch. ii. 9.

but do lie; behold, I will make them] Viz. "*them which say*."

to come and worship before thy feet,] The tenses here are in the future, see *vv. ll.*,—a construction characteristic of St. John, "**that they shall come and worship**;" cf. ch. xiii. 12; John xvii. 2: see Winer, s. 258, and Introd. § 7, iv. (*f*). There is a reference to the fulfilment of Isai. lx. 14 (cf. Zech. viii. 20–23); and to "*the opened door*," ver. 8. What is said in Isai. xlix. 23, is here said of certain of the Jews. In this one instance Israel appears to submit to the Cross. Commentators of a certain school place the restoration of the Jews under the sixth Vial, where we meet again the warnings of this chapter, *vv.* 4, 18; see ch. xvi. 15. Archbishop Trench (p. 177) refers to St. Ignatius (*ad Philadelph.*, 6), whose words imply the actual presence in this Church of Jewish converts, who preached the faith which once they persecuted.

and to know that I have loved thee.] The "I" is emphatic. Note here the form ἠγάπησα, and see on ver. 19 where a different verb occurs expressing greater tenderness and personal affection; cf. John xxi. 16, 17; and Trench, *Syn. of N. T.*, p. 38. Düsterd. illustrates the strictly *aoristic* sense ("**that I loved thee**") by 1 John iv. 10, 11.

10. **didst keep** *the word of my patience*,] To "*my word*" (ver. 8) is added "*of my patience*"; "the whole Gospel, teaching as it does the need of a patient waiting for Christ" (Trench);—or understand "*the word*" enjoining that patience which belongs to me and mine, ch. i. 9 (De Wette); as Mr. Green translates, "My patience-enjoining word;"—or, the special saying of Christ enjoining patience, Matt. x. 22; Luke viii. 15.

from the hour **of trial, that [hour] which is to come on the whole world**,] Or, *the hour of temptation* **which is about to come**. For the language and meaning here, cf. John xvii. 15: see also ch. vii. 3, 14. The reference is to the predicted trial, Matt. xxiv. 21, &c.; and so it is said, ver. 11, "*I come quickly*." Philadelphia, notes Ebrard on ch. xvi. 15, is to exist under the sixth Trumpet; but shall be preserved from the hour of trial which is to come "*on the whole world*" (ch. xvi. 14):—its "*trial*" or "*temptation*" is to be that of the sixth Trumpet and sixth Vial:—see on ver. 3. (*World*, or **inhabited earth**,—οἰκουμένη).

to try them] Or **to tempt them**.

that dwell **on** *the earth*.] Meaning, according to the usage of the Apocalypse (ch. vi. 10; viii. 13; xi. 10; xiii. 8, 14), the mass of mankind as contrasted with believers redeemed from "*every people and tongue*," ch. v. 9 (Düsterd.); the redeemed being "contemplated as already seated in heavenly places with Christ" (Trench). They "*that dwell on the earth*" are opposed to those "*that tabernacle*" in heaven,—cf. ch. xii. 12; xiii. 6. Züllig sees the fulfilment of this promise in ch. vii. 1, &c.

Here only, in the Seven Epistles, is there some degree of consent among commenta-

11 Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.

12 Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, *which is* new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and *I will write upon him* my new name.

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tors that Antichrist is spoken of:—see "*I come quickly*," ver. 11; and cf. Andreas *in loc.* Different writers discover here references to the persecutions under Nero, or Domitian, or Trajan (Düsterd. *in loc.*). Ebrard understands the time of the sixth Trumpet and Vial: see above.

11. *I come quickly*:] (Omit "*Behold*,"—see *vv. ll.*). This key-note of the Apoc.—at times (ch. ii. 16) a word of fear—is here a word of comfort; cf. ch. xxii. 7, 12, 20 (Trench, p. 179):—it is an exhortation, too, the only one that Philadelphia needed. The expression has also reference to "*the hour*" in ver. 10. As to the distinction between *absolute* and *relative* duration, see on ch. i. 1; viii. 1.

hold **fast that** *which thou hast*,] Viz. that strength and faithfulness described in *vv.* 8–10:—Ephesus, too, "*had*" a hatred of the works of the Nicolaitans, ch. ii. 6. This possession each one must "*hold fast*" in order to retain the "*crown*:" ch. ii. 25; Matt. xxiv. 13.

that no man take thy crown.] See on ch. ii. 10. De Wette, followed by Archbishop Trench and others, explains, "*to take away*," "*wegnehmen*," "*auferre*," as in ch. vi. 4. Archbishop Trench regards the words as exactly equivalent to Col. ii. 18. Others, with the Vulgate, "*accipiat*," "*receive*" (cf. Matt. vii. 8; Luke xi. 10; John xvi. 24), *i. e.*, "in thy stead, the place of glory designed for thee;" as David succeeded Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 1),—or Matthias Judas (Acts i. 20, 25),—or the Gentiles the Jews (Rom. xi. 11): cf. ver. 5. On the word "*crown*" see note D. on ch. ii. 10.

12. **He that** *overcometh*, **him will I make**] For the constr. cf. on ch. ii. 26.

a pillar] A promise of *permanence* is conveyed by this expression, not a title of *dignity* as in Gal. ii. 9 (Trench). The "*Candlestick*" (ch. ii. 5) may be removed; the *pillar* remains fixed. Düsterd. (with Bengel, Ewald, Hengst., Ebrard) takes the words as referring to future *glory*,—the community of believers forming the *Temple* of God (see ch. xiii. 6; 1 Pet. ii. 5), and the individual saints appearing as *pillars* (Gal. ii. 9),—an explanation not very different from the preceding. Various other references are given: Eichhorn refers to Isai. xxii. 23;—Stern to Jer. i. 18;—Vitringa, Züllig, &c. to 1 Kings vii. 15, 21; Jer. lii. 20; and they compare the two *pillars* called "Jachin" and "Boaz," names which probably signify 'God will establish in strength, or firmly, the Temple and the religion connected with it' (see the note on 1 Kings vii. 21). Both the names signify *permanence*, notes Words., who adds, that in the ancient temples of Asia to which St. John wrote, and of Greece, *pillars* of temples were often sculptured in *human shape*, such as the Caryatides at Athens, and the Atlantes still visible at Pompeii.

This figure of *permanence* may be used in contrast to the earthquakes frequent at Philadelphia, see on ver. 7. Compare the remarkable words of Gibbon, quoted on ver. 13.

in the temple of my God,] Properly "**Sanctuary**," *Naos*; the 'Temple,' in its more limited and more august sense, as the 'habitation' (*ναίω*, *habito*) of God; into which Zacharias entered to burn incense (Luke i. 9), but into which the Lord, not being of the Levitical Priesthood, never entered during His ministry on earth (Trench, *Synon.*, p. 11):—see on ch. xi. 1, 2; and cf. ch. vii. 15; xxi. 22; John ii. 19–21. Note,—The word *Hieron* (*ἱερόν*, *templum*) which signifies the whole compass of the sacred enclosure, and which is frequently found in the Fourth Gospel, does not occur in the Apocalypse. When the Apocalypse was written, the 'Temple' had been destroyed for more than a quarter of a century. There is no Temple indeed in the heavenly Jerusalem (ch. xxi. 22), but the City is all Temple. The saints are no longer the *stones* merely, as in the imagery of the Church Militant (1 Cor. iii. 16; Eph. ii. 19–22), but the *pillars* themselves;—cf. Alf. *in loc.*

The image of the *pillar* is now dismissed, and "*the Conqueror*" alone remains.

The Visions with which the Apocalypse closes are anticipated here,—the spiritual Temple, the Holy City, the impress of the Divine Name:—see ch. xxi. 10, 22; xxii. 4.

and he shall **go out thence no more**:] *I. e.*, from the heavenly Temple. Cf. the thought expressed in John viii. 35; x. 28, 29; Matt. xxv. 10.

and I will write upon him] Not upon the pillar (Grotius, De Wette), but upon the conqueror shall be written *three* names:—

(1) *the name of my God*,] Düsterd. (after Ewald, &c.) suggests a reference to the High Priest's frontlet (Ex. xxviii. 36–38), illustrating this by the seal on the brow of the faithful,

13 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

14 And unto the angel of the church [1]of the Laodiceans write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God;

[1] Or, *in Laodicea.*

ch. vii. 3; ix. 4; xiv. 1; xxii. 4;—this dignity being common to all who share in the royal priesthood, ch. i. 6;

(2) *and the name of the city of my God,*] Viz. "Jehovah-shammah," "*the Lord is* there," Ezek. xlviii. 35:—cf. ch. xxi. 11, 23. While on earth the citizenship of the saints (Phil. iii. 20) is latent; hereafter, thus sealed, it is their right to enter in by the gates into the City, ch. xxii. 14 (Trench, p. 183). Professor Plumptre (p. 187) prefers the name "Jehovah-Tsidkenu," "The Lord our Righteousness" which was to be the name of the City in its glorified state, no less than of the Anointed King (Jer. xxiii. 6; xxxiii. 16).

the new *Jerusalem,*] Omit *which is.* In ch. xxi. 2, 10, the title "*holy*" is given it, as in Matt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53; (cf. Neh. xi. 1; Isai. xlviii. 2); but this title the earthly city had forfeited for ever. In Gal. iv. 26, we read of "*Jerusalem which is above;*"—in Heb. xii. 22 of "*the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem*" (Trench, p. 184).

St. John uses, in his Gospel, only the Greek and civil form of the name Jerusalem; in the Apocalypse always the Hebrew and more holy appellation, as writing of the Heavenly City which is described in ch. xxi. 2, 10; xxii. 5;—see Introd. § 7, iv. (*a*).

which cometh down out of heaven from my God,] The construction is an instance of "irregular apposition,"—Winer, § lix. 1*h*. In ch. xxi. 2, the City is the glory of "*the new earth;*" and its spiritual character is here represented by its descending from God. Its citizens are to bear its name when finally transferred to heaven.

Archbishop Trench happily quotes on these words the lines of Bernard of Clugny in his *Laus Patriæ Cælestis*:—

> "Me receptet Sion illa,
> Sion, David urbs tranquilla,
> Cujus faber Auctor lucis,
> Cujus portæ lignum Crucis," &c.

(3) **and mine own** *new name.*] Omit the words in italics, *I will write upon him.* The uncommunicated Name, ch. xix. 12 (cf. ch. ii. 17),—not that in ch. xix. 13, or 16:—see on ch. vii. 3. The name Ἀρνίον, "*the Lamb,*"—which is applied to Christ 28 times in the Revelation, and not elsewhere,—has been suggested as being "*the new name*" here (see Plumptre, p. 188):—but for this suggestion there seems to be no sufficient reason.

In these three names, we seem to have the baptismal formula of Heaven: the Name of God the Father;—the Name of the Son;—the Name of this City, or Tabernacle, built up of the redeemed as "living stones," "*the Temple* [ναός] *of the Holy Ghost*" (1 Cor. iii. 16; vi. 19; 1 Pet. ii. 5):—cf. ch. xiii. 6.

The expression "*my God*" occurs *four* times in this verse,—see ver. 2.

13. *He that hath an ear*] See on ch. ii. 7.

Gibbon having touched upon the present condition of the other six Churches, writes:—"Philadelphia alone has been saved by prophecy or courage. At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the Emperors, encompassed on all sides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and freedom above fourscore years, and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans. Among the Greek colonies and churches of Asia, Philadelphia is still erect—a column in a scene of ruins—a pleasing example that the paths of honour and safety may sometimes be the same."—*Decline and Fall*, ch. lxiv.

THE EPISTLE TO LAODICEA (14–22).

14. in Laodicea] (See *vv. ll.*). Laodicea, at first Diospolis (its tutelary deity was Zeus), then Rhoas (Plin. v. 29), was lastly named by Antiochus ii., one of the Seleucid kings (B.C. 261–246), after his wife Laodice. The modern Turkish name is *Eski-Hissar*, "the Old Castle." It was situated on the Lycus a tributary of the Mæander, in the south-west of Phrygia, not far from Colossæ and Hierapolis (Col. iv. 13), and forming with the other Apocalyptic Churches a sort of semicircle round Ephesus. "Laodicea and Hierapolis stand face to face, being situated respectively on the southern and northern sides of the valley [of the Lycus] at a distance of six miles, and within sight of each other, the river lying in the open plain between the two. The site of Colossæ is somewhat higher up the stream."—Bishop Lightfoot, *Epp. to the Col. and to Philem.*, p. 2. A powerful Jewish colony seems to have existed in Laodicea, Col. ii. 1; iv. 13–16. It was specially called "Laodicea on the Lycus" (Λ. ἡ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ) to distinguish it from several other cities of the same name. Under the Romans it became one of the important seats of commerce in the interior of Asia Minor; its trade consisting in the exchange of money, and in woollen manufactures (Cic. *ad Div.* ii. 17; Strabo, xii. 8, 16); the "raven-blackness" of its fleeces being much esteemed:—see Lightfoot, *l.c.*, p. 4; cf. *vv.* 17, 18. Of Ephesus and Laodicea

alone among the Seven Churches do we read elsewhere in the New Testament; see the references above, and note B, on ch. i. 4. The cities in the valley of the Lycus were exposed to constant danger from earthquakes; and similar catastrophes befel the neighbouring cities of Sardis, and Smyrna, and Philadelphia (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 7; Strabo, xii. 8; *Chron. Pasch.* i. p. 489). Laodicea the flourishing and the populous was laid in ruins about A.D. 63. Tacitus places the earthquake in the year 60. ["Eodem anno ex inlustribus Asiæ urbibus Laodicea, tremore terræ prolapsa, nullo a nobis remedio propriis opibus revaluit."—*Ann.*, xiv. 27]. As here stated, while other cities, prostrated by a like visitation, had sought relief from Rome, "it was the glory of Laodicea that she alone neither courted nor obtained assistance but recovered by her own resources," and rose again with more than her usual splendour (Lightfoot, *l. c.*, p. 43). In these facts we have the best illustration of *vv.* 17, 18. Neither metropolitan Ephesus, nor imperial Sardis could lay claim to such independence: "No one would dispute her boast that she had 'gotten riches and had need of nothing'" (*ib.*, p. 44). Subsequently, at the outset of the Paschal controversy, A.D. 165, her bishop Sagaris, a name held in great honour, fell a martyr at Laodicea (Euseb. iv. 26); and the fact that Laodicea became the head-quarters of this controversy (see Hefele, *Concil. Gesch.*, i. 297 ff.) testifies as to the prominence of this Church at the end of Cent. ii. From century to century, however, its influence declined. Bishop Lightfoot sums up its history (*l. c.*, p. 64, &c.): —Having accepted the Nicene decisions in the Arian controversy (Labbe, *Concil.*, t. ii. p. 236), Laodicea, through its bishop, joined in the condemnation of Athanasius at the synod of Philippopolis, A.D. 347 (Labbe, *ib.*, p. 744). At the "Robbers' Synod" of Ephesus (A.D. 449) its bishop adopted the policy of Dioscorus, and the opinions of the heretic Eutyches. Two years later, at Chalcedon (A.D. 451) the bishop of Laodicea sided with the orthodox party, and condemned the Eutychian heresy which he had so lately supported (Labbe, *l. c.* iv. p. 82, &c.), and the same vacillation and infirmity of purpose characterized this Church amid the religious troubles of later times, e.g. in the matter of Photius and the Eighth General Council (see Hefele, *Concil. Gesch.*, iv. s. 378). "At length the name of this primitive Apostolic church passes wholly out of sight. The Turkish conquest pressed with more than common severity on these districts. When the day of visitation came, the church was taken by surprise . . . The long impending doom overtook her, and the golden Candlestick was removed for ever from the Eternal Presence."—Lightfoot, *ib.*, p. 72. For the remains of Christian churches at Laodicea, see Fellows, *Asia Minor*, p. 282; Pococke, *Description of the East*, ii. p. 74.

The 'Apostolical Constitutions' (vii. 46; see note F on ch. i. 20) name Archippus as first bishop of Laodicea; and St. Paul's words (Col. iv. 17) have suggested that the Archippus there spoken of, may have been the negligent "Angel" here addressed. The name Archippus also occurs, Philem. 2; and were he, as is most probable, son of Philemon, a principal convert in the Colossian church,—and whose son might well have been chosen to the office of bishop,—"it would be nothing strange to find him some thirty years later holding his office still" (Trench, *l.c.*, p. 190). That the ministry of Archippus was exercised at Laodicea is regarded as most probable by Bishop Lightfoot (*l.c.*, p. 375);—see note A on ver. 19. Here, too, in Cent. iv., was held the Council whose sixtieth Canon contains a list of the Books of the Old and the New Testament "*which were to be publicly read in the Church*" (see Hefele, *l.c.*, i. p. 749);—a definition which explains the absence of the Apocalypse from that list: see Introduction, § 3.

These things saith the Amen,] This title, "*Amen*," is used here only as a proper name,—cf. 2 Cor. i. 20. See the note on Isai. lxv. 16, where the remarkable expression, "*the God of* **Amen**" (אָמֵן,—LXX. ἀληθινός), is found. The absolute certainty of what the Lord will announce to this "Angel," is implied in the verse,

the faithful and true witness,] See *vv. ll.*; and the same epithets (without the articles) in ch. xix. 11:—the epithet "*true*" is applied absolutely to Christ in 1 John v. 20. This explanatory note on the word "*Amen*," is quite after the manner of St. John,—see on ch. ix. 11. The language, too, is characteristic of the Apostle,—cf. John iii. 11, 32, 33; xviii. 37; see on ch. i. 5. It is to be noted, moreover, that our Lord is "*faithful*" only in the sense of "trustworthy," "to be believed," as the word is used 1 John i. 9; cf. 1 Thess. v. 24; 2 Tim. ii. 11;—not in the sense of "trusting" or "believing," as the word is used John xx. 27. Man may be "*faithful*" in both senses; God only in the former. And thus the "truthfulness," or "veracity," of Christ is asserted in the word "*faithful*,"—not in the other epithet "*true*," which asserts "that he realized and fulfilled in the highest sense, all that belonged to a witness" (Trench, p. 193): see on ver. 7.

the beginning of the creation of God;] Not, as the Arians held, in a *passive* sense, 'the first created,'—a sense excluded both by the context, and by the whole conception of the Lord's Person in this Book (see ch. i. 8; xxi. 6;—xxii. 13:—how, asks Düsterd. "could

15 I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.

16 So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.

17 Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked:

18 I counsel thee to buy of me

every creature in Heaven and earth, ch. v. 13, adore Him, if He Himself were one of them, cf. ch. xix. 10?"),—but in an *active* sense, 'the Beginner'; in the words of the Creed, "by Whom all things were made" (John i. 1–3; Heb. i. 2; cf. Rev. iv. 11). He is *principium*, not *initium*; and that, too, as "principium *principians*," not "principium *principiatum*;"—'*the Beginning*' (Col. i. 18) from which all Creation emanates; as the '*Last*' (ch. i. 17) signifies *the end* to which all Creation tends. In a word, He is the source not only of the first Creation, but also of the *new* Creation, which springs from Him as the second Adam:—"*Behold I make all things New*," ch. xxi. 5.

15. *I know thy works,*] Partly a *menace* (ver. 16), partly a *counsel* (ver. 18).

I would] In form a *wish*,—in reality a *regret* (Trench). On the text of this verse, see *vv. ll.*

thou wert cold or hot.] Düsterd., followed by Alf., understands the fervent zeal of the true believer (Rom. xii. 11), on the one hand; and active hostility to Christ, on the other,—the "*lukewarm*" state being specified in ver. 16. Archbishop Trench more justly explains "*cold*" to mean "one hitherto untouched by the powers of grace;" "*lukewarm*" to mean "one who has tasted of the good gift . . . but in whom that grace has failed to kindle more than the faintest spark." "The publicans and harlots were *cold;* the Apostles *hot;* the Scribes and Pharisees *lukewarm;*" cf. Luke vii. 36–50, and the thought conveyed in John ix. 41:—so also Bengel, Ebrard, &c. The reproof of "*lukewarm*" Laodicea is specially characteristic, by contrast, of the Apostle who records this message,—St. John, the Son of Thunder, whose zeal had not lost its old intensity; cf. 2 John, 10, 11 (Plumptre, *l.c.*, p. 199).

16. **So because** *thou art lukewarm, and neither* **hot nor cold,**] (See *vv. ll.*). "**Thus,**" "**So then,**" *Sic igitur,*—cf. Rom. i., 15; see also on ver. 5.

I will spew thee] Note the announcement of the certainty of judgment expressed by the absolute future in ch. ii. 5, 16, 23; iii. 3; while, here, the possibility of yet averting that judgment is expressed by μέλλω (cf. ver. 2).

out of my mouth.] Archbishop Trench prefers to connect this verse with ver. 17;—placing a semicolon here at the end, and a full stop at the end of ver. 17. So also Burger, who takes ver. 18 as a new proposition placed in contrast to *vv.* 15–17. The question is "whether Christ threatens to reject him, because he says *I am rich, &c.;* or whether, because he says he is all this, therefore Christ *counsels* him," as in ver. 18. The A. V. adopts the latter connexion.

For the subsequent religious history of Laodicea, see on ver. 14.

17. *Because thou sayest,*] The punctuation of the A. V. is adopted by Bengel, Ebrard, Düsterd., Alf.:—the analogy of *vv.* 8, 10; or of ch. xviii. 7, 8, may be quoted as authority for either view as to the connexion.

I am rich,] Spiritual riches are, of course, the predominant idea; but the reference to the worldly prosperity of Laodicea need not be excluded:—opulent in worldly riches, she was spiritually destitute. For the pride in her wealth and grandeur which Laodicea manifested, see on ver. 14.

and have gotten riches, *and have need of nothing;*] Gr. "**in nothing,**" see *vv. ll.* Writers find here a climax—riches gradually increasing to self-sufficingness, cf. 1 Cor. iv. 8; Hos. xii. 8, "two passages of holy irony" (Trench).

and knowest not that thou] 'Thou of all others,'—observe the emphatic pronoun.

art wretched,] Gr. "**the wretched one:**"—this adjective (ταλαίπωρος) is found only here and in Rom. vii. 24.

and miserable,] And ἐλεεινός also, only here and in 1 Cor. xv. 19. It seems better to render thus, than to take the last four adjectives as subordinate to the article before the first of the five,—"**the wretched and miserable . . . and naked one.**" Archbishop Trench, accepting the authority for reading an article before the second adjective also, renders,—"**that thou art the wretched and the miserable one, and poor,**" &c. (A, B = ὁ ἐλεειν.). The three concluding adjectives would thus correspond with the three clauses of ver. 18, although in a different order.

and poor, and blind, and naked:] See on ver. 18.

18. *I counsel thee*] The question whether a new sentence begins here, summing up the result of the previous remonstrance; or

gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and *that* the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with
[a] Prov. 3. 11. Heb. 12. 5. eyesalve, that thou mayest see.
19 [a] As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent.
20 Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.

whether this verse has to be connected with ver. 17, has been stated in the note on ver. 16.

to buy of me] Or "**from me**,"—the words are emphatic; cf. Isai. lv. 1. In Christ are hidden "*all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge*:"—so St. Paul had told the Colossians (Col. ii. 3), and had desired (Col. iv. 16) that his Epistle should be read at Laodicea. But the Laodiceans "had not learned their lesson" (Trench, p. 202.)

gold **refined by** *fire*,] *I.e.*, **fresh burnt out of the fire**,—"not only tried by the process, but bright and new from the furnace" (Alf.): see on ch. i. 15, and cf. Zech. xiii. 9 (LXX). This may be regarded (see on ver. 17) as taking up the epithet "*poor*."

that thou mayest **become** *rich*;] Cf. ch. ii. 9; 1 Cor. i. 5; Eph. i. 18.

and white **garments**, *that thou mayest* **clothe thyself**,] See on *vv.* 4, 5. On this clause, cf. ch. xvi. 15.

and [*that*] *the shame of thy nakedness* **be not made manifest**;] *I.e.*, either now, or at the Last Day when each guest must have "the wedding garment,"—Matt. xxii. 11–13: see on ch. xix. 8. This clause may be regarded as taking up the *third* epithet, "*naked*," in ver. 17; cf. Isai. xlvii. 3.

From the similarity of the language here to that of ch. xvi. 15, Ebrard infers that Laodicea, as well as Sardis and Philadelphia, will exist under the sixth Trumpet (ii. 439); see on *vv.* 3, 10.

and eye-salve to anoint thine eyes,] (See *vv. ll.*) "*Eye-salve*," or *collyrium*, was an ointment made up in the long and round form of *a cake of bread*, *collyra*:—cf. 1 Kings xiv. 3 (LXX.); Hor. *Sat.* I. v. 30. Spiritually understood (cf. Ps. xiii. 3; xix. 8) the unction of the Holy Spirit is denoted (see 1 John ii. 20, 27), as by "*gold*" the genuine Christian graces are intended, and by "*white garments*" the righteousness of which they are the symbol, as in ch. xix. 8.

As before, the epithet "*blind*" in ver. 17, is now taken up. Under the light of these words we can discern the spiritual significance of John ix. 6, 41.

19. *As many as I love*,] Note the emphatic position of the personal pronoun at the beginning,—the prerogative here assumed by Christ. Note also the verb (φιλῶ), different from that used in ver. 9, now expressive of personal affection. The menace of ver. 16 is softened here.

I reprove] See John iii. 20; viii. 46; xvi. 8,—Gr. **convict**. The verb implies that the person reproved is *convinced* (cf. 2 Sam. xii. 13); it expresses an essential element of the chastening which follows.

and chasten:] Hitherto, from verse 15, the Lord has exercised the force of *conviction*; this, as well as His chastisement, He here declares to flow from His *love*. The verb rendered *to chasten* means in Scripture, 'to educate by means of correction:'—both ideas are combined in Heb. xii. 5, 6. As in 2 Sam. xii. 14, so here the *correction* follows the *conviction* (Trench, p. 210).

be zealous] This word (ζήλευε, through ζῆλος connected with ζέω, and thus with ζεστός, ver. 15) is chosen as the word of exhortation, with special reference to the *lukewarmness* of Laodicea (cf. Trench, p. 210). Addressed to the "Angel" of the Church—and most probably to Archippus (see on ver. 14)—these words are the counterpart of the "*take heed*" of St. Paul, Col. iv. 17:—see Note A at the end of this chapter.

20. *Behold, I stand at the door*] Düsterd. thinks the meaning to be merely "I come quickly," as in ch. ii. 5, 16; iii. 3, 11; cf. James v. 9. The usual interpretation, which refers to "*the door*" at which the Lord "*stands and knocks*,"—*the door* of the heart,—is far better.

and knock:] Ebrard explains by Luke xii. 36; but the greater number of writers by the parallel words in Cant. v. 2,—the obvious bearing of which passage is of itself an answer to Ewald's and De Wette's assertion that there is no allusion to the Song of Solomon in the New Testament. The whole tenor, however, of the imagery which represents the relation of the Church to Christ as that of the Bride to the Bridegroom, is founded upon that Book,—see ch. xix. 7. "Between sleeping and waking, [the Bride] has been so slow to open the door, that when at length she does so, the Bridegroom has withdrawn (Cant. v. 5, 6) . . This exactly corresponds to the lukewarmness of the Angel here" (Trench, p. 214).

21 To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.

22 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

I will come in to him, and will sup with him,] Cf. ch. xix. 9; Matt. xxii. 2.

and he with me.] Compare St. John's usual style,—John vi. 56; xiv. 20; xv. 4; xvii. 21, 23. Indeed the parallel between this verse and John xiv. 23, is very remarkable. In both passages the Divine Presence is conditional,—cf. ch. ii. 5, 16; iii. 3.

This conclusion of the Epistle contrasts strongly with its beginning (ver. 16): "No other opens with such sharp unsparing severity; no other closes with such yearning tenderness, and a promise so exceeding glorious" (Plumptre, p. 207).

21. He that overcometh, to him will I give] See on ch. ii. 26.

to sit down *with me in my throne,*] "A magnificent variation of Christ's words, spoken in the days of his flesh,—John xvii. 22, 24" (Trench). Here only in the New Testament is the preposition *in* (not *upon*) twice used with "*throne*," denoting admission *into*, session *in*, the *same throne;* not the act of taking a seat *upon* a separate throne:—cf. Matt. xix. 28; Rev. iv. 2, 9; &c. (Words.). Matt. xxiii. 22 is not an exception.

The full glory of the "Conqueror" is eternal communion with the Father and the Son; or, briefly, to reign with Christ,—ch. xxii. 5. The fulfilment of this pledge is to be looked for in eternity, as the prize of the victory over the world, over death, and over sin. In this we see the accomplishment of the function committed to the Son, John v. 22, 27, with which words this passage is in perfect harmony. Hence the futility of Scholten's assertion (*l. c.*, s. 9), that St. John could not have written the Apocalypse, because this promise contradicts the saying, "*is not Mine to give*,"—Matt. xx. 23; Mark x. 40.

as I also *overcame,*] (Omit *even*). This thought is echoed at ch. v. 5; John xvi. 33.

and sat down *with my Father in his throne.*] The *tenses* point to the historical facts of the Resurrection and Ascension. Some erroneously distinguish here between the thrones of the Father and the Son, in opposition to ch. xxii. 1; cf. Mark xvi. 19; Heb. xii. 2.

More than was promised to the Elect Twelve (Matt. xix. 28) is here promised to every believer; and, as being the last of the promises to the Seven Churches, this is the climax of all (cf. Trench).

22. *unto the Churches.*] See on ch. i. 7. The fact already noted (see on ch. i. 11) that the Seven Epistles form a body of instruction addressed to the Church Universal, of itself suggests the thought that the promises annexed to each Epistle are not to be regarded as *unconnected;*—that each reward has a wider application than to the particular victory which has in each several case been won;—that the promises, in short, do not relate to distinct places or gradations of glory, to be assigned hereafter according to that degree of faithfulness which had been manifested in the different Churches, but that the Seven Promises combine to form *one* picture of the future bliss of heaven. The different forms in which Christian faith, during every stage of the Church's progress, may be exhibited are, first of all, exemplified in the different Epistles: (1) In the first (ch. ii. 2–4), patient endurance and the rejection of evil, the faith that labours and does not feel the toil, which preserves the freshness of its first love;—(2) In ch. ii. 10, the being faithful unto death in days of suffering and persecution;—(3) In ch. ii. 14, the rejection of idolatry and all appeals to sensuality;—(4) In ch. ii. 20, so essential to the Christian life are purity and personal holiness, the same object as in the third Epistle is repeated, and for this the servant of God must strive;—(5) In ch. iii. 2, 3, watchfulness and repentance;—(6) In ch. iii. 8, the keeping Christ's word, and the not denying His name;—(7) In ch. iii. 18, the coming to Christ Himself for strength. In each case, the promise forms the sequel. Distinct promises, however, are not made to distinct classes of those who fight the good fight of faith. The promise annexed to each Epistle is designed to set forth a *particular* aspect merely of the *general* condition reserved for *all* who shall have "*come out of the great tribulation*" (ch. vii. 14); and to which, in ch. xxii. 17, "*the Spirit and the Bride*" invite the Redeemed. No support, in a word, is given in these two chapters to the conclusion that there is to be an advance from glory to glory; or that the different stages must be traversed in succession. Were this so, the glory promised in the first Epistle would be expressed by "the circle of light" most remote from the Divine Presence; whereas in ch. xxii. 2, the same promise of the Tree of Life is the crowning blessing of the saints. Nor are the rewards to differ in degree; for the promise to the faithful in each church, although not expressing *all* that will be their portion, cannot be regarded as less glorious in one instance than in another:—nay, it is expressly declared

in ch. xxi. 7: "*He that overcometh shall inherit these things*,"—that is to say, all the blessings of "*a new heaven and a new earth*." Least of all can we conclude that the faithful in Smyrna and Philadelphia—churches which alone are not censured—have certain stages of progress to pass through hereafter; while the faithful in Laodicea at once attain the Divine Presence. The result, accordingly, is that we are here given, separately, the outlines of the picture which represents the condition of the Redeemed after this life; and that the picture itself is only then complete when these different outlines are combined. This fact is declared in ch. xxi. 7: and the description must necessarily (1 Cor. ii. 9) be conveyed either by means of human conceptions; or by means of what has been already revealed in Scripture or in the system of the Church. The unity of this picture may be illustrated by the fact that the Seven Promises at length find their complete fulfilment in the splendours of the New Jerusalem, described at the end of the Book.

These Seven aspects of the future of the Redeemed are as follows: I. The first promise, ch. ii. 7,—is Immortality; II. In the second, ch. ii. 11,—"He that overcometh shall not be hurt by the second death;" III. In the third, ch. ii. 17,—The heavenly food imparts the New Life; announces a share in Christ's priestly character, and, to those who bear the "new name," enrolment in the company of heaven; IV. In the fourth, ch. ii. 26–28,—Share in Christ's royal dominion is conferred; V. In the fifth, ch. iii. 5,—The vesture of heaven is assumed, full security is pledged, the conqueror's name is confessed; VI. In the sixth, ch. iii. 12,—The pledge of security is repeated, introducing the inscription of the Three Names,—the baptismal formula of Heaven; VII. In the seventh, ch. iii. 21,—The promise "He shall sit with me *in* my throne" completes the picture.

A different view is here taken by Archbishop Trench. Writing (p. 217) of "the *order* in which the promises of the Seven Epistles *succeed* one another," he considers that "it is impossible not to acknowledge such an order here,—an order parallel to that of the unfolding of the kingdom of God from its first beginnings on earth to its glorious consummation in heaven." "We are led from Paradise (ii. 7),—to the Fall (Gen. iii. 19; Rev. ii. 11),—to the Church in the wilderness (ii. 17),—to the triumph of David and Solomon over the nations (2 Sam. viii. 1–13; Rev. ii. 26, 27). The scenery now changes from earth to heaven. The fifth promise holds forth "the Book of Life" (iii. 5), with the attendant glories;—then comes the "New Jerusalem" (iii. 12);—and then the admission to the throne of Christ (iii. 21): "It is here, to compare Divine things with human, as in the *Paradiso* of Dante. There, too, there are different circles of light around the throne, each, as it is nearer to the throne, of an intenser brightness than that beyond it and more remote, till at last, when all the others have been past, the throne itself is reached, and the very Presence of Him who sits upon the throne, and from whom all this light and this glory flows."—p. 219.

"The general idea of this picture," writes Godet (*l.c.*, p. 294), "contains the representation of all the shades (nuances), and, in some sort, the statistics, of all the spiritual states, good or evil, in which terrestrial Christianity can be found. . . . The number *Seven* denotes here, as elsewhere, a totality. But, according to the thought of the Book, the subject is a *simultaneous*, and not a *successive* totality, as those wish who see in these Seven Churches the representation of the principal phases of the history of the Church." It is the *point of departure*, however, of the Lord's progress that is indicated here:—"This point of departure is the condition of the Church at the moment of the Vision, and not the unrolling of her future history which is comprised in the Visions that follow."—*Ib.*

In this opening Vision, contained in ch. ii. and ch. iii., Ebrard understands St. John to see the Son of Man in His relation as Shepherd to the Church—cf. ch. ii. 27.

According to the general opinion the first division of the Apocalypse ends here; whether the first three chapters be regarded merely as the Prologue to the Revelation Proper, or whether—as is far more consistent with the character of the Book—they themselves constitute the First Vision vouchsafed to the Seer, who describes beforehand (see ch. xxii. 17) the state which awaits those who have passed through "*the great tribulation*," the various aspects of which form the theme of the Apocalypse.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on Chap. III. 19.

NOTE A ON VER. 19.—THE ALLEGED OPPOSITION BETWEEN ST. JOHN AND ST. PAUL.

It is necessary to consider with care the theory which places the Apocalypse in opposition to so important an element of the New Testament as the writings of St. Paul.

It is a fixed idea with the rationalistic school that St. John had no other object in the Apocalypse than to uphold the Jewish

type of Christianity in opposition to the, so-called, Pauline; and that the Book throughout has "a tendency which beyond mistake denies the teaching of Paul" (Max Krenkel, *l. c.*, s. 21). Everything breathes, we are told, the fierce and wrathful spirit of Judaism; and the writer's design is to appear as the open antagonist of the Gentiles: e. g. the Apocalypse condemns unconditionally those who "eat things sacrificed to idols" (ch. ii. 14, 20; cf. 1 Cor. x. 25–31);[1]—it denounces marriage between Christians and the heathen as πορνεία (ch. ix. 21), in contradiction to 1 Cor. vii. 12–16;—it manifests this hatred by likening all who adopt any heathen usage to Balaam and Jezebel (ch. ii. 14, 20);—in fact, the Book everywhere exhibits hostility to the Apostle of the Circumcision. Carrying out this theory, Baur (*Christenthum der drei erst. Jahrh.*, 2te Ausg., s. 83) asserts that St. Paul is never named, or, if ever, only in the way of hostile allusion, by the ecclesiastical writers of Asia Minor in the period following that of St. John;—while the writer on the Apocalypse in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon* (s. 163) alleges that St. John is "best satisfied with Ephesus, which is precisely the Church where Paul had met with the sharpest resistance (Rev. ii. 1–7; Acts xix. 9, 29; 1 Cor. xvi. 9)."[2]

Writers argue thus:—Keim (*l. c.*, s. 158), having noted that St. Paul (Gal. ii. 9) reckons St. John, after James and Peter, as the third representative of "the Judæo-Christian Jerusalemitish tendency," alleges that if we add the Apocalypse to the Gospels of Mark and Luke, "we get a decisive proof that, from the year 70 to the year 100 [*i. e.*, from the years in which, according to Keim, these two Gospels were written], John has been accounted a strictly Judæo-Christian Apostle." Thus in Rev. xxi. 14, the Twelve—a number which includes John, and excludes Paul—are associated as "foundations" of the future Jewish Jerusalem;[1] just as the Book, by contrasts easy to be recognized, assails and denies the position of Paul. Keim, indeed, will not go so far as Volkmar (*l. c.*, s. 25 ff) in identifying St. Paul with the False Prophet of Rev. xiii. 11; but he argues that in the Seven Apocalyptic Epistles, especially that to Ephesus (ch. ii. 2), the reference to the Paulinians—especially including their Apostle himself—is not to be mistaken, cf. 1 Cor. ix. 1, 2, and even Acts xv. 25, &c.; as to the disputes at Ephesus, see Rom. xvi. 17–20 (*l. c.*, s. 160, *Anm.*). Krenkel (*l. c.*, s. 104 ff.), differing from Keim, attributes the Apocalypse to St. John, and believes that he resided at Ephesus; but he makes the two Apostles to differ altogether in their mode of regarding the Roman Empire, comparing Rom. xiii. with Rev. xiii., where St. John ascribes the power of Rome to the Devil. Further, Krenkel (agreeing with Volkmar) asserts that St. John, in Rev. ii. 2, as clearly as the Apocalyptic form admits, condemns St. Paul who, on his side, states that Ephesus was the seat of the opposition to his Apostolic authority (see 1 Cor. xv. 32; xvi. 8, 9; 2 Cor. i. 8, &c.). If St. Paul speaks of his knowledge of what were "*the deep things of God*" (1 Cor. ii. 10), this is styled in Rev. ii. 24, "*the deep things of Satan*"; and Krenkel contemplates with pity "the tragic conflict of these two followers of Christ,"—understanding St. Paul's words in Gal. i. 8, 9, and St. John's words in Rev. xxii. 18, 19, as directed against each other. The same conclusion is asserted by Renan (*Saint Paul*, p. 303, &c.) who maintains that St. Paul was regarded by a party in the Church, from A.D. 54 (Acts xviii.) and his rupture with St. Peter (Gal. ii. 11), as a most dangerous heretic;—a false Jew (Rev. ii. 9; iii. 9);—a false Apostle (Rev. ii. 2);—a false prophet (Rev. ii. 20[2]);—a new Balaam (Rev. ii. 6, 14, 15; cf. 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude 11);—a wicked one who ushered in the destruction of the Temple (*Clement. Hom.* ii. 17);—a Simon Magus.[3] Renan dwells

[1] Thus Aubé (*Hist. des Persécutions*, Paris, 1875), asserting that the Seven Epistles have this antagonism as one leading object, adds, with reference to the eating "*things sacrificed to idols*", "le dernier trait est évidemment dirigé contre les disciples de Paul" (p. 111).

[2] In reply to this latter statement, we need only read Rev. ii. 5. And in reply to the former, we can refer to the Epistle of St. John's disciple Polycarp, in which St. Paul is the only Apostle, and St. Paul's Epistles the only Apostolic writings, mentioned by name (see Bishop Lightfoot, *Contemp. Rev.*, May, 1875, p. 832); or, again, to the sayings of the "Presbyters," which are still to be read in the writings of Irenæus, who insist alike on 1 Cor. xv. 25, 26, and John xiv. 2. So far is Irenæus himself from seeking to efface the influence of St. Paul that he represents the church of Ephesus as the genuine preserver of Apostolic tradition because St. Paul was its founder, and because St. John laboured there till the reign of Trajan (*Adv. Hær.*, iii. 3). Least of all, indeed, if we bear this fact in mind, could this church of Ephesus have regarded these their two Apostles as hostile to each other,—the one (St. Paul) as a false Apostle; the other (St. John) as "the Judæo-Christian disturber of the Gentile-Christian Paulinism."

[1] See Introd. § 7, I. (γ). Bengel acutely notes that St. Paul, as Apostle of the Gentiles, *could not* be included here,—see Matt. xix. 28.

[2] On the words "thy wife Jezebel" Renan notes: "Désignation symbolique de Paul, envisagé comme infidèle, et entraînant le peuple à l'infidélité."—*Ib.* 368. "Les chapitres ii. et iii. de l'Apocalypse sont un cri de haine contre Paul et ses amis."—*Ib.* p. 367.

[3] "Il n'est pas douteux que sous le personnage

particularly on St. Paul's toleration of mixed marriages (see above) as identifying him, in the Jewish mind, with Balaam who seduced the Israelites of old (Num. xxxi. 16);—cf. Acts xv. 20; xxi. 25: "Cette πορνεία en relation avec Balaam est l'étincelle électrique qui fait suivre dans les ténèbres le courant de haine contre Paul."—*Ib.* p. 304.

Without dwelling minutely on this tissue of extravagance, and arbitrary assumption, and criticism run wild,—which Renan with unconscious truth describes as proceeding "in the dark,"—it may be well to note how accordant in tone of thought, and often in language, is the teaching of St. John and of St. Paul. It is easy to recognize the accordance of Rev. xviii. 20 with Eph. iii. 5 ("*His holy Apostles and Prophets*"); as well as of Rev. xxi. 14 with Eph. ii. 20 ("*the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets*")—the idea expressed by θεμέλιος being a favourite one with St. Paul, e. g. Rom. xv. 20; 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11, 12): but the essential agreement of the two writers appears everywhere.

In Rev. i. 4 St. John adopts the Pauline form of salutation "*grace to you and peace*" (Rom. i. 7) which is found in all St. Paul's Epistles (except the Pastoral, where "mercy" is added, as it is in 2 John 3);—Rev. i. 5; iii. 14 are to be compared with Col. i. 15–18;—Rev. xvii. 14 with Rom. viii. 30, 37, and 1 Tim. vi. 15;—Rev. v. 6, 9 with 1 Cor. v. 7, the sacrifice of Christ being regarded by both as representing that of the true Paschal Lamb. Where, we may challenge the objector to point out, is there a trace in history of the existence of a "Johannean" party in the Church, by the side of a "Pauline"? St. Paul in 1 Cor. i. 12 refers to the tendency, which he explains more fully in Gal. ii.; but his only reference to St. John—and that too in the only place where St. John's name is found in his writings—is that St. John had given him "the right hand of fellowship" (Gal. ii. 9). That the spirit of St. John's writings is in close harmony with the spirit of the elder revelation is, of course, obvious; and every reader of the Apocalypse, and indeed of St. John's Gospel and Epistles, can at once discern how he is disposed to adopt (while investing them with an elevated and spiritual meaning) the symbols and forms of Judaism, rather than to disown them:—see e. g. John iii. 14; vi. 31; vii. 38. But does St. Paul disown the elder revelation? We need only turn to such passages as Rom. vii. 12, or to such teaching as Gal. iii. 24, for the answer. If we find echoes of Old Test. doctrine (e. g. Canticles *passim*) in John iii. 29; Rev. xix. 7; xxi. 2, 9, do we not read to the same effect in 2 Cor. xi. 2; Eph. v. 25, 27? If the Apocalypse abounds with Old Test. imagery and its doctrinal application,—have we not in the Pauline Epistles the "allegory" of Hagar, and the conception of the spiritual Jerusalem (Gal. iv.), and the grand idea of "the Israel of God" (Gal. vi. 16)? History places beyond a doubt the true sense of Rev. ii. 2, 20, 24; 1 John ii. 18; iv. 1, when, as time went on, heresy, and false prophets claiming divine illumination, and the practice of gross licentiousness under the pretext of freedom from the slavery of the Law, had begun to prevail. But from first to last there are no traces of Jewish nationality, or of a preference for Christians of Jewish descent. The Apoc., no doubt, bears witness to a definite type of doctrine characteristic of St. John, as clearly as does the Fourth Gospel—especially in its explicit teaching as to the Logos, which no refinement can explain away, e. g. ch. i. 17; iii. 14; xix. 13: cf., too, ch. vii. 17 with John vii. 37–39. Together with its strongly-marked Jewish element there is stamped upon the whole Book a character which could only be impressed upon it by the creative breath of the transforming Spirit of Christ,—whether we read the description of the glorified (ch. vii.),—or of the splendours of the perfected Theocracy (ch. xxi.),—or of the universal Priesthood (ch. i. 6; v. 10),—or, in the Seven Epistles (ch. ii., iii.), the Lord's exhortations to the Church Catholic. "Of any polemical tone," writes Neander, "directed against the Apostle Paul, not a trace can be found in the Book. It cannot be taken as a proof of this that in ch. xxi. 14, according to the Twelve Tribes of the Theocratic people, only Twelve Apostles are mentioned as the foundations of the spiritual Jerusalem." (*Pflanzung*, Bohn's transl. vol. ii. p. 163). "It is not by any means incredible" writes Mr. Sanday (*The Fourth Gospel*, p. 156) "that St. John should actually have seen the Pauline Epistles . . . . Pauline doctrine is not reproduced crudely, but is assimilated with the rest of the Johannean system, and has received the genuine Johannean stamp." If the Old Test. descriptions of Israel and Jerusalem are transferred in the Apocalypse to Christianity, what is this but the echo of such references as we meet with in the Epistles of St. Paul—say in Gal. iii. 29; iv. 26; vi. 16. If in Rev. vii. 4, 144,000 are sealed from the Tribes of Israel,—at ver. 9 the Redeemed are a multitude "from all nations, and Tribes, and peoples, and tongues" (see also Rev. v. 9; xix. 6; xxi. 24). Could St. Paul

de Simon le Magicien l'auteur des Homélies pseudo-clémentines ne veuille désigner souvent l'apôtre Paul:"—cf. ἀνθέστηκάς μοι, and ἢ εἰ κατεγνωσμένον με λέγεις, *Hom.* xvii. 19, with Gal. ii. 11; also *Hom.* xvii. 12–17 with 1 Cor. xii. 1; *Hom.* ii. 17 with Acts xxi. 28. Renan places the date of these "Homilies" in A.D. 150 or 160:—"Pour leur caractère d'hostilité contre Paul, voir surtout *Hom.* ii. 17; iii. 59; vii. 4, 8; *Recogn.* iv. 36."—*Ibid.*, p. 304.

recognize more fully the calling of the Gentiles?

In his Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians (p. 41) Bishop Lightfoot points out "Correspondences between the Apocalypse and St. Paul's Epistles." The message, he observes, "communicated by St. John to [the neighbouring Church of] Laodicea prolongs the note which was struck by St. Paul in the letter to Colossæ." After the interval which elapsed until St. John wrote, "the same temper prevails, the same errors are rife, the same correction must be applied:"—(1) "St. Paul finds it necessary to enforce the truth that Christ is the image of the invisible God, that He is the primary source (ἀρχή), and has the pre-eminence in all things (Col. i. 15–18),"—St. John in almost identical language, "speaking in the person of our Lord, declares that He is the Amen, the primary source (ἀρχή) of the Creation of God (Rev. iii. 14)." The phrase ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, so closely resembling St. Paul's language, does not occur in the messages to the other six Churches as a designation of our Lord, nor do we there find anything resembling it: "If St. Paul entreats the Colossians to seek those things which are above (Col. iii. 1) . . . and in the companion Epistle, which also he directs them to read, reminds the churches that God raised them with Christ (Eph. ii. 6); . . . in like manner St. John gives this promise to the Laodiceans in the name of his Lord" (Rev. iii. 21). These words do not occur in the other six Epistles, or any words resembling them: "This double coincidence affecting the two ideas which may be said to cover the whole ground in the Epistle to the Colossians, can hardly, I think, be fortuitous, and suggests an acquaintance with and recognition of the earlier Apostle's teaching on the part of St. John" (*ib.*, p. 42).

(2). "After a parting salutation to the Church of Laodicea, St. Paul closes with a warning to Archippus, apparently its chief pastor, to take heed to his ministry (Col. iv. 17).[1] Some signs of slackened zeal seem to have called forth this rebuke. It may be an accidental coincidence, but it is at least worthy of notice, that lukewarmness is the special sin denounced in the Angel of the Laodiceans, and that the necessity of greater earnestness is the burden of the message to that Church." "If the common view, that by the 'Angel' of the Church its chief pastor is meant, were correct, and if Archippus (as is very probable) had been living when St. John wrote, the coincidence would be still more striking (*ib.*, p. 43, note). See note F. on ch. i. 20.

(3). "In the Apocalyptic message the pride of wealth is sternly condemned in the Laodicean Church" (Rev. iii. 17, 18). Having been laid in ruins by an earthquake, Laodicea became famous from the fact that unaided by imperial assistance, she recovered her former importance. "But is there not a second and subsidiary idea underlying the Apocalyptic rebuke? The pride of intellectual wealth, we may well suspect, was a temptation at Laodicea hardly less strong than the pride of material resources. When St. Paul wrote, the theology of the Gospel and the comprehension of the Church were alike endangered by a spirit of intellectual exclusiveness in these cities. He warned them against a vain philosophy . . . (Col. ii. 8, 18, 23). He tacitly contrasted with this false intellectual wealth 'the riches of the glory of God's mystery revealed in Christ' (Col. i. 27; ii. 2, 3) . . . May not the same contrast be discerned in the language of St. John? The Laodiceans boast of their enlightenment, but they are blind, and to cure their blindness they must seek eye-salve from the hands of the great Physician" (*ib.*, p. 44).

[1] "Where," asks Bishop Lightfoot elsewhere (*Epist. to Philem.*, p. 375), "was Archippus exercising this ministry, whatever it may have been? At Colossæ or Laodicea? His connexion with Philemon (ver. 2) [we may infer that he was a son of Philemon and Apphia] would suggest the former place. But in the Epistle to the Colossians his name is mentioned immediately after the salutations to the Laodiceans and the directions affecting that church; and this fact seems to connect him with Laodicea. On the whole this appears the more probable solution." Theodore of Mopsuestia adopts this conclusion: Ἄλλος δέ φησιν, ὡς ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων εἰκάσαι, παρὰ Λαοδικεῦσιν ὄντι καὶ τὴν διακονίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ τῆς διακονίας.—ap. Cramer, *Catena in Ep. ad Col.* iv. 17. Theodoret argues against it on critical grounds, without alleging any traditional support for the objection:—τινὲς ἔφασαν τοῦτον Λαοδικείας γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκαλον, ἀλλ' ἡ πρὸς Φιλήμονα ἐπιστολὴ διδάσκει ὡς ἐν Κολασσαῖς οὗτος ᾤκει· τῷ γὰρ Φιλήμονι καὶ τοῦτον συντάττει.

CHAPTER IV.

2 John seeth the throne of God in heaven. 4 The four and twenty elders. 6 The four beasts full of eyes before and behind. 10 The elders lay down their crowns, and worship him that sat on the throne.

AFTER this I looked, and, behold, a door *was* opened in heaven: and the first voice which I heard *was* as it were of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come

[Ver. 1 λέγων. Ver. 2 *om.* 1st καί.—ἐπὶ τὸν θρ. Ver. 3 *om.* ἦν.—σαρδίῳ. Ver. 4 [A, ℵ read θρόνους εἴκ. τέσσαρες (*sic*),—"τέσσαρας *sine teste*," Tisch.;—B; P read θρόνοι].—*om.* εἶδον τούς.—*om.* ἔσχον. Ver. 5 φωναὶ κ. βρ.—ἃ ἐστιν. Ver. 6 ὡς θάλ. Ver. 7 ἀνθρώπου. Ver. 8 τὰ τέσσ.—ἓν καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν.—ἔχων.—γέμουσιν. Ver. 10 προσκυνήσουσιν.—βαλοῦσιν Ver. 11 ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.—ἦσαν.]

CHAP. IV.–XXII. 5.

II. THE REVELATION PROPER.

The second of the three great Divisions of the Book.

CHAP. IV.

The First chief Vision of the Revelation Proper opens here:—see Introd. p. 89.

THE PRELUDE (iv.–v.).

As the first appearance of Christ (ch. i. 13) is closely related to His introductory warning to His Church (ch. ii.; ch. iii.), so is God's appearance (ch. iv.) the prelude to the revelations of coming judgment. In like manner, the taking of the Sealed Book, together with the adoration of the Lamb (ch. v.), is the introduction to the imagery of the succeeding Visions, and the disclosure of their theme. The object which the Seer has in view throughout is to place before the eye of faith that Heaven to which Christ has gone before, and whence He will return to judge the world. The symbolic veil had been rent in twain when the Lord had suffered (Matt. xxvii. 51); and now the entrance to the true Sanctuary, of which the Temple of old was but the shadow (Heb. viii. 5), is entirely and for ever thrown open. We are shown the Temple of God with its Altar of Incense and its Altar of Sacrifice,—with its inner Court and its outer Court,—with the "Ark of His Covenant," and the "Tabernacle of the Testimony" (ch. vi. 9; viii. 3; xi. 1, 2, 19; xv. 5). The Visions of the Holy City, and of the Mount Zion, and of the New Jerusalem, complete the Apocalypse (ch. xi. 2; xiv. 1; xxi. 2); and the Book closes before the throne of God and of the Lamb (ch. xxii. 1).

The four and twenty Elders (ver. 4) and the four Living Beings (ver. 6) are the representatives of the Church and of animated Creation.

THE APPEARANCE OF GOD (1–11).

1. *After* **these things**] *I. e.*, 'after receiving the Seven Epistles' (see ch. i. 11)—a formula frequent in this Book, and usually introducing a new Vision, or form of Vision, e. g. ch. vii. 9; xv. 5; xviii. 1; xix. 1—cf. on ch. xxii. 2, and see ver. 2, below. Some (Eichhorn, Bengel, Hengst., &c.) consider that an interval had occurred at the end of ch. iii., during which St. John was no longer "*in the Spirit*;" and during which, as at the close of the successive scenes of the entire Vision, he committed to writing what he had seen and heard,—in this case the Seven Epistles. On the other hand, Ebrard and Düsterd. justly observe that, from ch. i. 10 to ch. xxii. 16, no break occurs in the ecstatic condition of the Seer, there being throughout but *one* Revelation with its changing though connected images.

In fact, the formula "*after these things*" (μετὰ ταῦτα) introduces a new and more striking scene; and the formula "*I saw*" (or "*I heard*") indicates the varying features of the successive Visions—e.g. ch. i. 10; v. 1, 6, 11; vi. 1; &c. Hence, there is no special reference here to the End of all things; or to the Church, as it will then be, triumphant.

I saw,] In the Spirit, as in ch. i. 10. The Vision is presented to the Seer; and he then proceeds to record it:—see ch. i. 2; and cf. ch. vi. 2, 5, 8.

and behold, a **door opened** *in heaven*,] 'A door set open' (see ch. iii. 8),—*i.e.*, 'the image of an open door was before me,' after the figure of "*the gate of heaven*," Gen. xxviii. 17 (cf. Ezek. i. 1; Matt. iii. 16; Acts x. 11): and the meaning clearly is that St. John may behold, as through an opened door, what takes place in heaven, as in Acts vii. 56. Some, however,—De Wette, Alf., Bisping,—suppose that the Seer was taken up through the door into heaven; and that "henceforth, usually, he looks from the heaven down on the earth."

Victorinus understands by "*the opened door*," the preaching of the Gospel.

and the first voice which I heard, [**a voice**] **as of a trumpet speaking with me**,] 'The voice which I heard at first in ch. i. 10.' The construction is "**Behold, a door... and the voice... saying.**" *Whose* voice is not defined (cf. ch. x. 4, 8)—see on ch. i. 10, where the voice is followed at ver 17 by that

up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter.

2 And immediately I was in the spirit: and, behold, a throne was set in heaven, and *one* sat on the throne.

3 And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone:

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of Christ, not loud as "*of a trumpet,*" but as "*of many waters,*" ver. 15. On the other hand, Stier, relying on the words "*I will shew thee,*" protests against any interpretation which introduces here a personal Angel distinct from Christ.—*Reden Jesu,* Engl. tr., vol. viii. 93, 207.

saying,] The gender (masc.) of the participle denotes that the "*voice*" is put for the "speaker" (cf. ver. 8; ch. xi. 4, 15; xix. 14; Mark ix. 25, 26; Eph. iv. 17, 18)—that speaker, although left indefinite, being the same already heard.

Or **one saying,**] See Winer, § lix. 4, and 11—the nominative in irregular apposition (cf. the Hebrew idiom, לֵאמוֹר).

Come up hither,] In spirit:—the Seer now attains a higher spiritual standpoint.

and I will shew thee] In answer to Stier's inference from these words that the speaker must be Christ, see on ch. i. 1; and also, ch. xxi. 9, 10.

the *things which must* **come to pass**] As being divinely determined—see on ch. i. 1; and cf. Matt. xxiv. 6.

hereafter.] After the things now present, as in ch. i. 19; ix. 12:—so the A. V.

Or, with a full stop at **pass**, translate **After these things**—words which may very well be taken as the beginning of ver. 2; see above, on the use of this formula.

2. *Immediately*] (Omit "*And;*" see *vv. ll.*).

Or **"After these things immediately I was in the Spirit:"**] See on ver. 1—a new *scene* being now presented to the Seer.

I was in the Spirit:] "I found myself in the Spirit"—see on ch. i. 9. Züllig would interpret, "my spirit was caught up thither, while my body remained on earth;" but this is certainly wrong,—see on ch. i. 10. Already "*in the Spirit,*" the Seer had beheld the door set open; and a fresh outpouring of the Spirit is now granted him, in order to gaze upon this new, and more sublime Vision: cf. Ezek. xi. 1, 5. This Vision, in its full significance, reveals GOD as the GOD of the Redeemed, the Father upon the throne;—in the midst of the throne (ch. v. 6) the Lamb still bearing the tokens of the Cross;—and before the throne the Seven-fold Spirit with His lamps of fire (ver. 5). In the four and twenty Elders, the Church of the Old and the Church of the New Covenant are imaged forth; and in the four Living Beings, we see the symbolic representatives of Creation. From among the "*innumerable company of angels,*" one Angel, throughout this Book, acts as "a ministering spirit" (Heb. i. 14)—as the *Angelus interpres:* see on ch. i. 1. We may here compare the Vision of Micaiah:—see the note on 1 Kings xxii. 19.

and behold, **there was a throne set** *in heaven,*] See Ezek. i. 26-28. Here, in Ezek. i., and in Ezek. x. 19, the throne corresponds to the place on which the cloud of glory rested between the Cherubim;—see Note C, on Gen. iii. 24. The expression **"was set"** simply indicates *position,* after the manner of St. John, see John ii. 6; xix. 29; xxi. 9,—as Düsterd. points out in opposition to Bengel who sees in this verb (ἔκειτο) a reference to *the breadth* of the throne; and in opposition to Hengst. who explains the phrase by the throne resting on the Cherubim: cf. ver. 6.

and one sitting upon *the throne;*] (As to the preposition here, see the note on ch. i. 20). Observe the title so constant throughout the Book, "*He that sitteth on* (or *upon*) *the throne,*"—e. g. ch. vii. 10; xix. 4; xxi. 5; cf. Dan. vii. 9. The great majority of writers take this title to mean the Eternal Father, as distinguished from the Son ("*the Lamb,*" ch. v. 6; vi. 16; vii. 10), and from the Holy Spirit (ver. 5):—see above. On the other hand, N. de Lyra, C. à Lapide, Calov., Words., understand the Triune God,—GOD in His absolute Being,—as indicated by the *Trisagion,* ver. 8, from Whom the Lamb may fitly take the Sealed Book, ch. v. 7: cf. Dan. vii. 13, and such passages as Isai. vi. 1-3; John xii. 41. C. à Lapide comments: "The Son as *Man* may well be said, especially in a sublime Vision like this, to come to GOD,"—see Words. *in loc.* The references, in ver. 5 and in ch. v. 6, to the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity do not oppose this view; neither does the doxology in ver. 11. The Person is not specified, because only what is *seen* is described. Ewald would explain, 'because the name of Jehovah is incommunicable;' and De Wette, 'out of a sense of holy reverence, as in ch. xx. 11' (in opposition to this latter interpretation, cf. ch. xii. 5; xix. 13; xxii. 1).

3. *and he that sat* [*was*] *to look upon.*] For the omission of "*was,*" see *vv. ll.* Alford translates, "*And he that sat,* **like in appearance to**"—as if one of a series of nominatives placed correlatively after "*behold*" in ver. 2; see also ver. 1. Or **"like in**

and *there was* a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald.

4 And round about the throne *were* four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty

sight," as the A. V. renders in the next clause. The Greek term (ὅρασις) is translated "*Vision*" in ch. ix. 17, and in Acts ii. 17—the word being found in the New Test. only in these two places and twice in this verse. For the imagery and language, see Ezek. i. 26, 27, LXX.; cf. also the description in Ex. xxiv. 10.

like **a jasper stone and a sard:**] (See *vv. ll.*). The *last* and the *first* stones in the Breastplate, Ex. xxviii. 17, 20. Jasper (Heb. *Yaspeh*, Gr. ἴασπις, Lat. *Jaspis*, Arab. *Jasp*,) is the first of the Twelve Foundations in ch. xxi., where this stone is described (ver. 11) as being "*clear as crystal.*" "Greenness, and more or less translucency, were the two essential characters of the ancient *jaspis*." The modern jasper is quite opaque, and corresponds to the *achates* of the Romans. The *jaspis* of the ancients was our chalcedony (*silica* and *alumina*):—see King, *Precious Stones*, pp. 202, 206. The antique *sard* (Heb. *Odem*, Gr. σάρδιον, Lat. *Sarda*, Vulg. *Sardius*, see ch. xxi. 20) or oriental carnelian—the sixth Foundation in ch. xxi.—was a dull red cloudy stone of many gradations of colour. The name is derived, writes Mr. King (*l. c.*, p. 296), from the Persian *sered, yellowish red*,—although Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 31) derives the name from Sardis, where it was first discovered. Its modern name *carnelian* is usually derived from *carneus*, as if the colour of raw flesh.

On this Vision of the Divine Glory, cf. Ezek. i. 4, 26; x. 1; Dan. vii. 9.

and [*there was*] *a rainbow*] Here and in ch. x. 1 St. John uses the word *Iris*;—cf. Ezek. i. 28. The Septuagint Version—shunning, as is probable, the allusion to heathen mythology—always uses for "a rain-*bow*" the word which expresses the "*bow*" as a weapon of war (τόξον); and which is so employed in ch. vi. 2. As to the occurrence in the Apocalypse of heathen symbolism, see on ch. ii. 10.

Or translate **and a rainbow**] A nom., as above, after *behold.*

round about the throne,] As the emblem of God's covenanted mercy,—Gen. ix. 16. This symbol, as Burger well remarks, casts light upon all the Visions that follow; in which God is revealed only as One Who keeps His Covenant and promise.

like] In the masc., ὅμοιος,—which Winer (§ 11, s. 64) takes to be an adjective of two terminations, as in Attic Greek adjectives in -ως, (cf. Luke ii. 13; Acts xxvi. 19; 1 Tim. ii. 8, 9; Tit. iii. 9; James i. 26),—although the feminine termination occurs in ver. 6; ch. ix. 10, 19. Ewald (*Comm.*, ed. 1828, p. 46) suggests the rendering: "Iris circa thronum; similis est *thronus* smaragdo;" in his edition of 1862, he adopts the usual rendering, "*a rainbow like.*" (Lücke suggests a various reading, ὁμοία ὡς, or ὁμοίως).

an emerald to look upon.] Or, as in the alternative rendering at the beginning of this verse, "**like in appearance** *unto an emerald.*" Alford translates, "**like to the appearance of an emerald,**"—taking σμαράγδινος to be "the possessive adjective of two terminations":—the substantive occurs in ch. xxi. 19.

The *emerald*, of bright green colour, "was the most precious gem in the Roman jeweller's list. . . . The Romans were plentifully supplied with the true emerald. The *smaragdus* of Nero's age must be restricted to the true emerald, perhaps including the green ruby:"—King, *l. c.*, pp. 167, 311; and *Nat. Hist. of Precious Stones*, p. 288; see also Pliny, *H. N.* xxxviii. 16, &c. It is the fourth Foundation in ch. xxi. 19; cf. ch. xxi. 20, on the word "*beryl.*" St. John describes exactly what he *saw*; although, as not existing in nature, his imagery cannot be exhibited by means of sensible representations, either by the form of the rainbow, or by its colour—as he beheld it—green.

The imagery of this passage is plainly founded on the words of Ezekiel: "As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about."—Ezek. i. 28. Disregarding this fact, Bisping concludes that, as the word Iris denotes, in general, every coloured circle,—e. g. the pupil of the eye, the fringe around flame, the halo round the moon,—a rainbow cannot be intended; and this he infers from the fact that a rainbow is characterized by *seven* colours, while the Iris here is of *one* colour, namely that of an emerald. It would be difficult to quote a more jejune interpretation.

The pagan affinities which may be traced in the writings of Renan have led him to observe of the description here, that "the Olympian Jupiter was a symbol far superior to this."—*l. c.*, p. 473.

4. *And round about the throne* [*were*] *four and twenty* **thrones:**] Or render with Alford, as above, "**And he that sat like in appearance to . . .; and round about the throne four and twenty thrones:**" the nom. again following "*behold*" in ver. 2.

elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold.

5 And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and thunderings and voices: and *there were* seven lamps of fire

The chief manuscripts, however, read here the accus. (θρόνους)—see *vv. ll.*; which is an argument against this construction.

On the word "*thrones*," see on ch. ii. 13.

and upon the **thrones** [*I saw*] *four and twenty elders sitting*,] "*I saw*" is not in the Greek—see *vv. ll.*; and the accusative depends on the verb (εἶδον) understood (De Wette, Düsterd.). Alf. regards the accusative as "loosely placed" with the nominatives after *behold*,"—see on ver. 2. Note also the omission of the article ("*the* four and twenty Elders") which is read in the *Textus Receptus*. In the Old Test., "the Elders" are the chiefs and natural representatives of the people of Israel; see Ex. iv. 29; xii. 21; xix. 7; xxiv. 1, &c.; cf. Heb. xi. 2. In the New Test. the early representatives of each church were also thus named, Acts xiv. 23; xx. 17; xxi. 18, &c. Here, accordingly, the "*four and twenty Elders*" (cf. "*the Ancients*," Isai. xxiv. 23, LXX.) are the representatives of the universal Church of God, and their number symbolizes the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Twelve Apostles:—so Victorinus, the earliest extant commentator. To this same effect Bossuet writes *in loc.*: "It is the collective body of the Saints of the Old and the New Testaments, who are here represented by their chiefs and their leaders." This follows (1) from ch. v. 8-10; (2) from Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30,—cf. Eph. ii. 4-6; (3) from ch. xxi. 12, 14, where the Twelve Tribes and the Twelve Apostles are conjoined; (4) from the union of the Old and the New Covenants in ch. xv. 3; (5) from the functions, distinctly representative, of the Elders, as described in ch. v. 5, 8; vii. 13. Burger's interpretation, that *Twelve* is the *number* of the Church (see Introd. § 11); and that the doubled *twelve* signifies the Church triumphant, consisting of its two elements—the Church of the Old, and the Church of the New Covenant—does not essentially differ from this conclusion.

St. Hippolytus (in the Arabic version of his commentary,—see Note A on ch. xii. 3) understands the Great and the Minor Prophets.

Reuss (who for "*Elders*" substitutes "old men," "*vieillards*,") insists that they are Angels of higher rank, placed immediately round the throne of God:—they represent, as their "white garments" prove, the celestial priesthood; and their number, 24, recalls the classes of the Levitical priests. It is an error to hold that the Oriental imagination represents Angels as young persons of perfect beauty. But, on the other hand—

That they are not *Angels* (Hoffmann and others), their name "*Elders*" proves;—their number, *twenty-four*, is not borrowed from the number of the courses of the *priests*, 1 Chron. xxiv. (Vitr., Ewald), for there is here no reference to the priestly *office*;—nor do they represent "the elders" of the church at Jerusalem (Grotius), for there is no proof that the number of the elders at Jerusalem was twenty-four: for a catalogue of similar opinions, see Düsterd. *in loc.* By a needless modification of the ancient opinion, Bleek and De Wette argue that the number of the Twelve Tribes is here doubled, in order to denote the accession of the Gentiles. Words. (after St. Jerome, *Prol. Galeat.*) takes the "*Elders*" to typify, *primarily*, the *twenty-four* Books of the Old Testament (see the catalogue in the sixth of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England); and, in *a secondary* sense, the Jewish Church; while the Four Living Beings (ver. 6) represent, in a similar manner, the Four Gospels, and the Christian Church.

arrayed *in white* **garments; and upon their heads**] Omit "*they had*,"—see *vv. ll.* On the colour "*white*," see on ch. i. 14 and cf. ch. iii. 4, 5; vii. 13, 14.

crowns of gold.] The conqueror's crown (1 Cor. ix. 25), the emblem of the victory of the Church; see Note D. on ch. ii. 10, where it is shown that the "*crown*" (στέφανος)—the term employed in this verse—does not denote the emblem of royalty, as it does in modern times: see, on the other hand, the argument of Archbishop Trench, quoted on ch. ii. 10. Dean Vaughan (*l. c.*, p. 129), likewise considers that kingly crowns are signified here. In ch. v. 10, observes Dean Vaughan, the *Elders* describe themselves as priests and kings; the white raiment, and the 'holy crown of pure gold,' with its well-known inscription, is the peculiar possession of the Levitical priests; see Ex. xxxix. 30. The *twenty-four Elders* represent the Redeemed made priests as well as kings to God. And he notes again (p. 160),—we have here "the white robe of priesthood, and then the kingly crown." As stated, however, on ch. i. 6, the concrete term "*king*" is not applied to Christians in the New Testament; and thus there can be no reference here to the kingly crown.

5. proceed *lightnings*] Not the past tense, as the A. V. renders here and elsewhere. "The present tense," writes Archbishop Trench, "is used in the New Testament, and

burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God.

6 And before the throne *there was* a sea of glass like unto crystal: and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, *were* four beasts full of eyes before and behind.

especially by St. John in the Apocalypse, to express the eternal Now of Him for Whom there can be no past and no future."—*On the Auth. Vers. of the New Test.*, p. 143.

and **voices** *and* **thunders.**] See *vv. ll.* Cf. the imagery in Ex. xix. 16, which explains the reference in the word "*voices*," as to which commentators differ. De Wette and Ebrard would limit the imagery to God's power over *Nature;* to which Bisping adds His revelation by Nature to the reason of man,—Gen. i. 2; Ps. civ. 30: but the present description (cf. ch. viii. 5; xi. 19; xvi. 18) rather sets forth, as Düsterdieck observes, the unlimited power of God, as it is represented in the language of the Old Testament.

Aretius applied this clause of the verse to the Holy Spirit, in consequence of the use of the word "*proceed*,"—see John xv. 26.

And [*there were*] *seven lamps of fire*] Properly **torches** (λαμπάδες, cf. Ezek. i. 13, LXX.; Matt. xxv. 1, &c.; Acts xx. 8, cf. ch. viii. 10; John xviii. 3; and see on ch. i. 12). The former construction, as at the beginning of ver. 4, is resumed. Alford omits "*there were*," and understands, as before, a nominative after "*behold*" in ver. 2; see also verse 6.

which are the seven Spirits of God;] See on ch. i. 4. The peculiar expression "**torches** of fire" in this place, and the parallel expression "*seven eyes*" (ch. v. 6), point to the all-searching, all-illumining operation of the Holy Spirit Who is beheld in this Vision under the symbol of the "*Seven Lamps of Fire*"—see on verse 2; and cf. Ps. cxxxix. 7; 1 Cor. ii. 10.

THE FOUR LIVING BEINGS (6–8).

6. *and before the throne,* **as it were** *a sea of glass*] Or **a glassy sea.** See *vv. ll.* The meaning is, either 'as if the *material* of the sea were of glass,' or as if it were *in appearance* transparent as crystal:—cf. ch. xv. 2; xxi. 18, 21. Perhaps the heavenly counterpart of the azure-vault as seen from earth (Stern, s. 204). To the same effect De Wette compares Ex. xxiv. 10; Ezek. i. 26; and Düsterdieck's objection, that the sea is not *beneath* but *before* the throne, has not much force. Ebrard thinks that as the stormy sea represents the godless nations (ch. xvii. 15), so here the pure and calm sea represents Creation in its true relation to its Creator. Burger notes:—In Dan. vii. 2, 3 (cf. Isai. lvii. 20) the confusion of nations is represented by the winds striving upon the great sea; from whence, as in Rev. xiii. 1, the forms ascend which symbolize the successive Empires of the world. The troubled surface which Daniel beheld becomes, when seen before the throne of God, calm and clear; reflecting, as from a mirror, every fulfilment of the Divine purposes,—especially those which relate to the stability of the Church on earth, amid the commotion of Empires and of peoples. And thus, in absolute contrast, the dark and troubled sea of Daniel's vision, is here seen by St. John "*as it were a sea of glass, like unto crystal.*" In ch. xv. 2, where the image recurs, the sea of glass is "*mingled with fire*," because the fiery wrath of God is hastening to the Judgment, and is there, in like manner, reflected from the untroubled surface of that sea.

De Burgh sees here and in ch. xv. 2 a reference to "the molten sea" or great laver of brass in Solomon's Temple (1 Kings vii. 23–26, 38), now introduced in order to typify the purification by baptism of all who are made kings and priests, see ch. v. 10:—so also Victorinus, Beda, De Lyra, &c.

like unto crystal;] Compare Ezek. i. 22,—"And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creature was as the colour of the terrible crystal."

Crystallus, "rock-crystal"—cf. ch. xxi. 11; xxii. 1. "The *crystal* (pure silica) is reckoned by Theophrastus (30) amongst the stones used in rings, where he speaks of it with the amethyst; adding 'both are transparent.' . . . The *crystal* was in enormous request amongst the luxurious Romans under the Empire for the purpose of making drinking-cups. . . Glass had been brought to such perfection when Pliny wrote, as to imitate the *crystal* with wonderful exactness. . . . . This colourless transparent glass, approaching as nearly as possible to the true crystal, was much admired."—King, *l. c.*, pp. 173, 178; see Pliny, *H. N.* l. xxxvii. 9, &c.

and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne,] Not as being *under* the throne, supporting it (Reuss), for they are free to move, see ch. xv. 7;—nor as bending over it, as it were overshadowing it (Hengst.);—nor "in medio illius areæ semicircularis quæ erat ante thronum" (Vitringa);—nor again as De Wette and Bleek who regard the throne itself as being semicircular with two Cherubim at the centre, and two in the circumference behind. (Bisping places *one* in the centre,

7 And the first beast *was* like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast *was* like a flying eagle.

8 And the four beasts had each of

three in the circumference of the semi-circle);—but, one at each of the four sides of the throne, and in the middle of the side: so Züllig, Düsterd., &c. See ch. v. 6.

four living beings] (Omit "*were*:"—the constr. as before). We should not, with the A. V., render ζῶον by "*beast*," for this properly belongs to a different word, θηρίον, as in ch. vi. 8; xi. 7; &c. (compare the use of the two words in ch. xiv. 3, 9);—nor, as Alf. observes, can we well render ζῶα by "Living *Creatures*," as in the Authorized Version of Ezek. i. 5, on account of their being now conjoined with the idea of *Creation* in *vv.* 9, 11 (cf. ch. v. 13, 14);—but simply "**Living Beings**," a name which is both indefinite, and expresses the conception of *Life* as the symbol requires: see below on verse 8, and Note A at the end of this chapter.

full of eyes] In these four Living Beings the Seer has combined the Seraphim of Isaiah vi. 2, 3 (from which description are borrowed the *six* wings as well as the *Trisagion* of ver. 8), and the Cherubim of Ezekiel (see Ezek. i, 5, 6; x. 5, 12)—whence, more directly, are borrowed the "*Four Living Creatures*," or "**Beings**," together with the "*faces*" (here separated, there united), as well as the "*body full of eyes round about*." See ch. xv. 7, where—apparently from before the throne (ch. xv. 2-4)—one of the Living Beings delivers to the Seven Angels the Seven Vials. See on ver. 8.

7. *And the first* **living being** [*was*] *like a lion*,] The constr. as in ver. 5. Alford, as before, omits "*was*;" and understands a nom. following "*behold*," in ver. 2. In Ezekiel (i. 6, 10; x. 14) the Cherubim have each "*four faces*"; here they have but *one* face each. For the etymology of the word Cherubim, and the traditional accounts respecting them, see Note B at the end of this chapter; and Note C on Gen. iii. 24.

and the second **living being** *like a calf*,] The noun here rendered "*calf*" (as also in Luke xv. 23; Heb. ix. 12—μόσχος) denotes in the LXX. an *ox*, a *steer*: e. g. Ex. xxii. 1; Ezek. i. 10. It is used by Herod., ii. 41; iii. 28 for "a *young bull*,"—a form which the god Apis was believed to assume.

and the third **living being had its face as of a man**,] See *vv. ll.* In Ezek. i. 5, the human form predominates; and the form here seems to be the same,—cf. ch. v. 8; xix. 4 (so Vitr., Hengst.). Bengel, on the contrary, infers from this verse, not a human *form*, but a human *countenance*. All, however, that this verse tells us is that the human *countenance* was the characteristic of the third Living Being, as the characteristic of the fourth was *to fly*.

and the fourth **living being** [*was*] *like a flying eagle*.] See Note B.

These four forms are to be taken as the heads of the four classes of animated creatures—rational beings, birds, tame animals, and wild animals. That is, we have here, ideally represented, the collective, living Creation on which the judgments of the first four Seals (ch. vi. 1-8) are inflicted—each of the Living Beings inviting the Seer to behold. So also, when the wrath of God is poured out on the created Universe (ch. xv. 7; ch. xvi.), one of the Living Beings gives to the ministering Angels the Seven Vials. The number *Four*, too, is the recognized "signature" of the assemblage of created life: it is, in fact, the "signature" of the world (cf. ch. vii. 1; xxi. 13),—not of the world as "without form and void," but as a Cosmos, as the revelation of God so far as Nature can reveal Him; see Introd. § 11 (a). The later interpreters of these mysterious forms (Victorinus, Andreas, Beda) see in St. John himself the eagle that soars into the highest heaven, and looks upon the unclouded sun. In the words of Adam of St. Victor:—

> "Cœlum transit, veri rotam
> Solis vidit, ibi totam
> Mentis figens aciem;
> Speculator spiritalis
> Quasi Seraphim sub alis,
> Dei vidit faciem."—*ap.* Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 71.

The earlier interpreters (e.g. Iren. III. 11, 8) made St. Mark answer to the Eagle, and St. John to the Lion:—see Note B at the end of this chapter.

Mr. F. D. Maurice sees here "types of powers met with in the worship and the art of all the nations of the earth" (*l. c.*, p. 76)—the Lion, the first Asiatic conqueror; the Calf, the worship of the Egyptian and the Hindoo; the Human figure, the ideal of the Greek; the Eagle, the dominion of Rome. The Seer beholds what was to prepare him for the downfall of his own country's worship. Each idolatry was a perversion of a truth. Each had its "*eyes behind*," which turned to Him that sat on the throne. The "*eyes before*" looked to the work of His hands."

8. *And the four* **living beings**,] See *vv. ll.*

having each one of them six wings,] Gr. "**one by one of them having six**

them six wings about *him*; and *they* [1] *were* full of eyes within: and they rest not day and night, saying,

[b] Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come. [b] Is. 6. 3.

[1] Gr. *they have no rest.*

wings apiece" (see John ii. 6; ? viii. 9). The gender of the participle (masculine, ἔχων,—see *vv. ll.*), is conformed to the *personality* of the Being signified:—see on verse 1. Cassiodorus (*Complex. in Apoc.*, ap. Migne, t. lxx., p. 1408) explains the "*six wings*" as signifying "the Age of the world"—"qui tali numero compleri posse dignoscitur" (see Note A on ch. xx. 2, as to the six Ages of the World.)

are full of eyes round about and within:] See *vv. ll.* The statement of ver. 6 is repeated here, in order to include the wings, as in Ezek. x. 12:—around and inside each wing, and on the part of the body beneath it. Ewald and Hengst. refer "*round about*" to "*before*" in verse 6: and "*within*" to "*behind*," *i.e.*, towards the throne. Reuss, who maintains that the throne was supported by the Four Living Beings (see Ezek. i. 26; Ps. xviii. 10), understands by "*within*" the part beneath the throne:—for the result of this erroneous interpretation see on ch. v. 8. The "*six wings*" in Isai. vi. 2 (each Seraph "*with twain covered his face, and with twain covered his feet and with twain did fly*,") denote *awe*, for the Living Beings dare not look upon God,—*humility*, for they stand in His presence,—*obedience*, for they are ready to execute His commands. The "*eyes*" on the whole body signify the never-resting, wakeful activity of organic life,—the vitality of organic Creation: see the next clause. After the fourth Seal (ch. vi. 7) and the Adoration in heaven (ch. vii. 11), the Four Living Beings again appear in ch. xiv 3; xv. 7; xix. 4. When the state of perfection has arrived in which the Divine idea of Creation is realized (ch. xix. 6), they disappear from the Apocalypse.

and they **have no rest**, *day and night, saying,*] "*Day and night*" may be taken with "*rest*," or with "*saying*." Sleep is the brother of Death, and hence these emblems of organic *Life* know no sleep: the expression of their life is a never ceasing song of praise, Ps. xix. 1–3. Of this unceasing activity the "*eyes*," as stated above, are the symbol. As to the gender (masc.) of the participle "*saying*," see on ver. 1.

THE TRISAGION.

"*Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God,* **the** *Almighty,*] Cf. ch. xv. 3. Or, "**Holy, holy, holy [is] the Lord God, the Almighty.**" The *Trisagion* answers to the Hymn of the Seraphim in Isai. vi. 3. On the title, "*the Almighty*," see on ch. i. 8.

which was and **which is and which is to come.**] Or **which cometh** (ὁ ἐρχόμενος). See on ch. i. 4; and note the different order here—past, present, future. Some (e. g. I. Williams, p. 71) refer "*which was*" to the Creator; "*which is*" to the Redeemer; "*which is to come*" to the third Divine Person:—but cf. ch. xi. 17. See on ver. 10.

It is generally admitted that the Four Living Beings here, and in Ezek. i. 5, are of the same character as the Cherubim of the Tabernacle of Moses (Ex. xxv. 20; xxxvii. 9), and of the Temple of Solomon (1 Kings vi. 24). From this general pattern we cannot suppose that they greatly deviated. That pattern, as described in Ezek. i. 5, 10 (cf. Ezek. x. 1), consisted of four elements—a man, a lion, an ox, an eagle. When the different descriptions are compared, it results that the figure of the Cherub had no fixed, definite form; and that the conception was that of a symbolical image. Thus, in Ezek. i. 6; x. 14, each Cherub has *four* faces and *four* wings; and of the four faces of each, that only is precisely described which was in front, and presented itself first to the beholder. In Ezek. xli. 18, 19, "every Cherub had *two* faces." In Ex. xxv. 20, the faces look one to another and also "toward the Mercy-seat;" accordingly each could have had but *one* face. Nor is the description of either writer uniform. In Ezek. i. 10, there are *four* faces; in xli. 18, but *two*. In Ezek. x. 14, where it is said "the first face was the face of a *Cherub*," the rest of the verse shows that this was the face of an *ox*, first presented to the prophet's eye;—cf. also Ezek. x. 8, with Ezek. viii. 3, and i. 10, 11. In Ex. xxvi. 1, 31; xxxvi. 8, 35, the curtains of the Tabernacle were embroidered with coloured figures of Cherubim, and so was the Veil of the First Temple (2 Chron. iii. 14); in Ex. xxv. 20, 21 (cf. 1 Kings vi. 23–30) "two Cherubim of gold, of beaten work," covered "the Mercy-seat with their wings." And thus the representations of this symbol were not the same;—in the one case there was a picture, in the other a sculptured shape. They were also the mark or token of the furniture of God's house (1 Kings vi. 29, 35), where they are connected with *palms* and *flowers*, thus representing the animal and the vegetable creation united:—cf. Ezek. xli. 18, 19, 25. In Ezek. i. 18, 19, the "*wheels*" alone seem to be "*full of eyes*" (for the connexion of the Cherub with "*wheels*" cf. 1 Kings vii. 29, 30, 133; 1 Chron. xxviii. 18, "*the chariot of the Cherubim*"): here, and in Ezek. x. 12, the body also of the Cherub is included. This

9 And when those beasts give glory and honour and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever,

absence of fixed form excluded idolatry; for the indefiniteness of the whole conception proved that nothing more than a symbol was intended. The form varied according to circumstances—one or other element predominating with a view to what was signified; and hence it is not necessary to suppose that the form varied at different *times*. Accordingly, at any one period, there may have been *four*, or *two*, or *one* face,—*six*, or *four*, or *two* wings,—predominance given to this or that animal form (see Ezek. i. 5); provided that the *four* chief elements in any manner showed themselves. And thus, all *four* together formed but *one* existence, called by Ezekiel (in ch. i. 20, 21; x. 15, 20) "*the living creature*," or "*being*" (Heb. חיה—which the LXX. renders, in the first two places, by ζωή, "life;" and elsewhere by τὸ ζῶον, as St. John in the Apocalypse). In fact, as the Cherub was but a symbol, and the only matter of moment was its meaning, its precise appearance and form were merely collateral details.

This diversity of form, as well as the analogous forms to be found among other ancient peoples, has led Dillmann (Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*, art. *Cherubim*) to deny that any form was prescribed in the Mosaic revelation (see, however, Ex. xxv. 18–22). The texts Gen. iii. 24; Ps. xviii. 10 ("*He rode upon a Cherub*"); Ezek. xxviii. 14, taken together, as well as in connexion with kindred conceptions to be traced among different nations, render it probable that we have here to deal with a conception common, from the earliest times, to the Israelites and to other races. The similarity is adduced of the Indian Vishnu seated on the *Garuda*, described as a being "lighting up the whole world" ("sarvâ vidyotayan diçaḥ,"—*Mahâbhârata*, i. 1239 ff.); and of the Greek *Okeanos* (Æsch., *Prometh.*, 286) seated on the *griffin* (*ib.* 395).

As to the *griffin* (γρύψ) it has been noted that while the *serpent* from the earliest ages has been a symbol of both good and evil, and the *dragon* only of evil, the *griffin* is the symbol only of good (see Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, and *Dict. Christ. Antiq.*; Jameson, *Sacred and Leg. Art*, p. xxxvi.).

The word *Cherub*, it should be observed, has no etymology in the Hebrew, or, generally, in the Semitic languages. Jewish theologians in the time of Christ—distinguishing them from the Angels generally, or *Messengers* of God, on account of their standing nearer to the throne, and on account of their name and form—placed the *Cherubim*, and the *Seraphim* (Isai. vi. 2), and the *Ophanim* ("*wheels*," Ezek. i. 16), in the highest rank of spiritual beings in heaven: "Then the Seraphim, the Cherubim, and Ophanin surrounded it; these are those who never sleep [cf. Rev. iv. 8], but watch the throne of His Glory" (*Book of Henoch*, lxx. 9, Laurence's transl. p. 83; cf. lx. 13, p. 66).

Dillmann considers that all such conceptions, whether Jewish or Heathen, are to be traced back to Gen. iii. 24:—see Note A at the end of this chapter; and also Bähr, *Symbolik des Mos. Cultus*, i., s. 311 ff.

As no significance is attached in the Old Test. to any single element of the Cherubim, so in the Apoc. there is no special significance attached to any one of the Four Living Beings. Each of them may perform a distinct office (see ch. vi. 1–7; xv. 7), but it is in their *combination* only that the Living Beings symbolize animated Creation. Each of them represents the highest form of the different orders of created Life.

The result, therefore, is that the throne of God is surrounded (1) by the Church of all time—symbolized in ver. 4 by the "*Four and twenty Elders*;" and (2) by His animated Creation—symbolized in ver. 6 by the "*Four Living Beings*" who represent the *creaturely life* of Nature. Hence, the grand doxology of the Church Universal or mankind redeemed, and represented by the Twenty-four Elders (*vv.* 10, 11),—a doxology of which Creation is the theme.

"Redemption" is first referred to in ch. v. 9.

9. *And when* **the living beings shall give**] "As often as (ὅταν), whensoever they shall give,"—the future tense implying the eternal repetition of the act: "a frequentative signification after the manner of the Hebrew imperfect" (Bisping); see Lücke, s. 451. De Wette insists on the force of the future, "henceforth, for all time to come,"—"previously, it was not so" (cf. ch. vii. 15–17); for not until the Redemption had been accomplished could the Church Universal (see on ver. 4) join in this adoration.

glory and honour and thanks] Compare ch. vii. 12.

to him **that sitteth** *on the throne*,] See on verse 2.

to him that *liveth for ever and ever*,] See on ch. i. 6:—the essential title of God, cf. verse 10; ch. vii. 2; Deut. xxxii. 40.

Reuss, who rejects the opinion that either Angels or created existences were intended by the author, sees in the Four Living Beings merely symbols of 'force,' 'creative power,' 'wisdom,' and 'omniscience':—"There is here an idea at once theological and philo-

10 The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying,

11 [c]Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.

[c] ch. 5. 12.

sophical and above all profoundly true, under this figure of symbolized attributes proclaiming the glory of God, which the conception of created existences does not attain to."

10. *the four and twenty elders*] See ch. v. 8, 14; xi. 16; xix. 4.

shall fall down *before him that* **sitteth** *on the throne, and* **shall worship** *him that liveth for ever and ever, and* **shall cast**] The tenses *fall down, and worship, and cast* are all future,—see *vv. ll.*, and on verse 9.

The words *him that* **sitteth** . . . *him that liveth* are repeated from verse 9, and give St. John's interpretation of the doxology in verse 8.

their crowns] The heavenly prize:—the emblem of immortality (see on ch. ii. 10);—or, it may be, which they wear as the Redeemed, as representatives of the victorious Church. Writers here quote Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 29) who tells how Tiridates cast down his *diadem* ("insigne regium") in homage before the effigy of Nero: so also Dion Cassius (*lib.* xxxvi) tells how Tigranes cast down his *diadem* before Pompeius;—cf. Joseph. *Antt.* xv. 13. On this subject, see Note D on ch. ii. 10.

11. **Worthy art thou, our Lord and our God,**] See *vv. ll.* Some authorities add, **the Holy one** (ὁ ἅγιος,—so B, the Syriac, And^{cp}). Düsterdieck would restrict "*our*" to the twenty-four Elders as representing the Redeemed; but Alford justly replies that "Creation is only a part of Redemption"—see below. Compare the doxology in ch. xi. 17.

to receive **all** *glory, and honour, and power:*] Gr. "**the glory and the honour, and the power:**"—the article expresses universality (see on ch. i. 6; vii. 12), or, as Bengel notes, it may refer back to the ascription of "*glory*" &c. by the Living Beings in ver. 9. Düsterd., however, considers that the Living Beings there ascribe "*thanksgiving*" to their Creator; while the Elders here, although belonging to Creation, yet, looking on Creation from without, in place of "*thanksgiving*," render praise as a tribute to God's creative "*power*," which they proceed to specify in the words that follow. It may be noted that in ch. i. 6; v. 13, "*dominion*" (κράτος) is ascribed to God or Christ;—in ch. v. 12; vii. 12, "*might*" (ἰσχύς);—here, "*power*" (δύναμις). God, it is true, has all "*power*" in *heaven* (see ch. xv. 8); but the *world* is not yet brought into subjection to the Divine power; and so we read of the ascription of "*power*" here, and in ch. v. 12; vii. 12; xii. 10; xix. 1, to God as due to Him on *Earth*. In ch. xi. 17, He is represented as having "*taken*" that "*power*."

for **thou didst create** *all things,*] The article before "*all things*," in the Greek, signifies that the Universe is meant. Creation, as has been noted above, is the theme of this doxology,—see on verse 8.

and **because of thy will**] Or, "**by reason of,**" '**on account of**' (διὰ τὸ θέλ., so Winer renders, § 49), cf. ch. i. 9; xii. 11; xiii. 14; John vi. 57:—Vulg. "*propter voluntatem tuam.*"

they were,] See *vv. ll.* "*They existed,*"—implying the fact of *being*, as contrasted with previous *non-existence*. So in Gen. i. 3, "Let there be light, and there was light:"—not ἐγένοντο, or ἐγενήθησαν, "came into being," as in Ps. xxxiii. 9, LXX. (De Wette, Hengst., Ebrard), which is but equivalent to "*were created*" in the next clause, and is not the sense of ἦσαν;—nor "in Thy eternal purpose, before they were created" (De Lyra);—nor "all things *were*, and were upheld, from the Creation to the present" (Bengel);—nor "were created, and [cf. the next clause] were created anew by Christ" (Grotius). See Düsterd. *in loc.*

and **they** *were created.*] These words give expression to the definite *fact* on which the statement "*they were*" depends.

Mede observes that this passage is the Eucharistic Hymn of the Ancient Liturgies. Hengst. notices the recurrence of the number *three* in *vv.* 8–10, viz. "Holy, Holy, Holy;" "Lord God Almighty;" "shall fall down," "shall worship," "shall cast."

Düsterdieck notices a reading of the uncial manuscript B, to which Ewald is favourable,—οὐκ ἦσαν: "*Cum non erant, creata sunt*," *i.e.*, "they were created out of nothing;" and Ewald, in his edition of 1861, further says of the reading which all good authorities support:—"ist so wenig Hebräisch oder sonst in irgend einer Sprache klar dass man nothwendig mit einigen Urkunden οὐκ ἦσαν hinzusetzen muss."—s. 163.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. IV.

NOTE A ON VER. 3—THE JASPER, THE SARD, THE EMERALD.

The selection of these three stones as symbols of the Divine glory is in accordance with what early writers tell us of the estimation in which they were held by the ancients. Thus, Plato (*Phædo*, 110) speaks of the gems admired by the Greeks — the *sard*, the *jasper*, the *emerald*; and he describes the "true world" [Paradise] as a region in which all the rocks consist of that substance whereof the precious stones of this lower earth are but fragments that have escaped the universal ruin of all things here below. To regard the emerald as merely denoting the principal colour (so Ewald, Stern, Hengst., &c.); or, with Züllig, to take *green* together with the colours of the two other stones as the *three* fundamental colours of the common rainbow, does not suit the character of this description, in which the chief Figure glitters like "*a jasper stone and a sard*,"—His *Nimbus*, or *Aureole*, being an *emerald bow*. Hence, no sensible representation of Deity is given; and the glory in which God is veiled so dazzles the eye of the Seer, that the impression left by the most brilliant components of light alone remains (1 Tim. vi. 16). When Ewald speaks of this perfectly unique alternation of colours as typifying for St. John "a heavenly light never yet beheld,"—we hear the echo of Wordsworth's famous line, "The light that never was on sea or land." Ewald, indeed, writes of this description with enthusiasm;—the doctrine, so dear to St. John, of the mysterious Trinity suggests the choice of the *three* colours: "Who shall here speak (he continues) of a human countenance, or of a human form? Only *an appearance* as that of a rainbow, yet infinitely brighter than that of a rainbow, makes its nearness felt." "As a sea was there," notes I. Williams, "but of glass, so a rainbow, but of emerald."

It is not necessary to dwell on the spiritual significations which have been discovered in this imagery: e. g., in ancient times (Victorinus, Primas., Beda), that, as the colour of water is green, and the sard is red, we have emblems of baptism and the deluge, and also of the judgment by fire;—or, in modern times (Ebrard), that the combined glitter of the jasper and the sard typifies the essential unity of God's holiness and justice;—or, as suggested by Burger, that the *green* of the emerald, "which is the most beneficent colour of the rainbow," symbolizes *Hope*.

NOTE B ON VER. 7—THE FOUR LIVING BEINGS.

The connexion of the Four Living Beings with the Cherubim of the ancient Tabernacle and Temple has been stated already:—it remains to point out the import of the symbol.

The 'Living Beings'—the ζῶα of the Apocalypse—are manifestly borrowed from the חיות (ζῶα, LXX.) of Ezekiel (ch. i. and ch. x.). The Apocalypse here introduces (*vv.* 6–9), surrounding the Throne, a symbolical representation consisting of the same four elements which are described in Ezek. i. 10 (cf. Rev. v. 6–14; vi. 1–7; vii. 11; xiv. 3; xv. 7; xix. 4). These "**Living Beings**" (for which the Authorized Version erroneously substitutes "*Beasts*") have nothing in common with the "*beasts*" of Rev. vi. 8, or the "*wild beasts*" of Mark i. 13; nor yet with the "*Beast*" of Rev. xi. 7; xiii. 1–18; xiv. 9, 11; xv. 2; xvi. 2, 10, 13; xvii. 3–17; xix. 19, 20; xx. 4, 10 —in all which places the word θηρίον is used.

We read of the ceaseless movements of the 'Four Living Beings' both in the present passage, and in Ezek. i. 14;—while, in a still higher reference, the continuous action of the Godhead is ascribed to the fact that the Father and the Son "have *life* in themselves," John v. 17–26. Absolutely and pre-eminently, the Cherubim are called "Living Beings." The idea of *life* is essential to the symbol; and thus they naturally image forth those existences to which *life* in its chief sense belongs.

Further:—The four elements of which the symbol consists (ver. 7), are instances of animated *creation:* the 'Living Being,' therefore, or Cherub, in its true conception and regarded as a whole, is a symbol which represents, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, *creaturely life*;—which exhibits the most perfect and the fullest degree of created being;—and which stands at its highest grade.[1] The number *four* also, which is no arbitrary number in Jewish symbolism (see Introd. § 11, (a)), is the recognized *signature* of Creation, especially so far as it is the witness and manifestation of God. The Cherub, accordingly, is such a being as, standing at the head of created life, and

[1] Hengstenberg (*Comm. on Ezek.*, Append., p. 507, Eng. tr.) considers that as soon as we recognize in the Cherub the ideal unity of the animal creation, the interpretation of the word follows of itself: it means "*as a multitude*,"—viz. כ (which does not belong to the root) and רוב The Jewish expositors, he thinks, did not perceive this, because they imagined that the Cherubim were of angelic nature: the truth being that they represent the animated creation *on earth*, while Angels are the "creatures" of *heaven*. Hence Jehovah "sitteth upon the Cherubim," Ps. xcix., and He is "God of Hosts" (Sabaoth), Ps. lxxx. 15; the phrases being co-ordinate (*ib.*, p. 503). Cf. 1 Sam. iv. 4.

uniting in itself the most perfect examples of created existence, is the formal manifestation of Divinely imparted life. This is illustrated by the nature of the four elements, as the Talmud (quoted by Spencer, *De Legg. Hebr.*, iii. 5, 4, 2) explains: "Quatuor sunt superbi in mundo—Leo inter feras; Bos inter jumenta; Aquila inter volucres; Homo, vero, super omnia: at Deus eminet super universa."

Of the significance of the Ox regarded as symbolic of excellence among tame animals, the worship of Apis among the Egyptians is a proof. There was also an imitation of this form of idolatry among the Hebrews (to which they had already yielded while in bondage, Josh. xxiv. 14; Ezek. xx. 6–8) exhibited in "the molten calf" of Ex. xxxii. 4. As expressly stated by Philo (*De Special. Legg.*, ii. p. 320) this form of idolatry was derived from an Egyptian origin; and it was again exhibited in the "sin" of Jeroboam (1 Kings xii. 28; 2 Kings x. 29). Preeminence among wild animals is assigned to the Lion (as instanced in the lions beside Solomon's throne, 1 Kings x. 19, 20) adopted as the natural symbol of sovereignty. The power of vision in the case of the Eagle (cf. also Ezek. x. 12; Rev. iv. 6, 8) is emblematic, in the Cherub, of the Divine omniscience; as his power of flight (cf. "a flying eagle," Rev. iv. 7), so constantly referred to in Scripture (e. g. Deut. xxviii. 49; Job ix. 26; Prov. xxiii. 5; Jer. iv. 13; Hab. i. 8), is emblematic of the Divine omnipresence. These characteristics, added to *reason* in Man, render the Cherub an ideal being, the type of *Creation* in its highest forms, and of *Life* in its most perfect energy: and so all the *four* חַיּוֹת, ζῶα, of Ezekiel i. 5—the "living creatures" of A. V.—are represented by that Prophet, in ver. 20, as *one* חַיָּה, ζωή, *Life*. As the entire Creation is a witness to the Divine power of life, so the Cherub, concentrating in its four elements the highest created energies, appears as *one* individual symbol representative of all animated existences; testifying to the power, majesty, omniscience, omnipresence, and absolute wisdom of God, as manifested by the universe of created Life. This testimony, we here (Rev. iv. 8, 9; v. 11–14) learn, is unceasingly borne by "the Four Living Beings;" and the idea which their forms symbolize is expressed in the words of Ps. ciii. 22, "Bless the Lord, all His works, in all places of His dominion." The Cherubim always appear in Scripture the ministers of the Divine will, just as Creation is bound to obey it. Thus we find the Cherubim (1) at the Gate of Eden—Eden the state of *Life*—and placed there "to keep the way of the Tree of *Life*" (Gen. iii. 24;[1] Ezek. xxviii. 11–16); and (2) surrounding, as here, the mystic throne of God:—observe if God sits upon His throne (1 Kings xxii. 19; Ps. ix. 4) He sits on the Cherubim (1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2; 2 Kings xix. 15; 1 Chron. xiii. 6; Ps. lxxx. 1; Isai. xxxvii. 16).

In Rev. v. 8, 11, the "Living Beings" are specially distinguished from Angels, who utter a song of praise of their own. The later Jews, however, seem to have considered the Cherubim to be of Angelic order; for in place of the Four Living Beings of Ezekiel and St. John, the book of Enoch (ch. xl. 9) places around the Throne the four Archangels, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Phanuel:—and R. Eliezer (*Pirke*) says that the four Cherubim of Ezekiel are these four Archangels, as leaders and representatives of the four Angelic Orders. Elliott, too (*Hor. Apoc.* i. 87–92), still insists that their nature is the "angelic, or *is-angelic* state of the glorified Church:"—in reply to which opinion ch. vii. 11 is conclusive, where the Four Living Beings are distinguished from "all the Angels."

The following meanings have also been assigned:—The Four Living Beings represent (a) The four Evangelists, or Gospels (see on ver. 7). According to the earliest commentator Victorinus, the *Man* is St. Matthew; the *Lion* is St. Mark; the *Calf* is St. Luke; the *Eagle* is St. John: and so St. Jerome, *Proœm. super Ev. Matt.*;—with St. Irenæus (iii. 11, 8), St. Mark and St. John here change places;—with St. Augustine (*De Cons. Ev.* i. 6), St. Matthew and St. Mark are interchanged;—with St. Athanasius (*Synops. Script.*, t. ii. p. 202), the order of St. Mark and St. Luke is inverted. And thus we see that this system of explanation is purely arbitrary, however generally it may have been adopted. Words. (see on ver. 4), I. Williams (who does not specify the particular Evangelists), and others understand generally by the symbol "*The four Gospels;*" and I. Williams (p. 70) thinks it probable that the origin of this symbol "is connected with Assyrian hieroglyphic."[1] (b) The *four* Patriarchal Churches:—The *Man* is Alexandria, the seat of learning;

[1] From this early reference to the Cherubim Hengstenberg (*l. c.*, i. 501) would infer that this symbol belongs, in its origin, not to the province of revelation but to that of natural religion.

[1] In the article *Cherubim*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed., 1876), it is stated that "fresh light" has been thrown upon this subject from the cuneiform inscriptions. Combining Ps. xviii. 10; 2 Sam. xxii. 11; Deut. xxviii. 49, the writer infers that "the cherub was either an eagle or a quadruped with eagle's wings. This result would seem to justify connecting the word with the Assyrian *kurubu*, a synonym of *kurukku*, or *karakku*, the 'circling' bird,—*i. e.*, according to Friedrich Delitzsch, the vulture." On the other hand Ezekiel (xxviii. 13–16) describes him "as the attendant and

the *Lion* is Jerusalem, exhibiting constancy in the faith, Acts v. 29; the *Calf* is Antioch, "quia primo in ea vocati sunt discipuli Christiani;" the *Eagle* is Constantinople, the See of such men as Gregory Naz. (De Lyra). (c) The *four* great Apostles,—Peter, James the Lord's brother, Matthew, and Paul as "the *Eagle*" (Grotius). (d) As the standards of Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, Dan (Num. ii.) represented the Church of the Old Test., so the Four Living Beings represent the Church of the New Test. (Mede). (e) The *four* Gospels and also the *four* cardinal Virtues (Andreas);—the *four* Virtues of the Apostles (Alcasar);—the *four* mysteries of the faith, the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension (Aretius);—the *four* faculties of the human soul, "*Homo* est vir rationalis; *Leo* irascibilis; *Bos* concupiscibilis; *Aquila* conscientia" (Corn. à Lap.). (f) The *four* Orders—"pastorum," "diaconorum," "doctorum," "contemplantium" (Joachim); or, as Vitringa, all the doctors of the Church. (g) Finally, the *four* Beings in Ezekiel, notes Renan (*L'Antechrist*, p. 381) symbolize the attributes of Divinity —wisdom, power, omniscience, creation.

On the symbolism as explained in the text, see Bähr, *l. c.*, i. s. 340–360, whose results are accepted by De Wette, Züllig, Hengst., Düsterd., Alf., &c. Ebrard only differs in regarding the Four Living Beings as symbolic not of Creation itself but of the creative power of God. Stern also asks "May we not refer the Cherubim of the New Covenant to the chief influences on the spiritual life of Divine Grace within the Church?" Yet in his explanation of ver. 9 (s. 209) he takes them to represent "all the creaturely life of Nature"—"alles creatürliche Leben der Natur," as above.

guard rather than as the bearer of Deity." "Now, according to a talismanic inscription copied by Lenormant, *kirubu* is a synonym for the steer-god, whose winged image filled the place of guardian at the entrance of the Assyrian palaces:" in Ezek. i. 10, one of the four faces of a cherub was that of an ox; "we should, therefore, connect the word cherub primarily with the Assyrian *kirubu*, but also, as proposed above, with *kurubu*. The two forms seem to be co-ordinate and expressive of some quality common to the king of birds and the colossal steer. Their etymology is altogether uncertain." Of parallels to the Cherubim to be found outside the Hebrew religion, the most complete "is that of the winged γρυπές (*griffins*, a secondary form of kerubim), who not only watched over the treasures of the gods (cf. Herod. iv. 13, 116), but were also the bearers of Deity, if at least Plutarch and Eustathius may be followed in identifying the τετρασκελὴς οἰωνός of Æschylus (*Prom.* 395), with the griffin" (see Hermann, *ad loc.*).

CHAPTER V.

1 *The book sealed with seven seals:* 9 *which only the Lamb that was slain is worthy to open.* 12 *Therefore the elders praise him,* 9 *and confess that he redeemed them with his blood.*

AND I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a

[Ver. 4 *om.* ἐγώ.—*om.* καὶ ἀναγνῶναι. Ver. 5 *om.* ὧν.—*om.* λῦσαι. Ver. 6 [A reads καὶ ἰδοὺ, which ℵ, B, P, 1 omit],—*om.* τά before ἀπεσταλ. [A reads ἀπεσταλμένοι]. Ver. 7 *om.* τὸ βιβλίον. Ver. 8 κιθάραν. Ver. 9 [ℵ, B, P read ἡμᾶς, which A omits,—cf. ver. 10]. Ver. 10 αὐτούς [Erasmus, without the authority of any MS., altered the reading of his codex into ἡμᾶς, after the *nos* of the Vulg.].—βασιλείαν.—βασιλεύουσιν [ℵ, P, 1 read βασιλεύσουσιν,—but Erasmus, followed by Luther and the A. V., altered this reading of his codex into βασιλεύσομεν, after the *regnabimus* of the Vulg.]. Ver. 11, καὶ τ. ζ., καὶ τ. πρεσβ., καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλ. χ., κ. τ. λ. [The codex of Erasmus reads καὶ τῶν ζώων· καὶ χιλιάδες χιλιάδων λέγοντες. Here, Er! inserted merely καὶ πρεσβυτέρων (without the art.) after the Vulgate "*et seniorum.*" The *Textus Receptus* reads καὶ τ. ζ. καὶ τ. πρεσβ. καὶ χιλ. χ. λέγοντες. The Vulgate: "*et erat numerus eorum millia millium, dicentium*"]. Ver. 13, *om.* the 1st ἐστιν.—ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.—*om.* ἅ [A reads ἐστίν].—[ℵ, B, P read λέγοντας,—A, 1 read λέγοντα].—[A, B read τῷ θρόνῳ,—ℵ, P, 1 read τοῦ θρόνου]. Ver. 14 *om.* εἰκοσιτέσσαρες.—*om.* ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων [Both insertions were introduced into the reading of his codex by Erasmus—followed by Luther, and the A. V.—after the Vulgate, "*Et viginti-quatuor seniores ceciderunt in facies suas: et adoraverunt viventem in sæcula sæculorum*"].]

CHAP. V.

The manifestation of God described in the fourth chapter (see on ch. iv. 2), is now followed, as an introduction to the Visions which disclose the future of the Divine Kingdom, by a revelation of the majesty and glory of Jesus Christ in presence of

book written within and on the back-side, sealed with seven seals.

2 And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is

the Hosts of heaven, and of the representatives of assembled Creation. After the Vision of the ideal Church, comes the Vision which shows how the great mystery is to be fulfilled. Of that mystery the Book with the Seven Seals is the type. The *Seal* is the symbol of an event still hidden in mystery, but Divinely decreed; and this image is borrowed from Isaiah xxix. 11, 12.

Apart from this reference to Isaiah, and a few other references to the earlier prophets, the entire conception of this Vision is original and peculiar to St. John.

THE SEALED BOOK (1–7).

In ch. iii. 5; xiii. 8; xx. 12, 15; xxi. 27, we read of "*the Book of Life*,"—that Book of God's counsels of Mercy out of which the Redeemed are to be judged (cf. Ex. xxxii. 32; Ps. lxi. 8; cxxxix. 16; Dan. xii. 1; Phil. iv. 3). Here we read of the secret counsels of God as to His Kingdom, of which the mystery—to be disclosed only by a special revelation—is symbolized by the sevenfold Sealing (cf. ch. x. 4; xxii. 10; Isai. xxix. 11; Dan. xii. 4, 9). Christ alone, the Revealer of God's counsels, can unfold this mystery. See ver. 9, and compare ch. i. 1.

1. *And I saw*] See on ch. iv. 1; as there stated, a particular feature of the Vision is now introduced.

upon *the right hand*] Not "*in* the right hand" (Vulg., Vitr., Hengst.)—in favour of which ch. xvii. 8 and ch. xx. 1 are appealed to; nor, "*on the right side* of Him that sitteth" (Ebrard)—which ver. 7 proves to be an error; but, according to the usage of the Apocalypse, "**upon**" the hand from which the Book is taken (ἐπί, with an accus.:—see on ch. i. 20). It lay *upon* the open hand for him to take who might be "*worthy*"—see ver. 7, and cf. ch. xx. 1.

of him that sat on the throne] See on ch. iv. 2.

a book written within and **on the back**,] See on ch. i. 11. Cf. "*a roll of a book*," Jer. xxxvi. 2;—"*it was written within and without*," Ezek. ii. 9, 10. "The back," or outside of a roll of parchment was written on when its inner side was full (ὀπισθόγραφον, Lucian, *Vit. Auction.*, 9;—"a tergo," Juv., *Sat.* i. 6;—"in aversa charta," Martial. viii. 22;—"commentarios *opistographos*," Plin., *Ep.* iii. 5).

Grotius renders: "written within; sealed without" ("*intus scriptum, extra signatum*").

In this fulness of the Roll commentators see an emblem of the completeness of the contents—an idea which is also implied by the number *Seven* of the Seals. Origen's commentary on St. John's Gospel opens with a reference to this place: "The Book written within," illustrates the *spiritual*; that written "on the back," the *literal* sense (*Opp.*, vol. iv, p. 1). Compare the Tables of the Law, Ex. xxxii. 15. Elliott needlessly understands by the writing "*within and on the back*," two divisions of written matter:—(1) The writing "*within*," he considers, described the three contemporaneous Visions which follow, the first part consisting of ch. vi. and ch. vii.; the second part of ch. viii. 1—ch. ix. 19; the third part of ch. ix. 20—ch. xi. 19. (2) The supplementary part (ch. xii. 1—ch. xiv. 8), or that which was written "*on the back*" of the Roll, contained the account of the rise and character of the Beast from the Abyss, or Papal Rome (*l. c.*, vol. i. p. 114; vol. iii. p. 4): see the remarks introductory to ch. xii. Compare also Mr. G. S. Faber's division of the Apocalypse already quoted, Introd. § 12, (2), note [3]. See within on ch. x. 8, and ch. xv. 1.

close-sealed *with seven seals.*] Or **sealed down**,—the verb is found only here. The end of the parchment is fastened down by the Seals to its staff, so that the Roll cannot be opened: cf. Luke iv. 17, where our Lord *unrolls the Book*. A profound mystery is hereby denoted,—see Deut. xxxii. 34. All the Seals are visible to St. John: each involves its own mystery; and the opening of each is followed by a special Vision—e. g. ch. vi. 2; but "nought could be read in the Book till after the unsealing of all the Seven Seals" (C. à Lapide). Cassiodorus explains: "Iste septem sigillis, id est Septiformi Spiritu, conspiciebatur esse signatus; quia mysteria Domini usque ad tempus præfinitum habentur semper incognita."—*Complex. in Apoc.*, p. 409. Düsterd. considers that, as each Seal is opened, the Vision which follows symbolizes a portion of the contents of the Roll; and that the Roll embraces all "the determinate counsel of God," but is itself not read. Alford concludes that the successive openings of the Seals "are but so many preparations for that final state of perfection in which the Lamb shall reveal to the Church the contents of the Book itself;" but that what the Book shall thus reveal is not stated by St. John. Schleiermacher observes that there is no ground for regarding this as "the Book of Destiny," for all that is said refers to the "*Seals*," not to the "*Book*" (*Einl. ins N. Test.*, s. 459).

We have no materials for judging of the contents of the Sealed Book. Even were the

worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?

3 And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon.

4 And I wept much, because no man was found worthy to open and

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events prophesied in this Book disclosed in the Visions which follow the opening of the several Seals,—and thus the contents of the Book itself expressed figuratively,—all must still remain a mystery; inasmuch as the disclosure is made through images and symbols, the full signification of which the final accomplishment alone can reveal. Bishop Wordsworth, on the other hand, writes:—"When one Seal is broken, a portion of the Roll is unwrapped and its contents are disclosed; then a second Seal is broken; and so on, till the Seven Seals are opened. . . . This Roll reveals a brief view of the successive *sufferings* of the Church of Christ from St. John's age to the end of the world." To the same effect Elliott and others;—viz., that we have Seven distinct writings, each sealed with one Seal, and each manifesting its own revelation. As to what the Roll itself represents, Dr. J. H. Todd (*Lectures on the Apoc.*, p. 91) reckons up sixteen different opinions; and he gives the enumeration as incomplete. Victorinus takes the Book to be the Old Testament; and explains that none but Christ (ver. 5) could preach what had previously required the typical teaching of sacrifices and various oblations. The opinion of many ancient and modern writers (see above) that the Roll contained the sum of the Divine counsels (Acts ii. 23), however unsatisfactory, necessarily includes the majority of the less comprehensive interpretations:—e.g. that what was written *within* signified the New Testament, and what was written *on the back* the Old (Primas., Beda, &c.); or that the Roll gave an account of the rejection of the Jews (Grotius, Hammond, Wetstein). Hengst. (after Schöttgen) regards "the Seal-group," ch. vi. 1–ch. viii. 1, as expressing the whole contents of the Roll, arguing that ch. iv. and ch. v. lead us to look for nothing but God's judgments on His enemies (Alcasar similarly explains ch. vi. 1–ch. xi. 19). Others, however, understand that from the seventh Seal (ch. viii. 1) a further development proceeds on to the very end, until which time the seventh Seal continues—the Visions which follow being "evolved," as it were, from this Seal, and "*the patience and the faith of the saints*" who wait for the day of the Lord (ch. xiii. 10; xiv. 12) being thus exercised. According to Mede (*l. c.*, p. 458), however, the Trumpets alone are "evolved" from the seventh Seal, which is "the Seal of the Trumpets;" and he understands this Sealed Book as containing the destiny of the Roman Empire, and the "Little Book" of ch. x. 2, 8 as containing the destiny of the Church. Burger also concludes that the contents of the "Sealed Book" are made known as soon as the seventh Seal is broken (ch. viii. 1); and that these contents are represented in the Seven Trumpet Visions.

As a "Futurist," Todd (*l. c.*, p. 98) relying upon ch. x. 8, Ezek. ii. 9, together with Ps. xl. 7 and Heb. x. 7, considers that the Roll "denotes the office or commission with which our Lord shall be invested, and in virtue of which He shall come again in glory to judge the world;"—and to the same effect De Burgh (p. 130), who takes the Sealed Book, and the whole Apocalypse itself, to be solely occupied with the account of the last great Crisis.

Mr. Maurice, as a "Preterist," takes the Sealed Book to be "the expression of God's purpose and will;" adding: "The belief that there is such a Book in such a hand, has sustained the strongest, sternest minds among men; it has enabled them to endure the world's despair and their own" (*l. c.*, p. 84).

The truth is that we do not read of any connexion between the opening of the Seals and the reading of the Book or Roll; nor, indeed, does the text state that the Roll was unfolded.

2. a mighty *angel*] As in ch. x. 1; xviii. 21: either as being of higher rank (De Wette, Stern, Züllig:—De Lyra specifies the Angel Gabriel); or with reference to that "*great voice*" which rings through Creation,—see ch. x. 3; xviii. 2.

proclaiming with a **great** *voice, Who* [*is*] *worthy*] Morally entitled, as John i. 27; cf. Matt. viii. 8.

On the absence of the verb substantive here (א, A, P omit ἐστιν), see Introd. § 7, IV. (*d*).

3. *And* **no one in the** *heaven*, **or on the** *earth*, **or** *under the earth*,] Grotius explains "*under the earth*" by *the sea* (cf. Ex. xx. 4, ὑποκάτω, LXX.):—but the evident meaning is the whole realm of Creation, cf. ver. 13; Phil. ii. 10. Ebrard understands Hades, the place of departed souls (not of demons),—compare Isai. xiv. 9, &c.

or *to look thereon.*] As illustrating the fact that no one "*was able to open the Book*," Origen compares Rom. iii. 10–12.

4. *And I*] The pronoun is not expressed —see *vv. ll.*: commentators, however, who

to read the book, neither to look thereon.

5 And one of the elders saith unto
[d] Gen. 49. 9. me, Weep not: behold, [d] the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.

6 And I beheld, and, lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain,

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read the pronoun, explain that it is emphatic, "I, on my part"—under the circumstances related in *vv.* 2, 3.

was weeping *much, because* **no one**] *I. e.*, because the promise of ch. iv. 1, seemed likely to fail:—"Without tears," writes Bengel, "the Revelation was not written, neither without tears can it be understood." Hengstenberg's idea that there is here a weakness of faith on St. John's part cannot for a moment be entertained. The Seer was waiting in the humility of faith until the Lamb had opened the Roll; cf. Matt. xxiv. 36; Mark xiii. 32; Acts i. 7.

"The Seer, when he wept," notes Mr. Maurice (according to the "Preterist" theory), "might have hoped that the open Book would have told him the judgment on the great Babel-empire of the world; that the seventh Trumpet might have announced the fall of Rome. No! when it sounds, Jerusalem will fall" (p. 186).

worthy **to open the book, or** *to look thereon:*] Omit the words, "*and to read*"—see *vv. ll.*

The interpretation of ch. iii. 7 given by Irenæus is to be noted here,—see *in loc.*

5. *and one of the elders*] Representing, as Vitr. notes, the body of the Elders—the Church. Of course attempts have been made to determine *which* of the Elders is the speaker:—some fix upon St. Matthew, in whose Gospel (xxviii. 18) the omnipotence of Christ is declared; De Lyra says St. Peter, who had already died as a martyr. Cf. ch. vi. 1, where one of the Living Beings in like manner addresses the Seer. On the form of expression "*one of the Elders*" (εἷς ἐκ τῶν) see John vi. 8; Matt. xxvi. 14; and cf. ch. xvii. 11.

behold,] To which corresponds "*And I saw,*" ver. 6.

the Lion **which is** *of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David,*] (Omit ὤν—see *vv. ll.*). Cf. Gen. xlix. 9; Isai. xi. 1, 10; Rom. xv. 12; Heb. vii. 14:—this harmony of remote texts illustrates the fact that Scripture is "one organized whole."

hath conquered, *to open the book*] Cf. ch. vi. 2. According to the usage of the Apocalypse, the verb "*to conquer,*" "to *overcome,*" is to be taken absolutely—as e. g. in ch. ii. 7, 11, 17, and especially in the full sense of ch. iii. 21. It denotes here the *past* victory of Christ ("Victor fuit in Resurrectione"—De Lyra). This, although not expressed, appears not only from the epithets applied, but also from the interpretation given in ver. 9,—'*because* Christ is the Lamb Who was slain, He has gained the right, and is therefore worthy to open the Book.' This is a pregnant construction; 'He conquered, [so as] to open,'—"the infin. epexegetic," see Winer, § 44; cf. ch. i. 1. "The glory of opening the Book of God's counsels . . . is one part of the '*Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him*' of Phil. ii. 9" (Vaughan, *l. c.*, p. 143). Like Irenæus (see on ver. 4) Origen also refers here to ch. iii. 7. On the other hand, many (e. g. Vitr., Bengel, Ewald) take the words in the same sense as the A. V., viz. "*hath prevailed to open*" ("obtinuit id quod tu desperandum putabas," Grot.), referring to the analogy of the Hebrew—e. g. Ps. li. 4 (l. 6, LXX., νικᾷν). But ch. iii. 21 is sufficient, of itself, to decide that the former is the correct sense; and hence the fitness of "*one of the Elders*"—one of those, who know the fruit of the Redemption—being chosen to indicate that Christ, exalted to His Throne, is the imparter of all Revelation.

and the seven seals thereof.] The words "*to loose*" are to be omitted—see *vv. ll.* The reading of the uncial MS. B (ὁ ἀνοίγων)—"He that openeth the Book and the Seven Seals thereof hath overcome"—does not alter the sense here adopted, and adds another epithet to Christ.

6. And I saw] What the Elder (ver. 5) had announced. A new feature of the vision is introduced—see on ch. iv. 1. Omit "*and, lo*"—see *vv. ll.* Or render (with A) **And behold,** *in the midst,* &c.

in the midst of the throne and of the four **living beings,** *and in the midst of the elders,*] Not '*on* the throne' (as Ebrard), viz. "*sitting* in the midst, on the throne, at the centre of two concentric circles, the inner formed by the four Living Beings, the outer consisting of the twenty-four Elders,"—which is forbidden by the fact that the Lamb is seen "*standing,*" and by ver. 7; but, as Düsterd., who refers to ἀναμέσον, ch. vii. 17, and to ἐν μέσῳ in ch. xxii. 2 as here; and who relies upon the repetition of "*in the midst*" as a Hebrew idiom (cf. Lev. xxvii. 12,

having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.

7 And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne.

14, LXX.), explains—'In the space in the centre which is the throne together with the four Living Beings (as in ch. iv. 6); and which is surrounded, as its outward limit, by the circle of the twenty-four Elders' (ch. iv. 4). Or we may understand (as De Wette), before the throne on "*the glassy sea*;" or (as Bleek), within the semicircle of the throne, and therefore "in the midst of the Elders" also.

a Lamb] This epithet (*ἀρνίον*) is applied to our Lord twenty-nine times in the Apoc., —the word occurring elsewhere in the N. T. only in John xxi. 15, where our Lord says, "*Feed my lambs.*" The other form (*ἀμνός*) of this epithet is found only in John i. 29, 36, and in Acts viii. 32, where it is borrowed from Isai. liii. 7 (LXX.):—see also 1 Pet. i. 19. Alford observes (*Prolegg.*, p. 228) that this *personal* name, *the Lamb*, in whatever form, is common only to the Apoc. and the Fourth Gospel. On the difficulty which has been raised respecting the authorship of the Apocalypse, owing to the application of this name under its different forms to Christ, see Introd., § 7, IV. (*c*).

The diminutive form (*Arnion*) which is employed here brings forward more suggestively, as De Wette points out, the idea of meekness and innocence:—Christ had just been spoken of as a "Lion;" He now appears as "a Lamb." Lücke (s. 678) contrasts this use of the diminutive, as well as the reference contained in the word "*slain*," with the idea of *power* conveyed by the symbol of "*the Seven Horns.*" See Words., quoted on ch. xi. 7.

standing,] *I. e.*, in posture as if living. St. John now sees, what he had already heard, ch. i. 18; cf. Rom. vi. 9: the Lamb is beheld standing as in life, and yet—

as **though** *it had been slain,*] For the verb cf. Ex. xii. 6; and see on ch. vi. 4. This verb (*σφάττειν*), found *eight* times in this Book and "used, so to speak, as a *vox solemnis*, with a special fulness of meaning," occurs elsewhere in the New Test. only in 1 John iii. 12, where it is "designed to exhibit before the reader's eyes the unmitigated fearfulness of the act of Cain:"—cf. Haupt on 1 John iii. 12. See Introd., § 7, IV. (*f*).

As **though** *it had been slain, i.e.*, bearing in His body the marks of His sacrificial death —the print of the nails and the wound of the spear (see ch. i. 7, and John xx. 20, 27; Luke xxiv. 39), tokens which shall also fill His enemies with terror (ch. vi. 16). The words "*as* (**though**) *it had been*" mark the contrast between "*standing*" and "*slain*" —the former setting forth the Lord's risen life (cf. ch. i. 18); the latter the abiding power of His sacrificial death. Wordsworth contrasts the words "*as though it had been slain*" of ch. xiii. 3.

The Lamb has a double emblem—

seven horns,] The first emblem. This denotes universal dominion (Matt. xxviii. 18); the *Horn*—an idea borrowed from the strength of the ox—being the symbol of *power* (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 17; 1 Sam. ii. 1; 1 Kings xxii. 11; Luke i. 69), and the number *Seven* the "signature" of perfection:—see Introd., § 11. This symbol is applied (but with different accessories) to beings of very opposite qualities: to the Lamb as here;—in ch. xii. 3 to the Red Dragon and in ch. xiii. 1 to the Beast from the sea, who have each *Ten* Horns. As being well known from its frequent occurrence in the Old Testament, this symbol is not explained by St. John, as are the

and seven eyes] The second emblem of the Lamb:—the symbol of perfect knowledge. Cf. Zech. iii. 9; iv. 10.

See the notes on Dan. viii. 5, 6, which refer to the symbol of strength and intelligence, still to be seen on the sculptures at Persepolis—the goat with "*a notable Horn between his eyes.*"

which are the seven Spirits of God,] *I. e.*, the "*Seven Eyes*" are the "*Seven Spirits*," as we learn from ch. i. 4; iii. 1; iv. 5, compared with Zech. iii. 9; iv. 10. See 2 Chron. xvi. 9.

Bengel and De Wette would include the "*Seven Horns*" also in the explanation—which is not grammatically impossible (Alf.).

Besides *omniscience*, this emblem also denotes the *active* operation of Godhead, whereby the Divine energy works *on* and *in* the world. Both symbols conjoined signify the plenitude of omnipotence and omniscience. And thus we learn "the position occupied by the Saviour in Heaven, as the Lamb that was slain;" and then "the presence in all the earth of that Divine Spirit, Who is the very eye of Christ."—Vaughan, *l. c.*, p. 156. The symbolism also expresses the relation of the Divine Spirit to the Lamb,—for "the Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son."

Henceforth "*the Seven Lamps of fire*" (ch. iv. 5) are no more seen before the throne.

sent forth] See *vv. ll.*

7. *And he came, and* **he taketh** [**it**]] Omit "*the Book*"—see *vv. ll.* The *perfect* (*εἴληφεν*), as in ch. vii. 14; viii. 5, is used for

8 And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four *and* twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of ‖odours, ‖ Or, *incense.* which are the prayers of saints.

"the narrative *aorist*,"—see Winer, s. 340, who compares 2 Cor. i. 9; ii. 12, 13; xi. 25; Hebr. xi. 28. If the force of the perfect tense, occurring here among the aorists, be given—as appears to be more natural—viz. "**and he hath taken it**," the description becomes highly dramatic; see ch. xi. 17. To ask (as Vitr.) how the Lamb could *take*? or to speak (as Stuart) of "æsthetical difficulties," is to overlook the principle that the symbols of Scripture are not capable of sensible representation,—see on ch. iv. 3, 7. Ebrard insists on the sense "received," as suiting the relation of the Son to the Father.

The Book is taken as it lay *upon* the open hand, see on ver. 1.

that sat **on** *the throne.*] See on ch. iv. 2. Christ knows that it is His office to take the Book, and that He has the power to open it.

THE WORSHIP IN HEAVEN (8–14).

8. *And when* **he took** *the book,*] In ver. 7 this same verb is in the *perfect* tense: here, the aorist has rather its own force than that of the *pluperfect*, "*he had taken*," as in the A. V. In support of the pluperfect Düsterd. refers to Matt. vii. 28; and to ch. vi. 1, 3, &c.

It now became known that it was the Lamb who was worthy to unseal the Roll,—see ver. 2.

the four living beings *and* **the** *four and twenty elders*] They who in ch. iv. represent animated Creation and redeemed Humanity, and who had adored God the Father, before the throne, in alternate hymns of praise. These now unite, with one voice, in adoring the Lamb, for He shares the homage paid to "*Him that sitteth on the throne*" (ver. 13), as He shares the throne itself (ch. iii. 21; xxii. 1). And thus the doctrine is here represented typically, which St. Paul had expressed in words—see Phil. ii. 8-11. To this united hymn of praise the host of Angels returns the response in ver. 12.

For the interpretation of Reuss, who takes the Elders ("*vieillards*") to represent the celestial priesthood, see on ch. iv. 4.

fell down before the Lamb,] In that tone of sarcasm which marks his commentary, Reuss notes that the image here is not allied to those which have preceded, "car les animaux portant le trône de Dieu ne sauraient se jeter à terre sans ébranler ce dernier." It is his own exegesis, however, which is at fault—see on ch. iv. 4, 8.

having each one a harp,] (See *vv. ll.*). Writers here also raise "æsthetical difficulties" as to assigning harps to the Four Living Beings described in ch. iv. 7;—needlessly, as noted above on ver. 7. It is more to the point to urge that the Elders alone seem to be intended here,—inasmuch as they, being representatives of the Church, are better suited to offer up "*the prayers of the saints*" than the symbolic representatives of Creation (cf. ch. xiv. 2, &c.; xv. 2): so Düsterd.

On the "*Harps*" and "*Vials*," see note A at the end of this chapter.

and golden vials] The "*vial*" or "*bowl*" (Lat. *patera*)—a word common in classical Greek—was a broad, flat, shallow cup. The LXX. use it to express the "*bason*" (Ex. xxvii. 3) or "*bowl*" (Zech. ix. 15; xiv. 20) of the Authorized Version, which was a vessel used for receiving the blood of the sacrifices, and casting it upon the Altar. The reference here is to the use, in the Temple worship, of incense-cups (A. V. "*spoons*," *i.e.*, small gold cups—see the note on Ex. xxv. 29) to receive the frankincense (ch. xviii. 13) which, lighted with coals from the Brazen Altar that stood in the court immediately in front of the Tabernacle (see the notes on Ex. xxvii. 1–3), was offered on the Golden Altar before the Veil (Ex. xxx. 1–9):—see ch. viii. 3; cf. Ezek. viii. 11. The word "*vial*" is employed in the classical sense of κρατήρ in ch. xv. 7:—cf. ch. xiv. 10.

full of **incense,**] Minute directions were given (see Ex. xxx. 34-36) for the composition of the symbolical incense; the use of which, like the prayer which it represented, belonged to Jehovah alone (Ex. xxx. 37, 38). The High Priest was to renew and kindle it every morning and evening (Ex. xxx. 7, 8); and in the service of the second Temple all priests offered it by lot,—see Luke i. 9. In the typical worship of the Old Testament, the ascending smoke of the burnt offering—"the sweet savour unto Jehovah" (see the note on Lev. i. 9)—and especially of the incense was the symbol of prayer: Lev. xvi. 12, 13; Ps. cxli. 2; Isai. vi. 4; Luke i. 9, 10:—cf. Acts x. 4; Tobit xii. 15. See Note A at the end of this chapter, and Note C on ch. viii. 3.

which are the prayers of **the** *saints.*] By the "*saints*," here as elsewhere, are to be understood all the members of the Church of God (ch. xi. 18; xiii. 7; cf. Eph. ii. 19).

De Wette, Ebrard, Düsterd., Alf. take the word *vials* to be the antecedent to "*which*;"—but ch. viii. 3 as well as the analogy of Hebrew symbolism fix the reference to

9 And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation;

10 [e]And hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth.

[e] 1 Pet 2.9.

θυμιάματα, incense, the gender of the article (feminine) presenting no difficulty, e. g. ch. iv. 5; Mark xv. 16; 1 Tim. iii. 15. See Winer, § 24, s. 150; and Introd., § 7, IV., (*f*).

9. *And* **they sing** *a new song,*] "*New*" (see on ch. ii. 17, and cf. ch. xiv. 3), because, previously to the redeeming work of Christ, the earlier Church, though it also is represented by the Elders, could not have uttered this song. A *new* point is now attained in the development of God's kingdom—namely, the accomplishment of that work of redemption, as stated in what follows. The comment of Victorinus is that the New Testament is now added to the Old.

The *present* tense, "**sing**," denotes the never-ceasing worship of heaven,—see on ch. iv. 2, 8. Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 3; xl. 3; xcvi. 1; &c.

saying, **Worthy art thou**] See ver. 12; and ch. iv. 11.

and didst redeem *us* **unto** *God* **with** *thy blood*] The authorities for retaining "*us*" perhaps predominate, see *vv. ll.*:—if the pronoun be omitted, render: "**didst redeem unto God with thy blood** [men] **of every**" &c.: see ver. 10. The tenses point to the definite, past act of the Crucifixion—cf. ch. i. 5. The sense literally is, **Thou didst purchase us** [or **men**] **unto God in**, or **with**,—the verb being rendered by the A. V. "*redeem*" only here, and in ch. xiv. 3, 4. In the ordinary sense of "to buy" or "purchase" it is found in ch. iii. 18; xiii. 17; xviii. 11; John iv. 8; vi. 5; xiii. 29. The compound verb (ἐξαγοράζω) is used only by St. Paul—e.g. Gal. iii. 13. Winer notes that the prep. *in* is, after the Hebrew idiom (as in 1 Chron. xxi. 24), the prep. *of price:* "The value of what is bought is contained in the price (to which the ἐκ of price corresponds)."—s. 348. Cf. "**to loose us by**" (λύειν ἐν τῷ αἵματι), ch. i. 5.

out of every **tribe,** *&c.*] Or render as above, [**men**] **of every tribe.** The *fourfold* enumeration here, as usual in this Book (e. g. ch. vii. 9; x. 11; xi. 9; xiii. 7; xiv. 6; xvii. 15), is symbolically exhaustive—all the inhabitants of the earth: see Introd., § 11, (a). Burger notes that, since the date of "the confusion of tongues" (Gen. xi. 7–9), mankind has been separated according to this four-fold division of which we had already met with an illustration in Gen. x. 5, 31. This separation has ceased in Christ.

10. and didst make them [**to be**] *unto our God* **a kingdom** *and priests;*] *I.e.*, the redeemed:—on the words **them**, and **a kingdom**, see *vv. ll.* Cf. also the note on ch. i. 6, and on ch. ii. 10.

and they reign *on the earth.*] See *vv. ll.* This last clause is an addition to ch. i. 6. The redeemed are united into *a kingdom;* as citizens of this kingdom they are *priests*, for they are admitted to the closest, the most intimate relations with God (cf. ch. vii. 15); and as such they share in the kingly rule of their Prince,—*they reign.*

The expression "*to reign*," notes Reuss (on ch. xx. 4), is borrowed from Jewish theology which promised to Israel, during the Messianic epoch, supremacy over all peoples. It occurs in the Apocalypse in a new signification:—Christ establishes *His Kingdom*, that is to say He causes truth, justice, holiness to triumph, and consequently inaugurates an era of happiness for those who are His own. These latter are members of the *Kingdom*,—they enjoy the blessings which depend on it. This is the meaning of the phrase "*to reign*" in the Christian sense. Christ's "*kingdom is not of this world*" (John xviii. 36).

The Church is here regarded not in its disembodied state, but as it is now upon earth,—with the Lamb in the midst of it, sending forth into all the world that sevenfold plenitude of His power and wisdom which the "*Horns*" and "*Eyes*" symbolize, in order to the perfecting of the saints unto the day of His Coming (see *Christ's Second Coming*, by Dr. David Brown, 6th ed., p. 447). Good MSS. also read "**they shall reign**" (see *vv. ll.*), and the tense does not really affect the meaning. The future tense, however, is taken by the advocates of the "Pre-millennial Advent" and of the Millennium generally to denote the personal reign hereafter, with Christ, of those who "*sing the new song*" (ver. 9)—a literal reign *on the earth* during the literal "Thousand Years" (ch. xx. 4). Burger, who accepts the future tense, notes: "'They shall reign as kings,'—not in worldly power on the earth as it is now; but, when restored to that state originally designed for man (Gen. i. 26, 27), over '*the new earth*,' ch. xxii. 5." As to the whole question of the reign of the saints on earth, see the notes on ch. xx. 1–6.

"In this difficult passage," notes Ewald,

11 And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne and the beasts and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands;

12 Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.

13 And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and

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"(the Arabic) Hippolytus [see Note A on ch. xii. 3] reads **didst redeem us** [the 24 Elders] **and didst make them** [viz. believers] **. . . and they shall reign.** And he understands the *reign on the earth* to mean the period of the Thousand Years, after the first or partial resurrection of the just."

11. And I saw,] The Angelic host, as distinguished from the Elders and the Living Beings.

and I heard **a voice** *of many angels*] The host of Angels now take part in the hymn of praise which the Elders had sung. From the symbolic representatives of the Church they have now learned "the manifold wisdom of God," Eph. iii. 10; 1 Pet. i. 12; therefore, they at once unite in the hymn of praise.

Tischendorf (with ℵ) reads **as it were a voice.**

round about the throne **and the living beings** *and the elders;*] The Angels—encompassing the throne and the Living Beings and the Elders—surround the scene described in ch. iv.; see ch. vii. 11 (cf. 1 Kings xxii. 19): "Thus the redeemed Creation stands nearer to the throne of God than even the Angels, see Heb. ii. 5, &c." (Bisping). The strain of adoration begun in *vv.* 8, 9 is continued here: in ver. 13 it is echoed by universal Creation.

and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands;] Gr. **myriads of myriads,** *and thousands of thousands.* Cf. Dan. vii. 10; Hebr. xii. 22; Jude 14. Various ranks and orders of Angels, as well as their separate offices, are distinguished in the Apocalypse:—the Archangel Michael, ch. xii. 7 (cf. Dan. xii. 1; 1 Thess. iv. 16);—the "*mighty*" Angels, ver. 2; ch. x. 1; xviii. 21;—the Angels "*having great authority*," ch. xviii. 1;—Angels entrusted with special commissions, ch. xiv. 6; xv. 7; xvii. 1, 7;—Angels which have a special function, ch. vii. 1, 2; viii. 3; xiv. 18; xvi. 5; xx. 1;—and there are other more minute distinctions.

On the Greek text here see *vv. ll.*:—the A. V. follows the Complutensian text; while Tyndale, Coverdale, the Great Bible, the Bishops', the Geneva of 1557, follow, more or less closely, the *Textus Receptus* and the Vulgate:—see Scrivener's *Paragraph Bible*, Introd., App. E., p. cii.

12. *saying with a* **great** *voice,*] The word *saying* is not construed with **myriads,** but (the words "*and the number*," &c., being taken as a parenthesis) with "**angels**" understood in the nom.—as if the sentence had commenced with "**and the angels lifted up their voice, saying:**"—see Winer, § lix. 11.

Worthy is the Lamb **that hath been slain**] Cf. ch. xiii. 8.

to receive] As ascribed to Him in ch. iv. 11.

the *power, and riches, and wisdom, and* **might,** &c.] Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12. In this doxology—sevenfold as when again offered by the Angels in ch. vii. 12—*one* article is prefixed to the seven nouns; and is not affixed to each as in the classification which is given in the note on ch. i. 6: hence, Bengel (whom nearly all modern writers quote) observes that these seven words of praise are to be uttered as one single word. Bengel would also, unnecessarily, refer the number seven to the number of the Seals. Note that the word "*riches*"—not merely spiritual "*riches*" (cf. John i. 16; Eph. iii. 8), but the *fulness* of every "*gift*" of God (cf. James i. 17; Acts xvii. 25)—is found only here in a doxology, and in connexion with "*power.*"

13. *And every* **created thing**] At length the various hymns of praise (ch. iv. 8, 11; v. 9, 12,) are all combined in one harmonious chorus. The manner in which Creation welcomes the redemption "of the children of God" (see Rom. viii. 19–23) is here declared.

which is in **the** *heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth,*] "*Under the earth*" refers, as in Phil. ii. 10, to those in Hades,—see on ver. 3; not the demons, "qui *inviti* parent Christo" (Vitr.).

and on the sea,] See *vv. ll.* "*The sea*" is first referred to (symbolically) in ch. iv. 6. On the frequent use of "*the sea*" in the Apocalypse, both literally, and as a symbol—the Apostle's exile at Patmos rendering it an object familiar to him, see Introd., § 4.

and all **things** *that are in them,*] The usual summary of collective Creation, as in Ex. xx. 11; Ps. cxlvi. 6; Phil. ii. 10.

heard I, saying,] See *vv. ll.*; and for the gender, cf. on ch. iv. 1.

honour, and glory, and power, *be* unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.

14 And the four beasts said, Amen. And the four *and* twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever.

All *blessing, and honour, and glory, and* **dominion,**] As in ch. i. 6, the article is prefixed to each noun. The Father's praise is celebrated in ch. iv. 8–11; the Son's in ch. v. 9–12; here, both are glorified,—cf. Rom. xvi. 27; 1 Pet. iv. 11. Bengel again refers the number *four* in this doxology to the *four* classes of Creation in the preceding clause; see on ver. 12.

[*be*] *unto him that sitteth* **on** *the throne,*] See *vv. ll.*:—the genitive, or, perhaps, the dative, is to be read here; cf. on ch. i. 20.

In this triumph of Redemption, redeemed Creation (ver. 8) first takes part; then the Angels (ver. 11), as "ministering spirits" who do service for the sake of them who have now inherited salvation (Heb. i. 14); and then, as here, **every created thing.** This symbolic scene represents the great thought of St. Paul, that Christ has reconciled all things on earth and in heaven, and has united them in Himself—Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 20.

The connected Visions of ch. iv. and ch. v. are now brought to a close; and this conclusion introduces ver. 14.

14. *And the four* **living beings** *said, Amen.*] As in ch. iv. 8 these representatives of Creation had commenced the series of hymns, so now they pronounce the "Amen," which forms the customary close of Divine worship,—see 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

And the elders fell down and worshipped.] See *vv. ll.*:—the verse closes here. The Elders, the representatives of the Church Universal, in silent adoration add their assent;—the last tones of the hymns die away, and the opening of the Seals begins.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on Chap. V. 8.

NOTE A ON VER. 8—THE HARP, THE VIAL, THE INCENSE.

The *Harp*,—Heb. כִּנּוֹר, LXX. (1 Sam. xvi. 16, 23) *κινύρα*, in the Psalms always *κιθάρα*, as here. In 1 Sam. xvi., David played "with his hand;" Josephus (*Antt.* vii. 12, 3) says the *harp* (*κινύρα*) had ten strings (cf. Ps. xxxiii. 2) and was played with a *plectrum*, whereas the *nabla*, or psaltery, was played with the fingers. At all events the *κιθάρα* here, was rather a guitar or lute, than a harp:—see Winer, *Real-Wörterb.*, art. *Musik. Instrum.*; and the note on 1 Sam. x. 5. It has been "usual to consider the Aramaic word (קיתרס) in Dan. iii. 5, a transcript of the Greek *κίθαρις*:"—see *Excursus* on Dan. iii.

The *Vial*:—The word *φιάλη* is used in the LXX. as the equivalent of the Hebrew מִזְרָק (e. g. Ex. xxvii. 3; Num. vii. 13, 84; Zech. ix. 15), rendered in A. V. "*bowl*" or "*bason*" of silver; while the incense-cup, Heb. כַּף (A. V. "*spoon*" of gold, Ex. xxv. 29), is expressed by *θυίσκη*,—both Greek terms being found in 1 Kings vii. 36; 2 Chron. iv. 21: see the engraving of the Shewbread Table with its incense-cups in the note on Ex. xxv. 23. Josephus connects them with the Table (*δύο φιάλαι χρύσεαι λιβανωτοῦ πλήρεις*, *Antt.* iii. 6, 6; 10, 7). Bishop Wordsworth notes: "The word *φιάλη* (connected with *φίω*, *suf-fio*, which may be compared with *θύω* and *thus*, '*incense*') does not signify *a vial*, or *bottle*, but a broad shallow vessel. as the Latin *patera* from *pateo*, whence also *paten*, like a saucer or bowl-like dish (see the authorities in Wetstein, p. 769)." In ch. xv. 7 (cf. ch. xiv. 10) St. John uses the word *φιάλη*, in a different sense, to signify the smaller cup by which wine was drawn out of the larger *κρατήρ*, or *mixing* vessel, in which the wine for a meal was *mixed* with water. So Plato (*Crito*, p. 120, a), *χρυσαῖς φιάλαις ἐκ τοῦ κρητῆρος ἀρυττόμενοι*—see Alford's note on Rev. xv. 7.

Incense, *θυμίαμα*[1] (the plural only is used in the Apocalypse), was the symbol of prayer: "Isai. vi. 3, 4 is almost equivalent to an express interpretation .... The same may be said of Luke i. 10, where the people are said to have prayed in the fore-court, whilst the priest was in the Holy Place burning the incense."—Kurtz, *Sacrificial Worship*, Engl. tr. p. 295. A silver shovel—A. V. "*firepan*," Ex. xxvii. 3 (מַחְתָּה)—was filled with live coals, and then emptied into a golden one smaller than the former, so that some of the coals were spilled (cf. Rev. viii. 5); and when the incense was brought in the incense-cup (כַּף), the priest cast it on the fire (Mishna, *Tamid*, v. 4), profound silence being kept by the people praying without (cf. Rev. viii. 1):—see Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Incense*.

[1] Hebrew *Ketoreth* (קְטֹרֶת), Ex. xxx. 1. See also Isai. lx. 6, *Lebonah* (לְבוֹנָה); and Note C on ch. viii. 3.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The opening of the seals in order, and what followed thereupon, containing a prophecy to the end of the world.*

AND I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard, as it were the noise of thun-

[Ver. 1 ἑπτὰ σφρ.—φωνῇ.—*om.* καὶ βλέπε (added by Erasmus to the reading of his Codex after the *et vide* of the Vulgate; and so in *vv.* 3, 5, 7). Ver. 4 ἐκ τῆς γῆς [A *omits* ἐκ].—σφάξουσιν. Ver. 6 ὡς φωνήν. Ver. 7 [B, C, P omit φωνήν].—λέγοντος. Ver. 8 ἠκολούθει.—ἀποκτεῖναι follows τῆς γῆς. Ver. 10 *om.* ὁ before ἀληθ.—ἐκ τῶν κατοίκ. Ver. 11 ἐδόθη [1 merely reads καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται, which Er. filled up after his manner].—αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ.—στολὴ λευκή.—*om.* οὖ.—πληρωθῶσιν. Ver. 12 *om.* ἰδού.—ἡ σελήνη ὅλη. Ver. 14 ὁ οὐρ. Ver. 15 οἱ χιλίαρχοι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι.—καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροί (not read in 1; Er. supplied καὶ οἱ δυνατοί after the *et fortes* of the Vulgate).—*om.* πᾶς before ἐλεύθ. Ver. 17 αὐτῶν.]

CHAP. VI.

The Second chief Vision (ch. vi. 1–viii. 1) of the Revelation Proper opens here,—see Introd. p. 89.

THE SEVEN SEALS.

The Seven Seals are now opened, this chapter containing the first six. The Seven are divided into the groups of *four* (*vv.* 1–8) and *three* Seals (*vv.* 9, 12; ch. viii. 1),—the former group being distinguished from the latter by the agency of the Four Living Beings, and by the word of invitation, "*Come*," in *vv.* 1, 3, 5, 7. Similarly the first *four* Trumpets (ch. viii. 7–12) are separated from the last *three* at ch. viii. 13. As stated in the remarks introductory to ch. ii., in the case of the Seven Epistles and of the Seven Vials (ch. xvi.) there is a different division,—namely into groups of *three* and *four*, at ch. ii. 18, and ch. xvi. 8: but in each of the groups of Seals, Trumpets, and Vials, an intervening action parts the first *six* from the *seventh*, at ch. vii.; at ch. x. 1—xi. 14; at ch. xvi. 13–16. Of the Seven Seals, six only announce Visions partaking of the common character of judgments; while the seventh (ch. viii. 1) forms the solemn and mysterious close. So in the case of the Trumpets, at the seventh (ch. xi. 15–18) the hidden meaning is merely indicated; just as at the pouring out of the seventh Vial (ch. xvi. 17) the Voice from the throne merely declares "*It is done.*"

The Vision which accompanies the opening of each Seal is either intended simply to prepare for the final revelation of "*the mystery of God*" (ch. x. 7; cf. ch. xi. 15); or, in a more definite sense, is a symbolical representation of the corresponding portion of the Sealed Book,—see on ch. v. 1. There is, accordingly, a mysterious silence on the opening of the seventh Seal—the Seal which extends to the end of all things. The Visions that follow represent to the Seer events which either partly precede and partly accompany the seventh Seal (on the principle of *Recapitulation*—see the remarks introductory to ch. viii.); or which give a general survey of the progress of the Church of God in the world until the Divine purpose is accomplished, although by no means a picture of events in chronological succession such as the "Continuous" system of interpretation requires. This system, when applied, breaks down in every case. The Lord's discourse on the Mount of Olives, Matt. xxiv., as the earliest commentators have observed, is the key to the Visions of the Seals. The first *four* are committed, as it were, to the Four Living Beings who are "*round about the throne*" (ch. iv. 6), and who now summon the Seer to behold. The symbolism recalls the Four Horses of Zech. i. 8–10, "*whom the Lord hath sent to walk to and fro through the earth;*"—cf. Pusey on Zech. vi. 1–8.

THE FIRST FOUR SEALS (1–8).

1. *And I saw*] Not the *opening* of the Seal, as if the meaning were "I was a beholder when" (Hengst.); nor does "*I saw*" include the *hearing* also which followed, as part of the prophetic intuition (De Wette and Ebrard)—see on ch. i. 2; v. 11. The sense is, St. John "*saw*," when the Seal was opened, what he describes in ver. 2 where the words "*I saw*" are repeated.

when the Lamb opened one of **the seven** *seals,*] (See *vv. ll.*). The *first* Seal, although not stated: see the next note.

and I heard **one of the four living beings**] Not necessarily although probably (cf. ch. v. 5; xv. 7) identical with *the first*, the Lion; according to the order in ch. iv. 7—in which order Vitr., Bengel, and others, place the Living Being who summons in each of the first *four* Seals. Thus, the Lion's strength, in the *first* Living Being, is the type of victory. Applying the idea differently, Wordsworth (who adopts the explanation of the Living Beings given by St. Augustine) understands here the first Gospel, that of St. Matthew, inviting the Church to contemplate Christ, "*the Lion of the Tribe of Judah*," as Conqueror and King—see note B, on ch.

der, one of the four beasts saying, Come and see.

2 And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a

iv. 6: and Words. explains that in the next three Seals "the Power introduced is *opposed* to Christ." Bossuet also identifies the Four Living Beings with the Four Evangelists; and thence infers that we are to understand in these four Seals the execution of the secret counsels of God according to the rules which are laid down by Christ in the Gospels: —but see on ch. iv. 8.

saying, as with a voice of thunder,] (See *vv. ll.*). This voice (cf. ch. x. 3; xiv. 2) belongs to each of the Four Living Beings, although mentioned only in the case of the first that speaks. Hengst. would explain the mention here of the "*Voice*," by the pre-eminence of the first Rider.

Come.] The words, "*and see*," added here and in *vv.* 3, 5, 7, are to be omitted—see *vv. ll.* The insertion of these omitted words, in the form found in John i. 47 (καὶ ἴδε), is supported by the Codex Sinaiticus and by some other MSS.

This summons, by its very form, separates the first four Seals from the last three where it does not occur. Hofmann, Kliefoth, Alford, relying on ch. xxii. 17, 20, and on the different form of expression in ch. x. 8, would explain this "cry"—this groaning and travailing together of Creation for the manifestation of the sons of God (Rom. viii. 19, 22)—as addressed to Christ, not to St. John. This cannot be the sense:—let the opening words only of ver. 2, "*I saw*," in accordance with this invitation, be considered; and also the appeal in ver. 10. Burger takes the *four* invitations (*vv.* 1, 3, 5, 7) to be addressed to the Riders respectively:—each is summoned in order that St. John may see him.

2. *a white horse*,] For the imagery, see, as noted above, Zech. i. 8–11. Düsterd., indeed, denies that the texts are parallel; but cf. the "*How long*," Zech. i. 12, 13, with ver. 10 below. On *white* as the colour of heaven see on ch. i. 14; ii. 17. With the Hebrews the horse was the emblem of war —Job xxxix. 25; Ps. lxxvi. 6; Prov. xxi. 31; Jer. viii. 6; Ezek. xxvi. 10. With the Romans the *white* horse was the emblem of victory:—"equos .... candore nivali," *Æn.* iii. 537; "Victoriæ omen," Servius, *Schol.* Cf. *Il.* x. 437; Herod. ix. 63; Plut., *Camillus*, 7.

and he that sat **thereon**] The interpretations here are various:—(1) The words "*behold a white horse, and he that sat thereon*" are repeated exactly in ch. xix. 11; and there is a pretty general agreement that here also the Rider is Christ—the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last—from Whom, thus, all the Visions commence. (2) In a sense not absolutely different, some explain that as the Riders in the next three Seals are evidently personifications of *bloodshed*, *scarcity*, *death*, we have here, too, *Christianity* personified: so Stern—see Note A at the end of this chapter. Alford differs, regarding the Rider as "only a symbol of Christ's victorious *power*:" and Godet also (*l. c.*, p. 298) sees here "the emblem of the *Gospel*, which, by being preached, is about to run victoriously through the earth." (3) In a different sense of personification De Wette takes this symbol to personify *war* as a *triumph*,—the next three Seals personifying war as a *catastrophe*. According to him, if Christ is symbolized under the figure of the Rider, either here or in ch. xix. 11, it can be merely *by antithesis*, for the victory of the Gospel is won only by the peaceful preaching of the word:—but see Matt. x. 34; xxiv. 7. (4) In Jer. xxi. 7 (cf. xxxii. 36) he who escapes *war*, *famine*, and *pestilence* is to fall into the hands of the king of Babylon; and hence Reuss understands the *conqueror*, who here precedes these three judgments, as personifying *ambition* and *pride* which bring with them destruction and ruin. Bengel, in like manner, understands *conquest* personified, the Emperor Trajan being the chief representative of the idea, and the first Rider; Bishop Newton understands Vespasian; Herder, Bisping, and others understand simply the personification of *War*.

(5) Elliott (after Mede, Vitr., and others) considers that as the Empire of the Medes and Persians was figured to Daniel under the image of "*a ram*" (Dan. viii. 3), and Greece by "*a goat*" (Dan. viii. 5), so the destinies of the fourth—the last of Daniel's kingdoms (Dan. vii. 23), the Roman Empire —are here foreshown by the emblem of a horse with a Rider.

(6) Dr. J. H. Todd (*Lect. on the Apoc.*, p. 99) explains that "the revelations made on the opening of each Seal all portray the circumstances of our Lord's Second Coming, representing that event under various aspects." See also on ch. v. 1.

Some of the leading schools of interpretation (see Introd. § 12) are here exemplified—the Symbolical; the Historical or Continuous; the Futurist. For illustrations of another school, the Preterist, see note A at the end of this chapter.

had a bow;] Gr. **having**. On the word "*bow*," see on ch. iv. 3. We have here merely emblems of the Rider's appearance

bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

3 And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see.

4 And there went out another horse *that was* red: and *power* was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.

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as a Conqueror: the Old Test. supplies the accompaniments of the picture—Ps. xlv. 4, 5; Hab. iii. 8, 9; Zech. ix. 13, 14. It was not as a Conqueror that He first came—Zech. ix. 9.

and there was given unto him a crown:] The context (cf. also ch. xiv. 14) imposes the sense, "the conqueror's crown:"—when Christ goes forth as King, He wears "*many diadems*" (ch. xix. 12). For the opposite interpretation, viz., that this also was a *kingly crown*, not the *garland* of victory, see on ch. ii. 10. By this token the Lord is distinguished from the other Riders. In relation to the hostile world Christ appears as a warrior;—in relation to the Father He appears as a Lamb (John i. 29).

and he **came** *forth conquering, and to conquer.*] Gr. "*and* **that he might** *conquer*:" cf. ch. iii. 21; v. 5. He already proceeds as a conqueror, setting out to take possession of His kingdom:—but the end is not as yet attained. The earth is still to be subdued; and to this purpose the other Visions are subordinate. The triumph is secured under the seventh Trumpet; and then the Elders return thanks for the consummation (ch. xi. 16, 17). When the Gospel was proclaimed men would naturally expect the future reign of peace and happiness over the earth; but such an expectation the Lord had from the first declared to be groundless: "*I came not*," He said, "*to send peace on earth, but a sword*" (Matt. x. 34). To unfold this theme is the object of the first six Seals—as, indeed, of the greater part of the Apocalypse. Instead of peace, there appears throughout this Book a secret gathering of armies as for some great war or battle—from this single mysterious Rider in this first Seal, to the summoning the birds of heaven "*unto the great supper of God*" (ch. xix. 17): e.g. ch. xvi. 12–16.

3. *And when* **He opened** *the second seal,*] The tense is the aorist in the case of each of the Seals.

the second **living being saying**,] We need not understand literally "*the Calf*" of ch. iv. 7. According to the arbitrary symbolism, however, which takes the Four Living Beings to be the four Gospels (see note B on ch. iv. 6), Words. sees here the Gospel of St. Luke, of which he regards the "*Calf*"—"the *sacrificial* animal"—to be the emblem, as displaying the *sufferings* of Christ, and here inviting the Seer to behold "the suffering inflicted on the martyrs."

Come.] On the form of this invitation, omitting the words "*and see*," cf. on ver. 1.

The Vision which followed the opening of the first Seal has ended,—the form of the first Rider has disappeared.

4. And another [horse] came forth,] As before, the symbol of war. The expression "*another*," used only in the case of this Seal, may denote the contrast between the first and the others (Hengst.).

As a "Preterist" (see on ch. i. 7) Mr. F. D. Maurice writes: "I need not say how wildly that horse was plunging in the days after the death of Nero, and before the establishment of Vespasian" (*l.c.*, p. 104).

a red horse:] The colour of the war-horse, Zech. i. 8; vi. 2, and of the Dragon, ch. xii. 3—'fiery-red,' or 'blood-red' (cf. 2 Kings iii. 22, LXX.). The colour of each horse corresponds to the mission of its Rider (see ver. 8):—here, it is to shed blood.

and to him that sat thereon it was given] Gr. "**and to him that sat upon him, unto him it was given,**" cf. ch. ii. 26, iii. 8, 21. On the redundant pronoun, see Winer, § 22, 4, *a*.

to take peace from the earth,] *I.e.*, peace absolutely, the ancient expositors dwelling on the parallels, Matt. x. 34; xxiv. 7. If the prep. be omitted (see *vv. ll.*), render—**the peace of the earth.** Elliott understands "*the peace* left by the former Seal." "*The earth*" is used in a general sense: not, as Grotius understands, to signify Judæa;—or, as others, the Roman world;—or, as Renan (*l. c.*, p. 385), the revolt of Judæa and the insurrection of Vindex (A.D. 69).

and that they should **slay**] For the constr. cf. on ch. iii. 9:—see *vv. ll.* The verb (σφάττω) is found only in the Apocalypse and in 1 John iii. 12 (cf. ch. v. 6); and to it, as the sacrificial term, corresponds *strictly* the term here used for "*sword*," although this word (μάχαιρα, or sacrificial knife, cf. Gen. xxii. 6, 10, LXX.) is also used promiscuously—e.g. ch. xiii. 10; John xviii. 10. See on ch. i. 16.

one another:] It is clearly meant that the *inhabitants* of the earth (see ch. iii. 10) shall

5 And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and lo a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand.

6 And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say, ‖A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and *see* thou hurt not the oil and the wine.

‖ The word *chœnix* signifieth a measure containing one wine quart, and the twelfth part of a quart.

slay one another; and hence, the exposition of De Lyra, Stern, and the ancient interpreters is untenable, who see here only the persecutions of *the Christians*. The same interpretation, however, is supported by Bishop Wordsworth; and he refers to the martyrs spoken of in ver. 9, that "had been slain by the sword of him who rides on the red horse:" in this sense the second Seal personifies *persecution*; and he quotes the lines:—

"Lament, for Diocletian's *fiery sword*
Works busy as the lightning . . . .
Against the followers of the Incarnate Lord
It rages."—Wordsworth, *Eccles. Sonnets*, vi.

It is more in accordance, however, with the context, and also with the saying (Matt. x. 34) "*I came not to send peace, but a sword*," to take the symbol as referring to that "*beginning of sorrows*" foretold by our Lord (Matt. xxiv. 8), and now represented under the personification of *bloodshed* about to come on the whole earth. Applying this thought to but one period of history, Bishop Newton sees here the "horrid wars and slaughters" in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.

5. *And when* **he opened** *the third seal, I heard the third* **living being saying, Come.**] That "the rise of *heresy*,"—denying Christ's *humanity*—"next in order to *persecution*," is portended by this Seal is inferred by Words. from the *human* face of the third Living Being, ch. iv. 7, who now invites to behold.

And I saw, and behold, *a black horse;*] The colour of gloom (cf. ver. 12); implying the destruction caused by the Rider (cf. *vv.* 2, 4, 8)—who personifies *scarcity*. According to Allegorists this colour is the emblem of the Church's mourning at the corruption of the true faith, and the consequent loss of souls.

and he that sat **thereon had a balance** *in his hand.*] The meaning of the word "balance" (ζυγός or ζυγόν, primarily *a yoke*, cf. Matt. xi. 29) is determined here by its use in Lev. xix. 35, 36; Prov. xvi. 11; Isai. xl. 12; and especially by Ezek. xlv. 10 (LXX.) where the expressions used here (see χοῖνιξ, ver. 6) are found in juxtaposition. Woodhouse and others insist on the meaning "*yoke*"—understanding "the yoke of ceremonies." What is meant, however, is that corn is *weighed*, not *measured*; and hence *scarcity* is symbolized (see Lev. xxvi. 26; Ezek. iv. 16, 17), not absolute *famine* as in the next Seal (ver. 8). Here again we see "the *beginning* of sorrows"—Matt. xxiv. 8. It is to *allegorize*, not to *symbolize*, when some writers (e.g. Vitr.) refer here to Amos viii. 11: "I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord"—a conclusion supported by Words. This, however, is to take that which is conveyed by the symbolical language of the verse, viz. *literal* scarcity, to be itself in its turn the symbol of *spiritual* scarcity: see note B at the end of this chapter.

6. *And I heard* **as it were** *a voice in the midst of the four* **living beings**] Distinct from their voices:—the "**as it were**" (see *vv. ll.*) denotes that the speaker being left undetermined (see on ch. i. 10) remained unknown to the Seer. The voice issues from the Throne—from the midst of the representatives of Creation, the woes denounced against which it is the object of the voice to mitigate. "The mercy seat" was between the Cherubim, Ex. xxv. 22; Heb. ix. 5. The prices which this voice goes on to announce imply severe dearth:—

saying, *A measure of wheat for a penny,*] (The "gen. of price," Winer, s. 185). Gr. "**a chœnix of wheat for a denarius;**"—the "*chœnix*" being defined, "a man's food for a day" (ἡμερήσιος τροφή, Suidas):—"About a quart measure, equal to two *sextarii* in liquid measure, and to two *libræ* or pounds in dry measure. The *denarius* was a day's wages for a labourer (Matt. xx. 2), and the daily pay of a soldier (Tac., *Ann.* i. 17). The *chœnix* was only the eighth part of a *modius*; and a *modius* of wheat was usually sold for a denarius, and sometimes for half that sum —Cicero, *Verr.*, iii. 81; *De Divin.* 10" (Words. *in loc.*). The *chœnix*, however, falls below the amount of a quart, and the *denarius* approaches towards the value of a shilling,—see Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of Eng. New Test.*, p. 167. Although there are no English equivalents, it is important to aim at precision here, "because the extremity of the famine only appears when the proper relation between the measure and the price is preserved."—*ib.*, p. 169. The Rider is to see that this shall be the price of food, and the limit of the dearth.

and the oil and the wine hurt thou not.] The Rider's office as destroyer is here

7 And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth beast say, Come and see.

8 And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him. And power was given ‖ unto them over the fourth part of the

‖ Or, *to him.*

to cease,—"*the oil and the wine*" are to be produced as usual. For this use of the verb "to hurt" cf. ch. ii. 11; vii. 2, 3, &c.: it does not mean "to waste" (Rinck);—or "to commit injustice in the matter of" (Elliott); and accordingly another limit to the severity of this judgment is prescribed: cf. Matt. xxiv. 22. No particular scarcity is referred to, such as the dearth in the days of Claudius (Grotius, Wetstein, &c.);—or that under Nero, A.D. 68, see Sueton., *Nero*, 45 (Renan). The general class of judgments spoken of by our Lord (Matt. xxiv. 7) is intended, wheat, barley, oil, and wine, forming the ordinary sources of nourishment—see Ps. civ. 14, 15; cf. Joel i. 10. Bishop Newton again notes: "This third period commenceth with Septimius Severus" [A. D. 193].

Mr. Maurice thinks that this is not "a Vision of war at all. . . . The images here are all of peace. The sword is changed for the balances. Men are studious about barter and exchange. They are tender about oil and wine" (p. 105).

7. And when he opened *the fourth seal, I heard the voice* **of the fourth living being saying,**] The participle (T. R. reads λέγουσαν) agrees with "Living Being," as in *vv.* 1, 3, 5—see *vv. ll.* Some MSS of weight omit "*the voice.*"

Come.] As before, in ver. 1. The invitation may proceed from the fourth Living Being, "*like a flying Eagle*" (ch. iv. 7). Words. here understands the Gospel of St. John who, in Rev. xx. 14, declares the triumph of Christ over Death, Hades, and the Beasts: and he interprets that under the second Seal the Church endured *persecution;* under the third Seal, *heresy;* and that here, the evil is *multiform.*

8. And I saw, *and behold, a pale horse:*] The *palish green* of terror and of death ("pallida mors"). The word is used of *grass* in ch. viii. 7; ix. 4; Mark vi. 39.

and he that sat upon *him,*] Not the same prep. as in the three previous Seals—here ἐπάνω (not ἐπί), "above," as in John iii. 31. For the construction, cf. ch. iv. 1.

his name was Death;] To this Rider alone is a name given:—he is *Death* personified (see the note on Job xxvii. 15), and therefore offers the broadest contrast to the Prince of Life who leads the procession. The preceding nom. is here taken up by the pronoun "*his*" in the dative; cf. ch. iii. 12, 21—see Introd. § 7, IV., (*f*), the last note; and cf. John i. 6.

and Hell followed with him.] Gr. **Hades**—the place of departed souls, which is also personified in Ps. xlix. 14; Isa. xiv. 9. It is combined with *Death* in ch. i. 18 (where see the note) as ever following in his train. Hengst. (so too Stern) understands the place of torment,—"for the word is used in the New Test. only in reference to dead sinners, Luke xvi. 23" (cf. also ch. xx. 14): but this assumes that the ungodly alone are to be subject to the trials here spoken of—see on ver. 17. Ewald understands "the *Angel of* Hell who is called in Hebrew *Abaddon*" (ch. ix. 11): the Angel of Hell *follows* Death; as "the Destroyer" desires to draw all men down to his Abyss, by means of the four evil agencies which here follow. Eichhorn and Ebrard take it to mean, by metonymy, "*the dwellers in* Hades," "the entire number of the dead:"—but this sense is opposed both to the whole tone of the passage, which implies *personification*, and also to the true reading "was given unto *them;*" for here, as in ch. xx. 13, "*Hell*" is regarded as a *person*, the companion of "*Death.*" See *vv. ll.*

And there was given unto them] Viz. unto Death and Hell. The marginal reading of A. V. "*to him*" (Vulg., "*data est illi*") is supported by B alone of the five uncial MSS. In his arbitrary criticism Reuss adopts the reading "*to him*," viz. to *Hades;* and he understands *Death* merely to signify "contagious maladies," as in ch. xviii. 8—see below.

authority *over the fourth part of the earth,*] "*The fourth part*" is peculiar to this place. Düsterd. explains, "a tolerably great part;" a still greater part, viz. *one-third*—the fraction which continually recurs, e.g. ch. viii. 7–12; ix. 15, 18; xii. 4—being usually specified. Somewhat similarly Volkmar explains that the famine of this Seal is not as yet to attain its utmost severity (Joel i. 10, &c.); it becomes more intense under the first Trumpet, when a greater part of the earth, *one-third*, is afflicted (ch. viii. 7);—Züllig, followed by Alford, considers that the *fourth part* contains an allusion to the *four* Seals of this group; the commission of each Rider extending to the fourth part of the earth;—Elliott adopts the version of the Vulgate: "super quatuor partes terræ," "over the four parts of the earth;"—Hengst. understands the partial and provisional character of this judgment;—I. Williams

earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.

9 And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for

ascribes to this Seal the universality which the number *four* denotes; and similarly Mede (p. 446), "Expono de potissima et multo maxima orbis Romanæ parte." Ebrard confesses a "docta ignorantia." The fact noted on ver. 6, that these judgments are but preliminary and have not as yet reached their utmost intensity, is a strong confirmation of the justice of Volkmar's interpretation. See *vv. ll.*

to kill with sword,] Not the "*sword*" of ver. 4—see on ch. i. 16 where the term here used occurs. As in ch. ii. 16, the prep. (ἐν) prefixed to the first three nouns denotes the instrument or means. These words are very closely followed in the Sibylline verses, B. iii. 316, 317—see note E on ch. ii. 20. Cf. "gladium, et famem, et mortem, et interitum,"—4 Esdras xv. 5.

and with **famine,**] As the "*sword*" here differs from the "*sword*" in ver. 4, so does this "*famine*" differ from the *scarcity* of *vv.* 5, 6 as being more intense;—although even its severity is to become greater under the first Trumpet, ch. viii. 7.

and with death,] "*Death*" is to be taken merely in connexion with the *sword* and with *famine* (being accompanied by the same preposition ἐν) as one instrument of Divine punishment:—either *natural* death as opposed to the other kinds of *violent* death specified in this verse; or, as many understand, *pestilence* (referred to in ch. xvi. 2). God's "*four sore judgments upon Jerusalem*" (Ezek. xiv. 21) are expressed in the LXX. by the same four words as in the text,—the Hebrew term for "*pestilence*" (*deber*) being rendered (as also in Jer. xiv. 12; xxi. 7) by the Greek term for "*death:*" see on ch. ii. 23; xviii. 8. In popular living Greek τὸ θανατικόν is the ordinary term for the plague—see Moulton's ed. of Winer, p. 30. (Note,—the word "*pestilences*" (λοιμοί) of the *Textus Receptus* in Matt. xxiv. 7 is not genuine).

and **by the wild beasts** *of the earth.*] (Cf. Mark i. 13; Lev. xxvi. 22; Deut. vii. 22; 2 Kings xvii. 25). A different prep. (ὑπό) is now used:—"*wild beasts*" are themselves *agents*, and this judgment is independent of the other three. Volkmar suggests the beasts in the Roman amphitheatre. Words. sees in this term used with the *article* (θηρίον, "*a wild beast,*" occurs for the first time in this place) a reference by anticipation, as in ch. xi. 7, to the Beast from the Abyss—this Seal foreshadowing the sufferings of the Church "from the *various* workings of the Evil One." In Matt. xxiv. 7, instead of "*beasts*" we find "*earthquakes,*" which occur under the sixth Seal, in ver. 12.

According to Bishop Newton, "This period commenceth with Maximin" (A.D. 235).

The first four Seals have now been opened. They announce, I. *Christianity*—"*conquering, and to conquer;*" and then, II. *War;* III. *Scarcity;* IV. *Death.* We have here a fulfilment of the Lord's words in Matt. x. 34; xxiv. 6, 7. The Rider upon each horse personifies what is announced on the opening of each Seal. This feature of the Vision is common to all the first four Seals, as well as the accompanying voice of one of the Four Living Beings who, taken together, symbolize living Creation; and through whom Creation, "groaning and travailing in pain together until now" (Rom. viii. 22), prepares for Christ's coming. This preparation extends throughout the whole course of the Church's history. The Church is ever "militant on earth;" she must never cease labouring "that she may conquer" (ἵνα νικήσῃ), ver. 2. If this be so, the fulfilment of these four Seal Visions is not to be looked for in any series of *successive* events, past, present, or future; although each of them may be *applicable*, at different periods of history, to particular events, and may admit of recurring fulfilments. On the whole, Ezek. xiv. the proclamation of God's judgments on the Ancient Church should be studied here.

The Last Three Seals (9—viii. 1).

The Fifth Seal (9—11).

9. *And when* **he opened** *the fifth seal,*] In this first of the second group of Visions all is changed. We are here reminded of those who during the long conflict of the Church have suffered for Christ. The incidents revealed in the Visions of the first group prepare for the consummation, still remote, of all things. The opening of the fifth Seal, its Vision having for its object to restrain the too ardent hopes of believers, is not accompanied by any special incident; although the martyrs' cry for vengeance recalls the memory of the Lord's prediction, Matt. xxiv. 9, to which this Seal corresponds. This Vision, in short, is not a continuation of, nor does it resemble the preceding four:—it points onward to the great theme of the Apocalypse, the Lord's Coming; it adds to the groans of Creation the sighs of the martyred Saints.

I saw under the altar] The imagery is

the word of God, and for the testimony which they held:

10 And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

11 And white robes were given

taken from the Temple-service. "The Brasen Altar" (Ex. xxxix. 39)—called "the Altar of burnt-offering" in Ex. xl. 29)—stood "at the door of the Tabernacle;" and "at the bottom" of this Altar "all the blood" of the victim was poured, Lev. iv. 7; viii. 15 (cf. the words "*slain*" in this verse, and "*blood*" in ver. 10). This was called by preeminence "the Altar" (cf. Hävernick on Ezek. xliii. 13, &c.). The souls of the martyrs correspond to the blood of the sacrifice poured out beneath the Altar, for "the blood thereof is the life thereof" (Gen. ix. 4; Lev. xvii. 14). The same image is used by St. Paul—cf. Phil. ii. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 6 (see St. Ignat. *ad Rom.*, c. ii.). The Seer beholds the "*souls*" of departed saints—of those whose bodies had been "*slain*" on earth—see ch. xx. 4; Matt. x. 28. Conscious of the past, praying for the Coming of Christ, they measure the lapse of time—"Lord, How long?" Cf. also the patristic references given by Words. *in loc.* (For ὑποκάτω see on ch. v. 3).

De Wette and Bleek understand here the *Golden* Altar of incense in the Holy Place before the Veil (Ex. xxx. 6–9); and that what is now symbolized is *the hearing* of the martyrs' prayer—see ch. v. 8; viii. 3. This is quite unsatisfactory. Alf. says vaguely, "*an* altar of sacrifice."

According to Bossuet, the Altar is Christ—see Col. iii. 3, 4.

It may be noted that mention of an "Altar" is for the first time introduced here. As St. John is describing the Vision introduced in ch. iv., where he beheld the worship in Heaven, it is natural to find among his symbolic images the adjunct of that worship's earthly counterpart (Heb. viii. 5; xiii. 10).

the souls] "*The souls*" only,—for 'the Resurrection of the Dead' has not yet come to pass: cf. ch. xx. 4.

of them that **had been** *slain for the word of God,*] Or **on account of, because of, by reason of** (διά with an accus.). Cf. ch. i. 9; John iv. 41.

and for the testimony which they held:] Except in St. John's writings—e.g. John v. 36; 1 John v. 10—this form of expression is found only in 1 Tim. iii. 7. The meaning is either "*the testimony*" of Jesus, borne by Him (see on ch. i. 2) and which they had received from Him who is "*the faithful Witness*" (ch. i. 5),—the testimony which was committed to them to bear; or, *objectively*, "the testimony *concerning*" Jesus, as in Acts xxii. 18, and in bearing which they had shed their blood (so Ewald, De Wette, Alf.):—see ver. 10. In fact, as in ch. i. 2, 9, we may understand the phrase either *subjectively*, or *objectively*—see on ch. xi. 3, and cf. ch. xii. 11, 17; xix. 10; xx. 4. The words, "*which they held,*" do not mean "which they held *fast*" ("quam firmiter tuebantur,"—Ewald); but 'which they had received from the faithful Witness, and which they continued to hold:'—cf. John xiv. 21. (B reads, "the testimony of the Lamb").

10. *and they cried with a* **great** *voice,*] *I. e.*, "*the souls:*" it is quite needless (with Hengst. and Düsterd.) to regard "*the slain*" as the nom. agreeing with λέγοντες,—cf. ch. iv. 8. Züllig observes that the thought expressed in Gen. iv. 10 is here dramatized.

saying, How long,] Cf. Zech. i. 12; and see on ver. 2. On "the delay of the Divine justice" see on ch. i. 3; cf. Ps. lxxiv. 19; lxxxiii. 1; Luke xviii. 7, 8.

The answer is given by "*the Angel of the waters,*"—see ch. xvi. 5–7.

O Lord,] Gr. "**O Master**" (ὁ Δεσπότης), —a title found only here in the Apocalypse; the correlative of "servant," see ver. 11: cf. Luke ii. 29; 1 Tim. vi. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 18.

the *holy and true,*] See on ch. iii. 7: not "*subjective* truthfulness" (Vitr., Bengel, Hengst., &c.);—cf. ch. xxi. 5; xxii. 6.

dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on] Gr. "**exact vengeance** *from.*" For the prep. (ἐκ—see *vv. ll.*) cf. ch. xviii. 20; xix. 2: see the different prep., ἀπό, Luke xviii. 3.

them that dwell on the earth?] *I. e.*, "the world," "all people," in contrast to the servants of God:—ch. iii. 10; viii. 13; xiii. 8, 14: cf. John xvii. 14; Matt. xxiv. 9. The prayer of the martyrs, accumulating from age to age, has for its sole object "the honour of holiness and the truth of their Lord" (Bengel); cf. on ver. 16:—it but expresses by anticipation that longing of the *whole* Church which is at length uttered in ch. xxii. 17, 20.

I. Williams would here understand the souls of the Old Testament Saints (Matt. xxiii. 35) who are *waiting*, as stated in Heb. xi. 39, 40, for "*the promises:*" and this because it is not *said* that these martyrs had died "for the testimony *of Jesus*," as it *is* said in ch. xx. 4; because, too, this cry for vengeance is not in the spirit of the Gospel.

Renan finds here and elsewhere "the echo of the persecution of Nero," from which, as he asserts, the Apocalypse has directly resulted

unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellowservants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they *were*, should be fulfilled.

12 And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and, lo, there

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(*l. c.*, p. 167). He refers, however, to the cruelties of Domitian (p. 173) which might possibly suit these "allusions;" but this would not square with his theory as to Antichrist.

11. And there was given them to each one a white robe;] (See *vv. ll.*). As in ch. iii. 4, 5; vii. 14—the symbol of the "*righteous acts of the saints*," ch. xix. 8 (cf. Zech. iii. 4). Even before the great consummation, the martyrs have a foretaste of heaven. According to Bossuet, the "*white robe*" is the glory of holy souls awaiting the Resurrection.

On the colour "*white*," see on ch. i. 14.

that they should rest] In heavenly peace, as implied in ch. xiv. 13; cf. Dan. xii. 13.

Bengel and De Wette explain—'cease from their cry, as uttered in ver. 10.'

yet for a little **time,**] Cf. ch. ii. 21. This interval (χρόνος not καιρός,—see on ch. i. 3) comes to an end at ch. x. 6.

Bengel makes this "Chronus" (or 1111⅓ years, see Introd. § 11, (b), IV.) to extend from the persecution of Christianity under Trajan to that of the Waldenses,—viz. from A.D. 98 to A.D. 1209. I. Williams suggests that this period may extend till the end of the "Thousand Years,"—ch. xx. 5.

until] The answer to the "*How long?*" in ver. 10. See *vv. ll.*

both their fellow-servants, *and their brethren* **which** *should be killed* **even as** *they were,*] Two classes are denoted, the "*fellow servants*" of the martyrs—*i. e.*, the company of the faithful; and also "*their brethren*" who should like them be put to death. The A. V. seems to imply but *one* class,—the same body of the faithful who are "*fellow servants*" in relation to the "Master" (ver. 10); and "*brethren*" as belonging to the communion of believers: so De Wette, Hengst., Düsterd., Alf. The former sense seems to be more in accordance with the text,—see on ch. xx. 4.

Bengel writes, "The first martyrs were chiefly from Israel; their '*fellow servants*' were in after times from the heathen; and their '*brethren*' from Israel."

should be fulfilled.] See *vv. ll. I.e.*, "**completed in number**"—cf. Luke xxi. 24; Col. ii. 10; or, adopting the reading of ℵ. B, P, 1 (πληρώσωσιν), "**shall have fulfilled** [**their course**]."

According to Bossuet, ch. vii. explains the cause of the delay here spoken of, and how the number of the elect is to be accomplished. "The era of martyrs" under Diocletian [A.D. 303].—Bishop Newton.

THE SIXTH SEAL (12–17)

12. And I saw when he opened *the sixth seal,*] Ch. xvi. 17–21 presents many features parallel to the following description. This Seal brings us to the very eve of the final catastrophe. As *vv.* 3–8 depict the signs which prepare for the Lord's coming,—see Matt. xxiv. 6, &c.; and as the fifth Seal corresponds to Matt. xxiv. 9, so here the imagery of Matt. xxiv. 29 (with the "*earthquakes*" in ver. 7), is taken up:—cf. *vv.* 16, 17, with Matt. xxiv. 30, &c.; Luke xxiii. 30. The most striking features of earlier prophecy are also combined here—Isai. ii. 19; xxxiv. 4; l. 3; Ezek. xxxii. 7, 8; Hos. x. 8; Joel ii. 30; Nah. i. 6: so the ancient, and many modern expositors. This, indeed, seems to be the obviously just interpretation; and yet there is no prediction as to which commentators are less unanimous. (1) So early as the time of Andreas (*l. c.*, p. 34) some, adopting the "Preterist" system, interpret the sixth Seal of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus: thus Grotius and others. To the same effect, the rationalistic school interpret this Seal as proving that the different predictions do not refer to the future at all; but merely describe the events before, or during the lifetime of St. John. Every thing, they argue, represented by the first six Seals, is to be found in the historical records of the period extending from the appearance of Jesus Christ to the composition of the Apocalypse, *i.e.*, on this system, down to A.D. 68, viz. Messiah coming forth to exercise spiritual rule over the nations;—then, war, pestilence, famine, as the annals of the Empire show;—then, Nero's persecution;—then, the earthquakes and natural convulsions of the period: see Krenkel, *Der Ap. Johannes*, s. 67. Mr. Maurice sees in this Seal "the shaking and downfall of *heavenly* powers;" asking "What can these powers be? Are they not the demons of the old mythology?"—*l. c.*, p. 113.

(2) Several modern writers, on the "Historical" principle of interpretation, refer the sixth Seal to the triumph of the Church in Cent. iv., after the great persecutions. Thus Elliott—who sees here the fall of Pagan Rome dating from the Edict of Toleration (A.D. 311)—writes: "This Vision surely betokened some sudden and extraordinary revolution in the Roman Empire" (*l. c.*, i. p. 223).

was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood;

13 And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig tree casteth her [1]untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind.

[1] Or, *green figs.*

[a] Is. 34. 4.

14 [a]And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places.

15 And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains;

16 [b]And said to the mountains and

[b] Luke 23. 30.

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(3) On the "Futurist" system, the sixth Seal is "one of the clearest and most magnificent descriptions of the Day of Judgment which is to be found in the Bible."—J. H. Todd, *l. c.*, p. 106, &c.

It is to be borne in mind that, on any system, what is described in *vv.* 12–17—as in the case of the preceding five Seals—is all the subject of a Vision, and does not represent actual *objective* events.

and there *was a great earthquake;*] (Omit "*lo,*" see *vv. ll.*). *I.e.*, an earthquake took place—"**came to pass**:" cf. Isai. xiii. 13; Hagg. ii. 6; Heb. xii. 26. The vengeance prayed for under the fifth Seal has come.

as sackcloth of hair,] Cf. Isai. l. 3.

and the whole moon] (See *vv. ll.*). Cf. Joel ii. 31. Living Creation was the theme of the first four Seal-Visions; the fifth introduces the prayers of the martyred saints until the Lord should come; the sixth now records the convulsions of material nature on the eve of His appearing.

13. *and the stars of* **the** *heaven fell unto the earth,*] Compare Matt. xxiv. 29; Luke xxi. 25–27. "Stars" being the symbol of rulers (Num. xxiv. 17; Isai. xiv. 12), Hengst. sees the immediate fulfilment of this prediction in the overthrow of the possessor of the old Roman power, 'the bright morning Star,' when the Apoc. was written. "The heaven," he writes, "is the *princes' heaven*, the entire order of kings and nobles. The stars are individual princes and nobles." . . . "Julian's exclamation, 'Thou hast conquered, O Galilean,' was a fulfilment of our Prophecy."

as a fig tree casteth her **unripe** *figs,*] Cf. Nah. iii. 12. Either the winter fig which seldom ripens; or the "*untimely*" fig of spring—a sense which the parallel of Matt. xxiv. 32 suggests.

when she is shaken, of a **great** *wind.*] In *vv.* 12–14 Hengst. again notices the enumeration by *sevens.*

14. *And the heaven* **was removed** *as a scroll when it is* **rolled up**;] "*Scroll,*" or "*book*" as in ch. i. 11. Isai. xxxiv. 4 supplies the imagery of this passage. The stars having fallen, the firmament (Gen. i. 14) "stretched out as a curtain" (Isai. xl. 22; Psalm civ. 2) disappears as "a *scroll when it is rolled up.*" See *vv. ll.* (1 reads ὁ οὐρ).

As "*the sea,*" observes Hengst., denotes the nations generally (cf. ch. xvii. 15), it is but an extension of this figure to describe *kingdoms* as *islands* and *mountains:* see ch. xvi. 20. Or the words may simply signify that the foundations of the earth are subverted—that there is a perfect and complete catastrophe in all the realm of inanimate Creation.

15. *And the kings of the earth,*] As in ch. xix. 18, we have here not only a reference to the inhabitants of the earth generally (as at ver. 10, and Matt. xxv. 32), but an enumeration also of social and other distinctions:—King and slave alike flee "*from the wrath of the Lamb.*"

The "*Kings,*" writes Bishop Newton, are the Emperors "Maximian, Galerius, Maximin, Maxentius, Licinius [A.D. 304–324], &c.":—that is (as Dr. S. R. Maitland comments on this class of interpretations in his *Second Enquiry*, p. 152), literal *kings* "on a symbolical earth, with figurative mountains and islands, under a symbolical heaven with a figurative sun, moon, and stars, and suffering from a figurative earthquake."

and the **princes,**] Düsterd. observes that this term (οἱ μεγιστᾶνες, found in the N. T. only here, in ch. xviii. 23, and in Mark vi. 21, and which belongs to later Greek) is used to denote statesmen and courtiers, as distinguished from military commanders.

and the **chief captains, and the rich, and the mighty,**] (See *vv. ll.*). "*Chief captains*" or "military tribunes" (χιλίαρχοι). By "*the mighty*" are meant those possessed of physical strength,—cf. ch. x. 1; Ps. xxxiii. 16 (LXX.).

and every bondman **and freeman,**] See *vv. ll.*

in **the caves**] Cf. John xi. 38; and for the imagery, Isai. ii. 19. As in *vv.* 12–14, Hengst. calls attention to the sevenfold enumeration in this verse also.

16. *and* **they say** *to the mountains and* **to the** *rocks,*] On this verse, cf. Hos. x. 8.

rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:

17 For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?

Fall **upon** *us*,] See Luke xxiii. 30.

the wrath of the Lamb:] See on ch. xxi. 8. We find "*wrath*" as a Divine attribute in ch. xi. 18; xiv. 10; xvi. 19; xix. 15 (here ὀργή: in ch. xiv. 10, 19; xv. 1, 7; xvi. 1, the Divine "*indignation*" is θυμός); but it is "*wrath*" against the godless world, and therefore love, grace, and mercy, towards God's servants. Without its exercise His servants must feel doubtful of His favour, and must despair of His protection,—cf. *vv.* 9, 10; ch. xix. 2.

17. *for the great day of* **their** *wrath*] (See *vv. ll.*). Gr. "**The Day, the great [Day]**,"—the two articles rendering the phrase emphatic, and fixing the meaning, "the Day of Judgment," cf. Isai. xlii. 4; Joel i. 15; ii. 2. "It is the expression of that presentiment of the *end of the world*, which in the great catastrophes of Nature seizes upon men" (Godet).

and **who is able** *to stand?*] See Nah. i. 6; Mal. iii. 2. This question the Seer next applies himself to answer. The *natural* judgments which accompany throughout all time the struggle of the Church with the unbelieving world,—judgments from which the faithful are not exempt,—are the subject of the first four Seals. From the fifth Seal we derive lessons of fortitude and patience during the Church's trials, while she awaits her Lord's Coming, until the time predicted in Matt. xxiv. 31 shall arrive. The *supernatural* judgments by which that time is to be ushered in are the subject of the sixth Seal: but before these latter judgments fall, before earth and sea are subjected to them, the servants of God are sealed on their foreheads (ch. vii. 3), and thus rescued from the tribulation to come upon the earth. This intervening action (similar to that described in ch. x. 1—xi. 14; ch. xvi. 13–16) is the theme of ch. vii.; and separates the sixth Seal, which closes here, from the seventh in ch. viii. 1.

Vitringa sets aside this symmetrical arrangement, common to the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials, by making the Vision of the sixth Seal consist of three scenes, viz. ch. vi. 12–17; ch. vii. 1–8; ch. vii. 9–17. Godet takes *all* the first six Seals to represent, each of them, not a particular event, but "the categories of the principal judgments by which God supports, throughout all time, the preaching of the Gospel" (Matt. xxiv. 6, 7); "disciplinary measures," in short, which the *tableau* of the Seals exhibits,—a *tableau* which is applicable to every period of the history of the Church, that can be called preparatory: "The first Seal denotes *all* the preachings of the Gospel; —the second, *all* the wars;—the third, *all* the famines;—the fourth, *all* the contagious maladies;—the fifth, *all* the persecutions;—the sixth, *all* the earthquakes which the earth has seen, or will see, until the last scene for which the Trumpets must give the signal."—*l.c.*, p. 350.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. VI.

Note A—The Seal-Visions.

It is not without importance to bear in mind, as the chief Visions of the Apocalypse come before us, the methods of exposition adopted by the early writers of the Church, either where they comment directly on the Book, or where they refer generally to its words. It will also be useful to add to the notes on the text some further illustration of the systems followed by modern expositors. No attempt, however, will be made to give an exhaustive history of Apocalyptic interpretation.

St. Irenæus (A.D. 180) seems to have been the earliest expositor of the Seal-Visions. He understands the "Sealed Book" ("paternum librum") to contain those things of which Christ said: "All things are delivered unto me, of my Father" (Matt. xi. 27).—*Adv. Hær.* iv. 20, p. 253. Irenæus interprets the first Seal to signify Christ Himself, of whom Jacob struggling and conquering (Gen. xxv. 22) was the type, and of whom "Joannes in Apocalypsi ait, 'Exivit vincens, ut vinceret'" (*ib.*, c. 21, p. 258).

Tertullian (*circ.* A.D. 200), having casually alluded to the Red and Pale Horses (*vv.* 4, 8), limits his exposition to the fifth Seal, which is occupied, he thinks, with the period extending to the universal Resurrection: "In Apocalypsi Joannis ordo temporum sternitur, quem martyrum quoque animæ sub altari sustinere didicerunt" (*De Resurr.* c. 25);—"Quomodo Joanni in Spiritu paradisi regio revelata, quæ subjicitur altari, nullas,

alias animas apud se præter martyrum ostendit?" (*De Anim.*, c. 55);—"Martyrum animæ placidum quiescunt. . . . Nam et rursus innumera multitudo albati et palmis victoriæ insignes revelantur; scilicet de Antichristo triumphantes, sicut unus ex Presbyteris '*Hi sunt*,' ait, '*qui veniunt, &c.*,'" (ch. vii. 14),—*Scorpiace*, c. 12.[1]

ANONYMUS ad Novatianum (*circ.* A.D. 255, *ap.* Galland. t. iii. p. 375)—the first writer who notices the sixth Seal—commenting upon the "Little Horn" of Dan. vii. 8 observes: "Joannes autem manifestius et de die judicii et consummatione sæculi declarat, dicens, '*Et cum aperuisset Sigillum sextum*,' &c."

VICTORINUS (*circ.* A.D. 290), in expounding the Seal-Visions, adopts the primitive *clavis Apocalyptica:* "Ait enim Dominus in Evangelio." The first six Seals present a pictorial illustration of the Lord's prophetic words in Matt. xxiv. Victorinus (*ap.* Galland. t. ii. p. 57) explains the opening of the Seals to be the opening of the Old Testament, and a prediction concerning those who are to preach in the latter times. In the first Seal the Rider on the White Horse, crowned and bearing a bow, is sent to preach the word—his sayings being like arrows, and his crown that which is promised to preachers by the Holy Spirit. The next three Seals are the wars, famines and pestilences ("bella, fames, pestis,") foretold in Matt. xxiv.—the third Seal extending to the times of Antichrist, "quando magna fames est ventura, quandoque omnes lædentur." In the fifth Seal, the souls are seen under the Altar; and as the *Golden* Altar signifies heaven, so the *Brazen* Altar here signifies the earth, "sub qua est infernus, remota à pœnis et ignibus regio, et requies sanctorum" (*ib.*).[2]

ANDREAS explains the Seals thus:—(i) The Apostolic age, and the triumph over Satan in the conversion of the Gentiles;—(ii) The age next after the Apostolic, noted for the martyrdom of the Saints, Matt. x. 34;—(iii) The mourning over those who fall away, and who are to be tried in the balance of Divine justice; the oil and wine denoting the healing of such by Christ, Luke x. 34;—(iv) The results of the persecution under Maximin (Euseb., *H. E.* ix. 8);—(v) The Martyrs' cry for vengeance;—(vi) A transition to the days of Antichrist; or (observes Andreas), as some hold, the seige of Jerusalem under Vespasian;—(vii) The seventh Seal (Rev. viii. 1) contains the Trumpets; and the opening of that Seal signifies the dissolution of all earthly rule, which the Seven Trumpet-Angels effect by plagues of chastisement and punishment.

The commentaries of TICHONIUS[1] (*circ.* A.D. 380), and PRIMASIUS (*circ.* A.D. 553) are in many respects founded on the same principles. Both writers see in the first Seal, Christ and His Church proceeding to victory; and both, after Victorinus, regard the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th as signifying *bella, fames, pestis.* The fifth Seal denotes martyrdom generally. The sixth they refer to the last persecution.

[1] Mr. C. Maitland (*l. c.*, p. 164) observes that "this passage contains the earliest identification of the fifth-Seal-martyrs with those who suffer under Antichrist." Mr. Elliott, on the other hand, considers that the two classes are here expressly distinguished.

[2] Up to this point, observes Dr. Todd (*Lect. on the Apoc.* p. 276), "the interpretation given by our author of the first five Seals is evidently a remnant of the ancient literal exposition. And it is remarkable that where the figurative interpretation begins the corruption of the text of this commentary becomes manifest. At the sixth Seal the figurative interpretation begins:" the "great earthquake" is the last persecution,—the moon becoming blood denotes the pouring forth by the Church of her blood for Christ, &c. &c. Dr. Todd, however, is not correct in placing the beginning of the "figurative" interpretation at the sixth Seal. Not to speak of what Victorinus says on the first Seal, he writes on the third: "*Vinum et oleum ne læseris*, id est, hominem spiritualem ne plagis percusseris" (*ib.*).

[1] The commentary of Tichonius is quoted both in the usual commentaries on the Apocalypse, and in the critical editions of the text—to give an instance taken at random, see Tischendorf's notes on Rev. xxi. in his 8th ed.

The African grammarian Tichonius was a Donatist (Neander, *Kirchengesch.*, i. 527; Robertson, *Hist. of the Church*, i. p. 416, 3rd ed.); and among his writings Cave reckons his "*Comment. in Apocalysin Johannis*, cui plurima, inquit Cassiodorus, venenosi sui dogmatis fæculenta permiscuit." It is nearly certain that this commentary is no longer extant. The opinion of Erasmus in his ed. of St. Augustine's works (t. ix., Paris, 1541), respecting the commentary which is there ascribed to Tichonius, was that short notes had been collected 'a studioso quopiam,' and afterwards formed into Homilies. This commentary is also to be found in the ed. of the divines of Louvain (*Opp.* St. August. t. ix., App., p. 352, Antv. 1576), who repeat the opinion that the exposition had been compiled 'a quopiam studioso.' In this same opinion the Benedictines also concur (see *Opp.* St. August. t. iii., Antw. 1700). Cave says that this supposed commentary consists of fragments taken from the expositions of Victorinus, Tichonius, Primasius, Beda, and others (*Hist. Lit.*, i. p. 294; cf. C. Oudin, i. p. 890)." Nic. Zegerus seems to have been the first who attributed this commentary to Tichonius.

The "Septem Regulæ" of Tichonius are authentic, and distinct from his commentary on the Apocalypse:—see Introd. § 11, (b), I.

BEDA (*circ.* A.D. 730) understands the Seals as disclosing the future fortunes and trials of the Church, generally giving two senses—one allegorical and one literal. St. John observes the regular order down to the number six, and then, omitting the seventh, "recapitulates" ("Nunc vero *recapitulat* ab origine eadem aliter dicturus,"—*l. c., Introd. ad cap.* viii.). The first Seal discloses the glory of the primitive Church;—the three following the world's war against her;—the fifth the glory of those triumphed over in the world's war;—the sixth, the times of Antichrist. Then comes a "Recapitulation";—and then "in septimo cernit initium quietis æternæ."

"Down to the year 1120," writes Mr. Ch. Maitland (*l. c.*, p. 315), "every writer that had handled the Seals had agreed in the meaning of the *first*, *sixth*, and *seventh*. The *first* had been taken to mean the Gospel triumph; the *sixth* the precursors of the last judgment; the *seventh* the 'beginning of the eternal rest.'" About A.D. 1111, or 1120, Ambrosiaster (or Berengaudus) and Rupertus Tuitiensis interpreted the sixth Seal of the destruction of Jerusalem [but see, above, the account of Andreas], thus giving an historical application to a part of those prophecies which hitherto had been applied exclusively to the end."

ANSELM of Havelsberg (*circ.* A.D. 1149) extended the allegorico-historical application. The Seals represent "the seven states" of the Church: At first she is white with purity;—then red with martyrdom, down to the age of Diocletian;—she is blackened by heresy from Arius to Nestorius and the Manichæans;—and pale with hypocrisy during the remainder of the dispensation;—she is expectant till the martyrs' reward is conferred;—she is convulsed under Antichrist:—and at rest in the silence of heaven: "Recte ergo media et non integra hora dicitur" [Rev. viii. 1].—*Dialog.*, lib. i., *ap.* d'Achery, *Spicileg.* t. i. p. 166.

MODERN EXPOSITORS.

I. *Historical.*

MEDE (*ob.* 1638) considers that the two chief prophecies of the Apoc. begin after ch. iv. The *First* embraces the Seals, and the Trumpets included in the seventh Seal; the *Second*, which is that of the "Little Book" (ch. x. 8), extends to the end of the Revelation. Both proceed from the same starting-point—the former giving the history of the Empire; the latter of the Church: and both coalesce in the Church triumphant. The Seven Seals accordingly are a syllabus of Roman History. We there see (1) the Empire in peace after the Jewish war under Vespasian;—(2) The Empire under Trajan and Aurelian;—(3) The balance of justice under Septimius and Alexander Severus;—(4) The evils under Decius, Gallus, and Valerian;—(5) The persecution under Diocletian;—(6) The overthrow of paganism and the changes under Constantine;—(7) The last Seal, as explained by the Seven Trumpets (ch. viii. 6) which unfold its complex import, reveals the inroad of the Barbarians, and the fall of the Empire. According to this scheme the sixth Seal was fulfilled under Constantine; and the same result is adopted by Bishop Newton, Daubuz, Lowman, Doddridge, Hales, and others.

VITRINGA (*ob.* 1722) discerns in the Seals (1) The Church in peace from Nerva to Decius for 150 years;—(2) Persecutions after A.D. 250;—(3) The heresies and calamities from Constantine to Cent. ix.;—(4) The Saracenic and Turkish inroads;—(5) The sufferings of the Albigenses and Waldenses, and others down to the age of the Reformation;—(6) The fall of the Jewish nation;—*or* the changes under Constantine;—*or* the commotions in Europe in the Reformation period;—*or* The destruction of Antichrist;—(7) The "half-hour's silence" (ch. viii. 1): *i. e.*, he takes the seventh Seal to mean the prolonged peace of the Church after the fall of Antichrist; the Trumpets, relating to the Roman Empire, being entirely separated from this Seal, which predicts the internal history of Christianity.

BENGEL (*ob.* 1752):—The first four Seals denote the bloom of Imperial power, (1) in the East under Trajan; (2) in the West; (3) in the South; (4) in the North, according to the position of the Four Living Beings (ch. iv. 6): they relate to what was *visible*, and to time *past*. The last *three* Seals relate to things *invisible*:—(5) the righteous dead; (6) the unrighteous dead; (7) the Angels.

G. S. FABER:—The first four Seals are identical with Daniel's Four Monarchies, the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, Roman. The fifth Seal represents the persecutions of the Church under the Roman Emperors;—the sixth, the Establishment of Christianity under Constantine;—the seventh is left unexplained.

CUNNINGHAME:—(1) The progress of the Gospel from the beginning;—(2) the conflicts of the Church with Arians and Donatists;—(3) the dark ages of the Papacy;—(4) the Inquisition, and the persecution of the Albigenses and Waldenses;—(5) the dawn of the Reformation;—(6) the French Revolution, including events still future;—(7) . . . . .

KEITH:—(1) The growth of Christianity;—(2) Mohammedanism;—(3) The Papacy;—(4) Infidelity;—(5) Persecution to follow;—(6) The last great catastrophe;—(7) . . .

ELLIOTT:—(1) The "golden age" from Nerva, A.D. 96, to the second Antonine;—

(2) The military despotism, commencing with Commodus, A.D. 185;—(3) Taxation under Caracalla's edict, A.D. 212;—(4) God's "four sore judgments" which preceded the fall of the Empire, dating from A.D. 248;—(5) The persecution under Diocletian, A.D. 303;—(6) The fall of Pagan Rome dating from the edict of toleration, A.D. 311 (Paganism having been swept away, ch. vii. represents the Church established in its place);—(7) With ch. viii. 1, begins the short interval between the death of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 395, and the rising of the barbarian hordes.

WORDSWORTH. The Seals give a prophetic view of the successive sufferings of the Church from the First Advent of Christ, until the End:—(1) Christ comes with the Gospel;—(2) Satan causes Ten *persecutions;* First, under *Nero;* Second, under *Domitian;* Third, under *Trajan;* Fourth, under *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus;* Fifth, under *Septimius Severus;* Sixth, under *Maximinus;* Seventh, under *Decius;* Eighth, under *Valerian;* Ninth, under *Aurelian;* Tenth, under *Diocletian;* making a period of about 240 years, *i.e.*, from A.D. 64 to A.D. 304. This is the enumeration of St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 52;—(3) The third Seal represents not only a season of *spiritual* scarcity, a *famine* of the *Word* of God (Amos viii. 11), but also Satan "riding forth on the black horse of *Heresy*;"—(4) The evil is multiform—the Barbarian invasions, A.D. 410–455; Mohammedanism, A.D. 622; *spiritual* Dearth, and Death consequent on heresies and schisms; the rise of the Papacy, Cent. ix. and x.;—(5) St. John sees the souls of the martyrs in their rest, ch. xiv. 13;—(6) "The *last age* of the Church and the world;"—(7) In "the half hour's silence" (ch. viii. 1) St. John has a glimpse of the future peace of Eternity (ch. xxi.; xxii.).

Mr. Tyso[1] gives in a tabular form, as follows, the results attained by several of the "Historical" commentators on the Apocalypse as to the dates of the opening of the several Seals:—

Seals.	De Lyra.	Mede.	R. Fleming.	Daubuz.	Frere.	G. S. Faber.	Thos. Scott.	Cunninghame.	Keith.
	Began A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	B.C.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1	Christianity 33	70	33	34	312	657	34	33	96 (Christianity).
2	Nero . . .	117	66	66	383	538	100	319	622 (Mohammed).
3	Titus . . .	211	138	202	400	331 A.D.	138	500	606 (Popery).
4	Domitian . .	237	190	235	533	30	193	1200	1789 (Infidelity)
5	Diocletian .	270	250	303	628	311	270	1552	Persecution.
6	Diocletian .	364	306	312	1789	313	324	1792	The last Catastrophe.
7	Liberius . .	,,	,,	325	,,	,,	388	,,	

II. (*a*) *Ordinary "Preterists":*—

GROTIUS understands by "*the earth*," in the *second* Seal, the land of Judæa;—the dearth, under the *third* Seal, he takes to be the famine which prevailed in the reign of Claudius;—the *sixth* Seal relates to the events during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus.

BOSSUET (*ob.* 1704) takes the Rider in the first Seal to be Christ, in Whose train follow the three agents of the wrath of God (2 Sam. xxiv. 13);—in the second Seal to be War;—in the third to be Famine;—in the fourth to be Pestilence. In the fifth Seal, the Altar is Christ (Col. iii. 34). The sixth Seal signifies the Divine vengeance—which is to fall first on the Jews, and then on the persecuting Empire, but which is deferred until the number of the elect from among the Jewish people is accomplished. Bossuet finds the great Catastrophe of the Apocalypse in the conquest of Pagan Rome by Alaric.

WETSTEIN, who places the date of the Apocalypse before the destruction of Jerusalem, assumes that the *first* part of the Book has respect to Judæa and the Jews; and the *second* to the Roman Empire. The "Sealed Book" is the book of divorcement sent to the Jewish nation from God; and the Seven Seals are to be interpreted thus: (1) The victorious Horseman is Artabanus king of the Parthians who slaughtered the Jews in Babylon;—(2) The red horse means the assassins and robbers of Judæa in the days of Felix and Festus;—(3) Famine comes under Claudius;—(4) The pestilence which follows famine and pillage;—(5) The Christians, persecuted in Judæa, are about to be avenged;—(6) Commotions in Judæa, preparatory to rebellion;—(7) A brief respite —"*the Silence*" (ch. viii. 1)—conceded to the entreaties of King Agrippa.

STUART considers that the "Sealed Book," comprising chapters vi.–xi., symbolizes the humiliation of the Jewish persecuting power and the triumph of Christianity; and that this is the import of the series of symbols throughout ch. vi.–xi.—chapters which describe what he calls "the First Catastrophe" (see on ch. x. 2).

[1] "*An Exposition of the Books of Daniel and the Revelation*," London, 1838. By Jos. Tyso.

ISAAC WILLIAMS—who may here be classed as a "Preterist"—takes "with Victorinus the discourse on the Mount of Olives for the key" to the first six Seals. The Vision of ch. v. represents the power given to Christ at the Resurrection; and we have here in order an emblematic history of His victory on earth from that period. As to the writing "*on the back*," the first six Seals, embracing a period of forty years "in which the Spirit pleaded with Jerusalem before its destruction," describe the Lord's coming in judgment on the Holy City, each having, at the same time, a hidden sense—the writing "*within*." "The seventh Seal contains the Seven Trumpets within it . . . the judgments and sufferings of the Church."—Joel i. 15 (LXX).

(*b*) *Rationalistic "Preterists."*

The exposition of modern Rationalists may be represented by Volkmar and Renan:—

VOLKMAR:—(1) The Book of Judgment when its first Seal is opened exhibits the all-pervading victory of Messiah, followed by "the sorrows" (Matt. xxiv. 8) which introduce His Kingdom;—(2) The Parthian and Arabian wars, with the Jewish war after the year 66;—(3) Repeated famine, A.D. 44;—(4) Pestilence, A.D. 66;—(5) The martyrs at Rome, A.D. 64, are compared to victims slain on the Divine Altar (cf. Phil. ii. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 6; Ignat. *ad Rom.* ii. 4), their blood flowing beneath it (cf. Lev. iv. 7);—(6) The world-convulsions which, according to all prophecy (e. g. Isai. xiii. 10), precede the Day of Judgment, and which the Seer now clearly beholds under the reign of Galba, A.D. 68;—(7) The seventh Seal is opened amid the notes of the Seven Trumpets which announce the Judgment.

RENAN thus prefaces his conclusion:—The rage of the Christians against the Roman Empire had led to the belief that the Antichrist Nero was to be judged by Messiah in presence of the universe (p. 351), a belief which was "the parent of the Apocalypse." According, therefore, to a truly just historical conception, the Author of the Apocalypse fixes the origin of the Messianic agitation at the moment (A.D. 69) when Rome extended its Empire to Judæa. Accordingly the Seals present (1) The Roman Empire to which, in St. John's days, all resistance is vain;—(2) War, the revolt of Judæa and the insurrection of Vindex;—(3) The scarcity of the year 68;—(4) Death;—(5) The cry of the souls of the martyrs of the year 64;—(6) The convulsion of the Universe at the Last Judgment;—(7) The "*Silence*" (ch. viii. 1) indicates that the first act of the mystery is ended, and that another is about to begin (pp. 384–391).

III. "*Futurists*":—

J. H. TODD:—The Lord's *Second* Coming is represented in the Seal Visions under different aspects:—"Wars and famine, pestilence and death, are to be the signs; a great and fearful persecution of the Church shall fulfil the number of the martyrs; and then shall the end be" (p. 104).

DE BURGH:—"The Seals have not yet been opened. What we have now to expect from the opening of the Seals, is the unfolding, according as they are opened, of the acts of Christ when '*He takes to Himself His great power to reign*'—ch. xi. 17" (*l. c.*, p. 150).

IV. *Symbolical.*

STERN:—The Seals denote (1) Christianity personified;—(2) The personification of every World-power thirsting for Christian blood, and chiefly the Roman Empire;—(3) The personification of false doctrine;—(4) The personification of unbelief and utter apostasy;—(5) The prayers uttered by the souls of the martyrs;—(6) Commotions in Church and State. The falling of the stars denotes the falling away of Church rulers from the faith; and the removal of islands and mountains symbolizes the overthrow of all ecclesiastical and civil order;—(7) The Trumpets are introduced by the seventh Seal.

NOTE B ON VER. 6—ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATIONS.

The third Seal has been the subject of excessive allegorizing.

Beda writes:—"*Equus niger* falsorum caterva est fratrum, qui *stateram* rectæ professionis habent, sed socios lædunt per opera tenebrarum;"—Vitringa explains the *dearth* to mean spiritual *famine* (see on ver. 5), "caritas annonæ spiritalis," viz. from Constantine to Cent. ix.;—C. à Lapide: The Horse denotes heretics like Arius; the Rider the Devil, or Heresiarchs; the balance and measure signify Scripture; the penny is the merit of faith and holiness; wheat is the emblem of the Gospel; barley of the harshness of the Old Law; oil and wine are the medicine of our Samaritan, Christ;—N. de Lyra: The black Horse is the Roman army under the Rider Titus; wheat and barley denote the Jews; oil and wine the Christians.

CHAPTER VII.

3 *An angel sealeth the servants of God in their foreheads.* 4 *The number of them that were sealed: of the tribes of Israel a certain number.* 9 *Of all other nations an innumerable multitude, which stand before the throne, clad in white robes, and palms in their hands.* 14 *Their robes were washed in the blood of the Lamb.*

AND after these things I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the

[Ver. 1 *om.* καί.—τοῦτο. Ver. 2 ἀναβαίνοντα. Ver. 3 *om.* οὔ.—σφραγίσωμεν.· Verses 5-8 ἐσφραγισμένοι is to be read only in the *first* and *last* place. Ver. 9 περιβεβλημένους. Ver. 10 κράζουσι.—τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ καθ. ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ. Ver. 11 εἱστήκεισαν.—τὰ πρόσωπα. Ver. 14 Κύριέ μου.—ἐλεύκ. αὐτὰς ἐν. Ver. 17 ζωῆς.—ἐκ τῶν ὀφθ.—[The words καὶ ἐξαλείψει κ. τ. λ., not found in 1, Er. (after the Vulg.) supplied in his 2nd ed. from ch. xxi. 4].]

CHAP. VII. THE TWO EPISODES (1–17).

This chapter, by its two episodes commencing "**After this**" (ver. 1) and "**After these things**" (ver. 9), separates the first six Seals from the seventh (ch. viii. 1); just as in the case of the Trumpets there is the double interlude in ch. x. 1—xi. 14; and in the case of the Vials the episode of ch. xvi. 13–16.

Commentators differ as to the connexion here:—Vitringa, as we have seen (on ch. vi. 17), includes ch. vii. under the sixth Seal. Ewald connects ch. vii. 9–17 with ch. vi. 11. Many (Stern, Hengst., Words., &c.) refer more or less to the judgments of all the six Seals—especially of the sixth—on the principle of *Recapitulation* (see the remarks introductory to ch. viii.).

Bossuet connects this chapter on the one hand with the fifth Seal,—"*the short time*" spoken of in ch. vi. 11 being accounted for by the Sealing of the elect from among the Jews; and on the other hand with ch. viii. by comparing ver. 3 ("*the earth*," "*the sea*," "*the trees*") with the first two Trumpet Visions, ch. viii. 7–9.

As already observed on ch. vi. (see on *vv.* 8, 17), the language of the Seer does not imply that the elect are to be exempt from the judgments and trials there specified. The Seven Epistles (ch. ii.; iii.) promise no such immunity during the period of the Church's warfare. The contrary is predicted by our Lord in Matt. xxiv. 20–29; and the same follows from ver. 14 below. Assuming, on the other hand, that the Sealing of the elect does signify preservation from temporal calamities and physical suffering, many others (Mede, Bengel, De Wette, Ebrard, Züllig, Düsterd., Alf.) connect this chapter with the seventh Seal, under which the final judgment is to be looked for. Accepting any of these results, the seventh chapter, by its two episodes—the Sealing the servants of God who are of Israel (ver. 4), and the assembling of the great multitude who are of all nations (ver. 9)—gives the answer to the question of ch. vi. 17: "*And who is able to stand?*" The time set forth in Matt. xxiv. 30 has arrived; but the Angels must first gather together "the elect from the four winds" of heaven (ver. 31). To the faithful of all times, oppressed by the thought of the coming judgment, the consolation is held out—(1) In *vv.* 1–8 that God's protection will be over those who shall be exposed to the approaching Trial, whether we understand by it the *trials* which the Church has had from the beginning to encounter under the first six Seals, or those still future under the seventh Seal; and (2) In *vv.* 9–17 that the celestial glory is reserved as their reward.

The result then seems clearly to be that by the Sealing of the servants of God no one definite act, to be performed at some one definite point of time, is intended; but that this entire Vision represents a continual process of preservation under the trials and afflictions of all times, down to the end.

As the Vision of God's throne (ch. iv.) precedes the Seals, so here the Vision of the Blessed precedes the Trumpets (ch. viii. 7, &c.) with their warnings of judgment and of woe.

Compare the parallels supplied by Ex. xii. 7, 13; Ezek. ix. 4–6.

THE SEALING OF ISRAEL (1–8).

1. **After this**] (Omit *And*—see *vv. ll.*). *I.e.*, after the Vision of the sixth Seal. The Vision of the Sealed, according to Mede, is given twice,—here, in order to denote those who are to be preserved under the calamities denounced by the Trumpets; and again, in ch. xiv., to encourage those who retain their faith after the Beast has appeared, and when the rest of mankind have worshipped him. Hengst. and others, as stated above, place the events described in this Vision *before* or *during* the Seal-Visions, or, at least, before the close of the sixth Seal.

wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree.

2 And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to

I saw four angels] Perhaps 'Angels of the winds'—see Dan. vii. 2; Zech. vi. 5; or, generally, four "ministering spirits" to whom the office here described is given, cf. ver. 2; ch. viii. 2; xv. 1. So Düsterd., who notes: "Neither 'evil angels' (*Aret., Zeger, Laun., Calov., Beng., Rinck*, and others); nor 'the Angels of the winds' after the analogy of the 'Angels of the waters' in ch. xvi. 5, cf. ch. xiv. 18 (*Alcas., C. à Lap., Stern, Heinr., Züll., De Wette*)."

standing **upon** *the four corners of the earth,*] *I.e.*, the points from which the four winds proceed—cf. Jer. xlix. 36; Matt. xxiv. 31. *Four* is also the signature of the earth—see Introd., § 11, (a). The phrase includes the whole region that lies within them, *i. e.*, the whole earth even to its "*four corners*"—see Isa. xi. 12: cf. ch. xx. 8.

holding the four winds of the earth,] The interpretation of ch. vii. being symbolical, the meaning of this verse is that the Divine judgments of the first six Seals—of which "*the four winds*" are now the emblem—are, from age to age of the Church's history, to be so regulated that God's elect shall be safely carried through their spiritual trials, although exposed like mankind in general to the calamities which are to come upon the earth.

According to the sense given to the "*winds*," whether literal or symbolical, we must also understand, argues Düsterd., "*the earth*," "*the sea*," "*the trees*;" and he takes the sense to be *literal* storm-winds which shall desolate the entire earth,—an outburst, *after* the signs of the sixth Seal, of still greater calamities held back until after the Sealing of the servants of God, but which are immediately to precede the actual entrance of the final catastrophe. Mede takes the "*winds*" in a *figurative* sense, as denoting wars and calamities which, like tempests, may come from any quarter of the earth. Hengst. notes that "*the four winds of the earth*" are in Scripture the symbol of the Divine judgments (here, those announced in ch. vi.):—he takes "*the sea*" to be the symbol of the nations and peoples, and "*the trees*" to signify the kings and great men, ch. vi. 15. Thus Words. also: The Angels are to restrain the winds, or blasts of destruction, from blowing on the *earth, i.e.*, on *earthly* powers *opposed* to those of *heaven*;—from blowing on the *sea*, the emblem of nations in agitation;—from hurting the *trees*, the great and powerful ones of the world: God's design in this world is the preservation and beatification of His servants and the punishment of the *opposing* powers of this world, here represented by the *earth, sea*, and *trees*, is *subordinate*;—not directly designed by Him, but consequent on their sins, cf. Matt. xxiv. 40. According to Bengel, "*the earth*" is Asia; "*the sea*," Europe; "*the trees*" Africa. Grotius takes "*the earth*" to be Judæa;—"*the winds*" any calamity;—"*the sea*" a great people, such as that of Jerusalem;—"*the trees*" imply what is formed from trees, such as cities, or the Temple;—and on the whole, the peaceful rule under King Agrippa is meant.

that **no wind** *should* **blow** *on the earth,* **or** *on the sea,* **or upon** *any tree.*] (ℵ, P, 1 read πᾶν, as in ch. ix. 4; xxi. 27; B, C read τι; A reads "**on a tree**"—ἐπὶ δένδρου). *Land* and *sea* include the surface of the earth; the *trees* are the objects most exposed to storms.

2. *another angel*] Also indefinite: one contrasted with the other four (ver. 1), and on whom they minister,—cf. ch. viii. 3; x. 1; xiv. 6, 8, 17. Not necessarily "an Archangel" (Stern); nor can it be Christ (Hengst.), or the Holy Ghost (Vitr.)—see the words, "*of our God*," ver. 3. Referring to the epithet "the day-spring" (ἀνατολή), in Luke i. 78, Words. understands by this "Angel," if not "Christ himself," "a special messenger from Christ." Victorinus takes this Angel to be the prophet Elijah, who is to anticipate the times of the Antichrist, and restore and give peace to the Church.

ascend from the sun-rising,] Cf. ch. xvi. 12. The Angel who brings protection comes from that one of the four regions (ver. 1) whence rises the source of light and blessing for the earth:—"In view of Patmos," notes Stern, "and the lands where the Gospel first shone."

the seal of the living God:] Cf. ch. ix. 4. Strictly "*a* seal,"—although the *possessive gen.* which follows renders the noun definite. Düsterdieck suggests that there may be "different seals for different objects,"—the object here being to impress this Seal upon the foreheads of the servants of God. By this token their faithful continuance in God's service, notwithstanding the coming woes, is insured. This "Seal" is of an entirely different nature from the "*mark* of the Beast" (χάραγμα) in ch. xiii. 16; xiv. 9, 11; xvi. 2; xix. 20; xx. 4, which denoted servitude to a master. The title "*the living God*," means that God as the Living One (Jer. x. 10) now *gives* life. (Note that here only we have not the full title, "*that liveth for ever and ever*,"—cf. ch. iv. 9, 10; x. 6; xv. 7).

whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea,

3 Saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads.

4 And I heard the number of them which were sealed: *and there*

and he cried with a **great** *voice*] As in ch. i. 10; v. 2; vi. 10; &c.

to whom it was given to hurt] Gr. "*to whom it was given* **unto them**" (which does not suit the English idiom—see on ch. iii. 8, and cf. ch. vi. 4). That is to those whose function it was to set free the four winds, and thus cause the ruin.

Some writers hold that the *restraining* the winds is the cause which "*hurts*,"—Rinck inferring this from the fact that in what follows no command is given to set them loose;—Bengel, because the winds, if set free, must "cool" the scorching heat of the approaching plagues, ch. viii. 7, &c.: but cf. ver. 3.

the earth and the sea,] The *trees* specified in *vv.* 1, 3, are here omitted, because they are to be understood as belonging to "*the earth*;" and hence, from this omission, Düsterd. infers that neither the earth, nor the sea or the trees are to be understood symbolically. Auberlen understands "*the earth and the sea*" to signify the worldly element, as opposed to the kingdom of God (p. 245):—see on ch. xii. 9, 12.

3. *Saying, Hurt not*] By loosing the four winds. The act of protection now commanded shields the Church during her warfare with the world; and the final withdrawal of this—when the sealing is complete whereby the servants of God from age to age are marked out (cf. ch. ix. 4), and when the elect are at length gathered together—is to be followed by the peace of heaven (*vv.* 16, 17).

the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees,] Cf. the judgments of the first two Trumpets—see ch. viii. 7-9.

till **we shall have** *sealed*] (See *vv. ll.*). "*We*," not "I"—*i.e.*, this other Angel, and the four who minister to him, see on ver. 2. The symbolical act of "Sealing" signifies that God will protect and preserve: see below, and on ch. ix. 4.

the servants of our God] A title, notes Bengel, specially belonging to holy men in Israel—Gen. l. 17; Deut. xxxii. 36; Isai. lxi. 6. Cf. ch. xix. 10; xxii. 9.

Grotius and "Preterists" generally understand the Jewish Christians who fled from Jerusalem to Pella, escaping, through having been "*sealed*," the results of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem.

on *their foreheads*.] Cf. Ex. xxviii. 36-38. The unholy imitation of this Divine Sealing, the slave-brand of common life, was on *the hand*, or *on the forehead*, as the most conspicuous place—see ch. xiii. 16; xiv. 9; xx. 4. We here recall the vision in Ezek. ix. 4-6 (see the note *in loc.*) where "the mark"—as the Hebrew text shows—was the letter *Tau* (תו) the last of the Hebrew alphabet, and of which the old form was that of a cross. We are thus reminded of the sign of the Cross in holy baptism which has taken the place of circumcision, Rom. iv. 11. (Compare also the reference to baptism as "the Seal of the Lord" [τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ Κυρίου] in the affecting narrative of the interview between St. John and the youthful convert who had become a robber, as told by Clemens Al., *Quis dives salv.*, c. 42; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 23, together with the note of Valesius). The "*Seal*" moreover in this place, although the text does not say so, may have contained the names of God and of Christ—see ch. iii. 12, and also ch. xiv. 1 where the "*Sealed*" again appear. Renan (*l. c.*, p. 389) observes that "the Seal has for its legend, as all the seals of kings, the name of Him to whom it belongs, יהוה, Isai. xliv. 5." The effect we learn at ch. ix. 4; the sealing however does not denote protection from *tribulation* (see ver. 14), but preservation from *apostasy* under tribulation:—cf. the "*if it were possible*" of Matt. xxiv. 24. This "Sealing" may denote who "the Elect" are, to whom our Lord refers, Matt. xxiv. 22.

Ebrard, who considers (s. 311) that "the time from the conversion of Israel until the Second Advent of Christ (ch. xii. 10-14) is stated to be only 3½ days," regards the Sealing as another form of the figure of the flight to the wilderness in ch. xii. 14:—see on ch. viii. 6.

THE 144 THOUSAND (4-8).

4. *And I heard*] The sealing is assumed to have taken place between *vv.* 3 and 4.

the number of them which were sealed,] Probably as announced by the Angel—the *other* Angel of *vv.* 2, 3. The act of Sealing is not described in the Vision; just as it is omitted in Ezek. ix. where, after the command had been given at ver. 4, it is stated at ver. 11: "I have done as thou hast commanded me."

an hundred and forty and four thousand,] (Omit *and there were*). This number gives the *square* of twelve, multiplied by the *cube* of ten. The number 12 (=3×4) combines

were sealed an hundred *and* forty *and* four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel.

5 Of the tribe of Juda *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Reuben *were* sealed twelve thousand.

"*the signature*" of God and "*the signature*" of the world. The division into *Twelve* Tribes fixes the relation of Israel, God's ancient Church, to the number Twelve. Christ too by the number of His Apostles has fixed the same relation for the Christian Church ("Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the Twelve Tribes of Israel," Matt. xix. 28): and thus, by the use of this number He has declared His Church to be the Covenant people with whom God shall ever dwell. Again: the number 1000 ($=10^3$) is the symbol of *universality*—see Introd. § 11, (a). For 12×1000, see ch. xxi. 16; and for 12×12, see ch. xxi. 17. It is evident that the literal number 144,000 cannot be intended here: a vast number—less than a number indefinitely great, but greater than a large number designedly finite, e.g. "a thousand" (ch. xx. 2) —is what we are to understand; see on ch. viii. 1.

The number 144,000 involves the idea of *election* (De Wette). See ch. xiv. 1.

sealed out of every tribe *of the children of Israel.*] *I.e.*, out of all the Tribes:—for this cumulative sense of "every" (*πᾶς*) joined to a substantive without the article, see Winer, § 18. 4, s. 101. That "Israel," and more specially the Jews are taken in this Book in the highest and best sense, is clear from ch. ii. 9; iii. 9; and thus the language here indicates "the blessed company of all faithful people"—"*the Israel of God*," Gal. vi. 15, 16; cf. Rom. ix. 6–8. It was by this metaphor the Apostle of the Gentiles signified that the Church of the latter Covenant is continuous with the Church of the former Covenant: and now, St. John, foreshadowing how the Church of the Redeemed is to be gathered in from amid the sin and confusion of the world, announces, in the figurative language of St. Paul, that it is "*the Israel of God*" alone which can supply citizens for "the New Jerusalem." In this sense the Epistle for All Saints' Day is taken from this chapter. The reference to the Twelve Tribes of Israel, ch. xxi. 12, and to "the New Jerusalem," ch. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10, seems to fix upon the words this spiritual meaning; while the fact that the same number is chosen out of every Tribe indicates that both names and numbers are here symbolical (cf. the equal division of the Holy Land among the Twelve Tribes, Ezek. xlvii. 13, 14). In fact, the definite number 144,000 —representing "the Sealed" on earth throughout all time—is again represented *in*definitely in ver. 9, by the "*great multitude which no man could number;*" in other words, by the Church of the Redeemed in heaven (cf. ch. v. 9 with ch. xiv. 1, 3):—to this effect Origen, Mede, Vitr., Ewald, De Wette, Döllinger, Hengst., Words., *Alf.*, &c.; see on ch. ix. 4.

There are many, however, who refuse to identify those who are here sealed, with the palm-bearing multitude in ver. 9. They consider "the Sealed" to represent Jewish believers, chosen out of the literal Israel. These as belonging to the Twelve Tribes which are here distinctly specified, form a definite number (cf. Isai. liv.–lxvi.; Rom. xi.); and thus *vv.* 1–8 relate to believers from Israel, but *vv.* 9–17 to believers whether Jews or Gentiles (see the remark of Vitringa, quoted in note A on ch. xi. 1):—so Grotius, Bullinger, Bengel, Stuart, I. Williams, J. H. Todd, De Burgh, Ebrard, Züllig, Düsterd.,—Auberlen (and so Burger) further noting that these "form the nucleus of glorified humanity, to which the Gentiles are joined" (p. 355). That Israel should first be mentioned, and then (ver. 9) *all* true servants of God, Düsterdieck explains by the *two* judgments under the *seventh* Seal —viz. that on Jerusalem (cf. ch. xi. 8), and that on Babylon, *i.e.*, Rome. He regards ch. viii. 1–ch. xi. 14 as the object of the passage here—*vv.* 1–8 representing what the seventh Seal will bring upon unbelieving Israel, while *vv.* 9–17 relate to the redemption of believers in general, as well as to the tribulation of Babylon. Godet also (*l. c.*, p. 350) takes the 144,000 Sealed to denote the elect of Israel; but he understands Jews reserved by God—until Antichrist comes—to maintain in the bosom of their nation (which, as a whole, *almost* apostatizes to paganism) true belief in Jehovah and His law, like the 7000 in the days of Elijah (1 Kings xix. 18). These Elect are not even yet members of the Church: they do not form part of the army of the Lamb until ch. xiv. 1–5. And thus, until the very end of all things, there will be in the literal Israel an elect few, faithful to God and to the Law of their fathers; and also in the pagan world (see on ch. xvii. 1) a multitude of souls prepared to reign with the Lamb (see on ch. xi. 13).

It seems a conclusive answer to this last theory to point out that both the 144,000 Jews and the innumerable multitude of ver. 9 are, according to it, alike included in the one number 144,000 of ch. xiv. 1 who are expressly said in ch. xiv. 3, 4 to have been "redeemed from *the earth*," and "*from among men.*"

This Vision, writes Mr. Maurice (p. 128), "endorses the hopes which earnest men,

Of the tribe of Gad *were* sealed twelve thousand.

6 Of the tribe of Aser *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Nepthalim *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Manasses *were* sealed twelve thousand.

7 Of the tribe of Simeon *were*

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either Jews or Christians, have entertained of the ultimate restoration of Israelites to more than all the privileges their fathers enjoyed."

Interpreting differently, Stern takes the 144,000 to represent the Elect *on earth* in the days of Antichrist; and the "*great multitude*" of ver. 9 to be the Redeemed *in heaven* of every period of the Church, and therefore to include the 144,000. Neander—understanding the 144,000 to mean only believers of Jewish descent, and as "a round number" to represent the converts of Acts xxi. 20—asserts that this verse contradicts ch. xiv. 1 which enumerates the whole number of the elect from all the world (*Pflanzung*, Engl. tr., i. p. 398). To the same effect, Bleek (s. 230). Such an argument, however, sets aside the spiritual and symbolical use of numbers in the Apocalypse.

By the "Historical" school of commentators this prophecy has been variously referred to the Jewish and Gentile converts in the age of Constantine;—to the Albigenses and Waldenses;—to the Reformation;—&c., &c.

5. *Of the tribe of Judah* [*were*] *sealed twelve thousand:*] The words "*were sealed*" are to be read only here and in the case of Benjamin, ver. 8.

Note, that of the Twelve sons of Jacob, *six* were sons of the first wife, Leah; *two* of the second wife, Rachel; *two* of the first concubine, Bilhah; *two* of the second concubine, Zilpah.

Of the tribe of Reuben twelve thousand:] (And so until the end of ver. 8—see *vv. ll.*). As to this catalogue of the Twelve Tribes it is to be noted that in no two places throughout the Bible are the names and the order the same. In the O. T. there are several such catalogues giving e.g. (1) the order of birth, Gen. xxix., xxx., xxxv. 18; (2) the order of Jacob's blessing, Gen. xlix.; (3) the order of Moses' blessing, Deut. xxxiii. (where Simeon is omitted); (4) the order of blessing and cursing, Deut. xxvii. 12, 13; (5) the order of "the princes," Num. i.; (6) the order of the encampment, Num. ii.; (7) the order of the inheritance, Josh. xiii.-xix.; (8) the census before the invasion of Canaan, Num. xxvi.; (9) the order by the wives and concubines, 1 Chron. ii. 1, 2 (Dan, as in Gen. xlix., coming after the sons of Leah, for which a reason may perhaps be found in Gen. xxx. 3-6); (10) the order of the gates of "the City" ("the New Jerusalem"), Ezek. xlviii. 31-34. This last catalogue presents the closest resemblance to that of St. John, if we arrange Ezekiel's catalogue in the order of north, west, south, east, placing the name of Judah first (as St. John places it with manifest reference to ch. v. 5; cf. Hebr. vii. 14)—viz. *north*, JUDAH, Reuben, (Levi); *west*, Gad, Asher, Naphtali; *south*, Simeon, Issachar, Zebulun; *east*, Joseph, Benjamin, (Dan). In this catalogue of Ezekiel Levi is included; and also Joseph, in whose stead Manasseh and Ephraim (see Josh. xiv. 3, 4) are frequently placed,—e.g. Num. ii. 18-20. Accordingly St. John, closely following the order of Ezekiel, omits Dan (in whose room Manasseh appears—placed however after Naphtali, Dan's brother by Bilhah, and in connexion with Gad and Asher the sons of the other concubine Zilpah); and places Levi next after his elder brother Simeon: see Züllig, *in loc.* This arrangement is doubtless implied in the symbolism of ch. xxi. 12. And thus in the case of the sons of Leah and Rachel (with the exception of the case of Judah, who is placed first) the order of age is followed, —the last-born, Benjamin, being placed last.

Grotius, on the other hand, writes: "Nullus servatur ordo quia omnes in Christo pares;" and he rejects all meanings which assign a motive for the arrangement here: and so Alford. Reuss ascribes the order to "pure chance" (p. 74).

6. Of the tribe of Manasseh twelve thousand:] As observed on ver. 5, the name of Dan, given in the catalogue of Ezekiel, is omitted by St. John, and the name of Manasseh is introduced in its stead.

Bossuet thinks that the name of Dan is omitted here merely in order to preserve the number Twelve, Joseph appearing twice—once in his own person, ver. 8, and once in the person of Manasseh.

The Fathers, generally—referring to Gen. xlix. 17, "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path," and also to the imagery of ch. xii. 9; xx. 2, where the serpent symbolizes the power of evil—explain the omission of Dan by the belief that Antichrist was to rise from this Tribe. Thus, St. Hippolytus (*De Antichr.*, c. 14) observes that as Christ has been born from the tribe of Judah, so, according to Jacob's words (Gen. xlix. 17), will Antichrist be born from the tribe of Dan:—for other authorities, see the note on Gen. xlix. 17. Thus too Beda, Andreas, C. à Lap., Stern (who recapitulates the evidence of the

sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Levi *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Issachar *were* sealed twelve thousand.

8 Of the tribe of Zabulon *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Joseph *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Benjamin *were* sealed twelve thousand.

9 After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds,

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Greek and Latin Fathers, ss. 235–244). "The reason," notes Hengst. on ch. xi. 13, "for the excluding of Dan is, that the only narrative of the O. T. in which Dan played a part is that respecting the worship of idols in Judges xviii. 1–31; so that the declaration in Rev. xxii. 15, '*without are idolaters*,' is here symbolically represented by the omission of Dan." "Here, therefore," adds Words., "is a protest against idolatry, as wholly disqualifying for admission into the number of God's saints:"—cf. ch. ix. 20; xxi. 8. The Jewish writers represent the name of Dan as a by-word for idolatry,—*Targum of Jonathan*, on Ex. xvi. 8 (Wetst. p. 776). Grotius, Düsterd., &c., support the opinion that as the Tribe of Dan did not return from the Captivity (see 1 Chron. iv.–vii.) the Tribe must have been long extinct. It is maintained, however, by Bertheau, that the author of the Book of Chronicles has virtually included Dan in his place among the tribes, by his mention of "Hushim" (1 Chron. vii. 12) who are styled in Gen. xlvi. 23 "the sons of Dan." Be this as it may, the name as applied to the Tribe disappears after 1 Chron. xxvii. 22, and is kept alive only in the name of the northern city (Laish);—see Josh. xix. 47; Judges xviii. 7, 29; 2 Chron. xvi. 4; Jer. iv. 15, &c.: cf. the note on Jer. viii. 16, and also note A at the end of this chapter.

This omission of the Tribe of Dan from the later history, when we consider its warlike prowess and the fame of Samson (Judges xiii.), is no doubt very remarkable.

As to the omission of Ephraim, while his brother Manasseh is introduced by St. John, it may be observed that Ephraim as well as Dan was addicted to idolatry (Judg. xvii.; xviii.; 1 Kings xii. 25, 29), Ephraim being also foremost in the defection from the house of David (2 Sam. ii. 9; Isa. vii. 9, 17). Ephraim is the "confederate" of the enemies of Judah (Isa. vii. 2, 5; cf. Hos. v. 3, and *passim*).

7. Of the tribe of Levi twelve thousand:] Levi had no inheritance in the earthly Canaan (Josh. xiv. 3, 4); but he is not excluded from the heavenly. In this substitution of one name for another (see on ver. 5), we are reminded of the awful mystery of the blotting a name from out of the Book of Life:—see on ch. iii. 5. We may compare, too, the rejection of Judas (John vi. 70) and the substitution of another in his stead.

8. Of the *tribe of Benjamin* [*were*] *sealed twelve thousand.*] The actual order of time is here followed in the placing of Benjamin *last*, as, in the order of Christian conceptions, Judah is placed *first*. And thus the 144,000 symbolize the Church of the Redeemed throughout all time:—from the day when "*the Lion of the tribe of Judah*" went forth "*conquering and to conquer*" during the successive ages represented to the Seer in the Visions of the first six Seals, down to the final Judgment, and to the day which shall behold engrafted into the Church the last born of the Israel of God.

THE PALM-BEARING MULTITUDE (9–17).

9. *After* these things] These words introduce a new Vision—see on ch. iv. 1. The day predicted by Christ has now come. His Church, consisting of "the Sealed" in every age, has received its last member; and the Lord has sent forth "His angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other" (Matt. xxiv. 31).

I saw, and behold, *a great multitude*,] See on ver. 4. In one view St. John now beholds *in heaven* the entire company of the Redeemed. These had been symbolically represented in the previous Vision, while on earth, by the 144,000 who had been successively "*Sealed*" from among the Twelve Tribes; and they are now assembled before the throne. See on ch. xiv. 1.

which no man could number,] For the construction—"the redundant pronoun"—see on ch. iii. 8.

Ebrard (and so also Todd and Godet—see on ver. 4) refuses to identify this company with the 144,000, because (1) this multitude cannot be numbered; (2) it is gathered from among all nations; (3) those who compose it have not been Sealed so as to escape the judgments, but have actually come "*out of the great tribulation*" (ver. 14). To the same effect Auberlen: "During the Millennium an innumerable multitude of all nations are added to the 144,000 sealed ones from the Twelve Tribes of Israel in heaven; and upon earth the world of nations is added to the kingdom of Israel" (p. 355).

As a "Preterist" Grotius understands

and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands;

10 And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.

those Christians who escaped the calamities of the Jewish war; especially the numerous Christians to be found in Syria.

On the other hand, not to repeat what has been already said, we notice the repetition of this same number, 144,000, at ch. xiv. 1, 3, where the whole body of the Redeemed is to be understood; and this company is here said to be innumerable, because (as De Wette well observes) the fact of *an election*, which necessarily involves the idea of *a rejection*, is not now the theme, but merely the bliss of the Church in glory. In short the number 144,000 stands for a vast multitude—the definite for the indefinite—according to the laws of symbolism already stated. It is to be observed also that in neither ch. v. 9, nor ch. xiv. 3, is there drawn any distinction between Jewish and Gentile believers—a distinction which is so often urged: both receive here (see ver. 3) the title "*servants* of God." Compare, too, our Lord's words, Matt. xix. 28.

Volkmar (see on ch. ii. 2) asserts that in this chapter St. John divides Christians into two classes—one class consisting of Hebrew Christians from the Twelve Tribes (*vv.* 3–8); the other of believers from all peoples (*vv.* 9–17). This assertion Renan repudiates altogether: "The distinction," he writes (p. 397), "between heathen converts and the Jewish Christians does not exist for the author of the Apocalypse" . . . "Israël est ici certainement le vrai Israël spirituel, le 'Israël de Dieu,' comme dit Saint Paul" (Gal. vi. 16).

out of every nation, and of [all] **tribes and peoples** *and tongues*,] See ch. v. 9, where the same fourfold classification occurs. On the bearing of these words as indicating the harmony of Johannean doctrine with that of the Apostle of the Gentiles, see note A on ch. iii. 19.

standing *before the throne*] The Seer reverts to the scene described in ch. iv.

arrayed in *white robes*,] See on ch. vi. 11. Winer (§ 59, 11) suggests that in the *nominative*, "multitude," St. John had in mind "behold," as in ch. iv. 1; and in the participle in the *accus.* (see *vv. ll.*) the verb "I saw." Cf. the note on ch. xix. 8.

and palms] The Greek noun (φοίνιξ, cf. Ps. xcii. 13, LXX.) occurs, in the N. T., only here and in John xii. 13.

On ch. ii. 10, as we have seen, Archbishop Trench considers that in this Book there is no "image drawn from the range of heathen antiquity:"—"The palms in the hands of the redeemed who stand before the throne (ch. vii. 9) may seem an exception . . . . but really are far from being so. It is quite true that the palm was for Greek and Roman a token of victory, but this 'palmiferous company,' to use Henry More's words, these happy palmers, do not stand before the throne as conquerors, but as those who keep the true Feast of Tabernacles—the Feast of Rest," cf. Neh. viii. 15; 2 Macc. x. 6, 7; Joseph. *Antt.* xii. 13, 5. See also Hengst. on the present verse.

The Feast of Tabernacles, the third of the three great Festivals (Lev. xxiii.), commemorated the passage of Israel through the wilderness; it also commemorated the joy after harvest, when labour ceased, and the period of rest began (Deut. xvi. 13–15). Hengst. and Words. refer, in confirmation of St. John's reference to this Feast, to ver. 15 where it is said that "God shall spread his *tabernacle* over them;" cf. John i. 14. Alford, who will not exclude the heathen custom, having noted that the palm-branch was a mark of festal joy observes that "this practice extended beyond the Jews;" and he quotes Virgil's phrase, "palmæ, pretium victoribus" (*Æn.* v. 111). Ewald also quotes Pausanias (*Arcad.* 48) in proof that the conquerors at the Olympic games bore palm-branches, and garlands of palm leaves. Tertullian notes on this place, "Scilicet de Antichristo triumphales,"—*Scorp.* 12 (see above on ch. ii. 10). According to Bossuet the palms signify that "the great multitude are martyrs"—viz. those described in ch. xx. 4.

The "Palm-bearing multitude" *synchronizes*, according to Mede, with the seventh Trumpet;—this is the seventh of his *second class* of synchronisms (p. 430): for a brief summary of this system, see Introd. § 12 (2). Cf. the imitation of this passage in 2 (4) Esdras ii. 42–47.

10. and they cry *with a* **great** *voice, saying*,] See *vv. ll.*:—the tense expresses their unceasing occupation.

Salvation **unto** *our God*] See *vv. ll.*:—"The salvation [which we have attained, be ascribed] unto our God." They utter the "*Hosanna*" (see John xii. 13—the "*Save now*" of Ps. cxviii. 25) shouted by the people during the Feast of Tabernacles; cf. 2 Macc. x. 6, 7. "Indeed, the *Palm* branches were called *Hosannas*,"—Words.; see also Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Hosanna*.

11 And all the angels stood round about the throne, and *about* the elders and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God,

12 Saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, *be* unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.

13 And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?

14 And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

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which sitteth **on** *the throne, and unto the Lamb.* The same adoration is here, as elsewhere (cf. ch. v. 13; xii. 10), offered to God and to the Lamb.

11. *And all the angels stood*] *I.e.*, "**had placed themselves**" during the scene described in *vv.* 9, 10—see *vv. ll.*: so Düsterd. Alf. renders, "**were standing**," and explains that the *pluperf.* "is in sense imperfect, just as the perfect, 'I have placed myself' = 'I stand,' is in sense present:"—cf. ch. viii. 2.

round about the throne, **and** [*about*] *the elders and the four* **living beings**;] *I.e.*, as in ch. v. 11, the Angels encompassed the throne and the Elders and the Living Beings. On the participation of Angels in the work of Redemption, see Luke ii. 9-14; Matt. iv. 11; xxviii. 2; John xx. 12; Acts i. 10; &c.

and they *fell before the throne* **upon** *their faces,*] The Elders fall prostrate in ch. v. 14; xi. 16; here, the Angels also, continuing the song of praise. See *vv. ll.*

12. *Amen:*] See ch. v. 14. The Angels confirm by an *Amen!* the song of praise uttered, in ver. 10, by men redeemed; and then take up themselves the strain. In this sevenfold ascription, the article is prefixed to each of the nouns, as to *Salvation* in ver. 10.

All *blessing, and glory, &c.*] Gr. "*The* blessing, and *the* glory, and *the* &c.:" see on ch. i. 6; iv. 11. Bengel arbitrarily refers this sevenfold ascription to the Seven Trumpets, ch. viii. 2, the first Angel sounding "*The blessing,*" the second, "*The glory,*" and so on (see on ch. viii. 12). Hengst. connects this song of praise with that in ch. v. 12, because *this* begins, and *that* ends with the two words "*blessing*" and "*glory.*"

[*be*] *unto our God*] As in ch. i. 6.

13. *And one of the elders*] When events are to happen through the agency of Creation, one of the Four Living Beings speaks, as in ch. vi.: an Angel introduces Visions which are not expounded, as in *vv.* 2, 3; ch. xiv., &c.: here, as in ch. v. 5, where Visions relating to the Church are explained, "*one of the Elders*" by whom the Church is symbolized (see on ch. iv. 4) is the speaker.

These which are arrayed in the white robes, who are they, *and whence came they?*] The Elder, notes Beda, "questions in order that he may teach,"—"interrogat ut doceat:" cf. Isai. lxiii. 1; Jer. i. 11; Zech. iv. 2, &c. Commentators here give as illustrations of these questions, Jonah, i. 8; Virgil, "Qui genus? Unde domo?"—*Æn.* viii. 114.

14. *And* **I say** *unto him,*] The verb is in the perfect—"**I have said:**" see on ch. v. 7.

My Lord,] See *vv. ll.* For this form of address, which expresses reverence for the being who asked the question, cf. Gen. xxiii. 6, 11; Zech. i. 9; iv. 4, 5, 13—see also the notes on ch. xix. 10; xxii. 8, 9. In John xii. 21, the same form without the pronoun is used.

thou knowest.] *I.e.*, "I know not, but would hear from thee,"—cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 3.

These are they which **come**] The *present* tense (see on ch. xv. 2) is to be preserved here, as the tenor of the whole Vision requires. Ewald and Ebrard render, as rendered in the A. V., "*which came.*" A simple designation of persons is intended—all, whether Gentiles or of Israel, all who **come** (οἱ ἐρχόμενοι) unstained out of the trial, and whom the Seer now beholds in glory as they stand before the throne.

out **of the great** *tribulation,*] "**The tribulation, the great one**"—the twofold article being specially emphatic: see ch. iii. 10; vi. 17; and compare our Lord's words, Matt. xxiv. 21, 29. Not merely all earthly trouble, Gen. iii. 16; v. 29, as Bengel holds; or "the whole sum of the trials of the saints of God viewed by the Elder as now complete" (Alf.): the reference assuredly is to the last great Trial to be expected under the seventh Seal, as well as to the preparatory tokens of that Trial under the sixth Seal, ch. vi. 12-17.

Renan would restrict the application to the persecution under Nero, A.D. 64, for which "**the great tribulation**" was, he argues from Heb. x. 33, the ordinary description,—*l. c.*, p. 217.

15 Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that
3. sitteth on the throne shall [c]dwell among them.

16 [d]They shall hunger no more, [d] Is. 49. 10.
neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat.

17 For the Lamb which is in the

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and **they washed** *their robes,*] In the life now past and gone,—see ch. iii. 4. Alf. thus gives the substance of Düsterdieck's note: "the aorist is that so often used of the course of this life when looked back upon from its yonder side."

in the blood of the Lamb.] Cf. ch. i. 5; 1 John i. 7. "It is a delicate feature of genuine ethics," notes Düsterd., "that they who, in this earthly life, have washed their robes white in the blood of the Lamb, appear in that other life arrayed in white garments (cf. ch. iii. 4; xix. 8)." The earlier commentators (Arethas, Beda, N. de Lyra) were wont to apply this passage to the purifying effect of martyrdom—De Lyra understanding by "*the blood of the Lamb*" the blood of the martyrs, "quia est sanguis membrorum ipsius": so, too, Ewald owing to his identifying this place with ch. vi. 10. Hengst. interprets the *washing*, of the forgiveness of sins; the *making white*, of sanctification.

15. *Therefore*] "**On this account**"—because the condition expressed in Eph. v. 27 is now attained.

are they before the throne of God;] *I.e.*, as now seen in the Vision. To be there is itself bliss,—cf. John xvii. 24; 1 John iii. 2.

and they serve him] Cf. ch. iv. 8, &c.; v. 8, &c.; xxii. 3. The verb (λατρεύω) is used as in Matt. iv. 10—"*Him only shalt thou serve.*"

in his temple:] "**Sanctuary**," *Naos*, as in ch. xi. 1:—cf. on ch. iii. 12; xxi. 22. The earthly life of the faithful is already represented as the being made *priests* unto God —ch. i. 6; v. 10.

shall **spread his tabernacle over them.**] Ebrard renders, "ist ein Zelt über sie"—"is a tent over them." The verb (σκηνόω) which, in composition, often occurs elsewhere in the New Test., is found only in St. John's writings,—viz. in John i. 14; Rev. xii. 12; xiii. 6 (with the prep. ἐν); ch. xxi. 3 (with μετά); and here (with ἐπί), where it is difficult to express in English the reference to the Divine glory or Shekinah, overshadowing the mercy seat:—see Ex. xxv. 8; Lev. xxvi. 11; Isai. iv. 5, 6; Ezek. xxxvii. 27; and the note on Ex. xxvi. 1. The distinction between the Tent as the outer shelter, and the Tabernacle as the "*Dwelling place* of Jehovah" (a distinction marked in the Hebrew by the definite article prefixed, *hammishkan*), is very clear in Ex. xl. 34–38: "The glory appeared as a light within, and as a cloud on the outside,"—note *in loc.*; cf. Ex. xvi. 10; Num. xiv. 10; xvi. 19, 42; 1 Kings viii. 10, 11. "The rich store of allusions contained in the word (σκηνώσει) ought to be carefully treasured up in the mind of the reader, as showing that the prophecies and types of the Old Test., especially in the pilgrimage through the wilderness, and the festive ceremonial of the Hebrew ritual, will have their full accomplishment in the heavenly glory of Christ and His saints (see Ex. xxix. 43; Ps. lxviii. 18; 1 Cor. x. 11)"—Words.

Note the *tenses* in *vv.* 14, 15: the "*great multitude*" is assembling before the eyes of the Seer in front of the throne;—"They *washed* their robes;"—"They *are* before the throne," "they *serve*;"—and lastly, in the *future*, "He that sitteth on the throne *shall spread His Tabernacle* over them," for the Redeemed whom St. John beholds have not as yet actually accomplished their warfare.

16. *neither shall the sun* **strike upon them,**] Gr. *neither* **in any wise**:—compare the negative in ch. ii. 11.

nor any heat:] For the contrast, see ch. xvi. 8, 9. This passage is borrowed from Isai. xlix. 10.

17. *in the midst of*] Cf. the position in ch. v. 6, with which this position agrees although the phrase is different. For the phrase here (ἀναμέσον) cf. Matt. xiii. 25; Mark vii. 31; 1 Cor. vi. 5:—literally, "versus medium throni." The Lamb is placed towards the middle of the throne; between Him who sits upon it, and the Four Living Beings with the twenty-four Elders, who stand around. The form of a "Lamb," as well as this position, designates Christ as the reconciling Mediator (Düsterd.)

shall be their shepherd,] This image is that already used in the Fourth Gospel, John x.; xxi. 16. For the signification "*to rule*" see on ch. ii. 27; cf. ch. xii. 5; xix. 15.

and shall **guide them unto fountains of waters of life:**] See *vv. ll.*; and cf. John vii. 37–39; xvi. 13: the verb in this latter place (the same as here) is used of "the Spirit of Truth;" to Whom St. John expressly applies the former passage. Cf. ch. xxi. 6; xxii. 1.

midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: [e]and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

[e] Is. 25. 8. ch. 21. 4.

wipe away **every tear** *from their eyes.*] See ch. xxi. 4; Isai. xxv. 8. (Note, the *verb* δακρύω is found in the N. T. only in John xi. 35). Not without many tears have they come "*out of the great tribulation*," ver. 14: but "they that sow in tears shall reap in joy," Ps. cxxvi. 5.

Godet (*l.c.*, p. 270) takes the present passage, *vv.* 15–17, as an instance in which we find reunited several of the characteristic features of the Fourth Gospel:—ver. 15 to *dwell* (under a tent), John i. 14;—ver. 16 to *hunger*, to *thirst*, John vi. 35;—ver. 17 the *Lamb*, John i. 29;—*ib.* to *tend*, John xxi. 16 (cf. the image of the *shepherd*, John x. 1–16);—*ib.* to *guide*, John xvi. 13. On the other hand this verse supplies an illustration of the efforts to prove that the Apocalypse was not written by the author of the Fourth Gospel. Lücke indeed admits (s. 683) that the imagery here corresponds better than in any other instance to that of John x. 3: the verb moreover rendered "*to guide*" (ὁδηγέω) both corresponds to the image of 'tending as a shepherd,' and is also a Johannean word (e. g. John xvi. 13); but, nevertheless, he argues, in John x. 3 the verb which develops the pastoral image is different!

Ch. xxi.; and ch. xxii. might now seem to be the fitting sequel of this Vision; but other trials are still in store for the Church. All is now ready for the opening of the seventh Seal.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on Chap. VII. 6.

NOTE A ON VER. 6—THE OMISSION OF THE TRIBE OF DAN.

Hartwig (*Apol. der Apok.* ii. 227 ff.) and Ewald (*Jahrb. d. bibl. Wiss.*, 1856, viii. s. 98 ff.) argue that ΔΑΝ was originally written in the copies in place of ΜΑΝ. which they assert to be the abbreviation of Μανασσῆ (ver. 6); and that through an error the transcribers have substituted Μαν. (and thence Μανασσῆ) for the true reading Δάν. They appeal in support of this alleged abbreviation to the unimportant cursive MSS. 9, 13; which however distinctly read Δάν in place of Γάδ in ver. 5. On the other hand Irenæus, referring to Jer. viii. 16 (*Adv. Hær.*, v. 30, 2), Origen, Andreas, and Arethas (*in loc.*) read Μανασσῆ in full, and state expressly that Dan was omitted. Bengel and Eichhorn, urging the signification of the name Manasseh (Gen. xli. 51—*i.e.*, '*causing to forget*,' נשׁה, *oblitus est*), consider that the name itself intimates that another name, viz. Dan, was forgotten, or rather "in a mysterious manner excluded and suppressed." In support of his opinion that the tribe of Dan had been long extinct Grotius quotes a Jewish tradition: "Jam olim ea tribus ad unam familiam Hussim reciderat, ut aiunt Hebræi, quæ ipsa familia bellis interiisse videtur ante Esdræ tempora;"—but this notion seems to have arisen from a reminiscence of Gen. xlvi. 23. On the enigmatical words of 1 Chron. vii. 12, "Hushim, the sons of Aher," Bertheau refers to Gen. xlvi. 23, where Hushim are "*sons of Dan*" (note the substitution of the name "Shuham," Num. xxvi. 42); and considers that "Aher" (אחר) is not a proper name, but simply means "the other"—viz. the other son of Bilhah (Naphtali being named in ver. 13) whose name the writer wished to pass over in silence, for the name of Dan was in disrepute as having set up a worship of its own—see Judges xviii. The words, accordingly, חשׁם בני אחר ("Hushim, sons of *the other*") stand for ובני דן חשׁם, "and the sons of Dan, Hushim." Keil objects to this explanation, arguing from the repeated mention of Dan by the Chronicler (1 Chron. ii. 2; xii. 35; xxvii. 22)—the *omission* from one *Hebrew* text (1 Chron. vi 46, E. V. ver. 61) of the words "Ephraim, and of the *Tribe of Dan*"—which occur in Josh. xxi. 5—being an error of the copyist. See Keil, *Comm. in loc.*, Engl. tr., p. 135.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *At the opening of the seventh seal, 2 seven angels had seven trumpets given them. 6 Four of them sound their trumpets, and great plagues follow. 3 Another angel put-teth incense to the prayers of the saints on the golden altar.*

AND when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.

[Ver. 1 ὅταν. Ver. 3 τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου [A, P, 1 read τὸ θυσιαστήριον].—δώσει. Ver. 5 βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστρ. Ver. 6 οἱ ἔχοντες.—αὐτούς. Ver. 7 *om.* ἄγγελος.—ἐν αἵματι.—*add* καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάη. Ver. 9 διεφθάρησαν. Ver. 10 τῶν ὑδάτων. Ver. 11 ὁ Ἄψ.—ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῶν ὑδάτων.—τῶν ἀνθρ. Ver. 12 μὴ φάνῃ (or φαν̃ῃ). Ver. 13 ἀετοῦ πετομένου.—[ℵ, B read τοὺς κατοικοῦντας,—A, P, 1 read τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν].]

CHAP. VIII.—THE SEVENTH SEAL.

No single Vision follows the opening of the seventh Seal, as in the case of each of the first six. A solemn Silence ensues; and a new series of Seven Visions is exhibited, the last of which (ch. xi. 15) is followed in like manner by another series of Seven (ch. xv.; xvi.), and has no direct sequel casting light upon its meaning.

There is no reason for imagining (with Heinrichs) that "the Sealed Book" itself (ch. v. 1) becomes now for the first time visible, after its seven wrappers ("*involucra*") have been taken away. As the Seal is the emblem of an event decreed by God—mysterious, and still unrevealed; so the Trumpet when sounded is more than the simple revelation of an event to come—it is a "manifestation of *will*, which calls for its speedy accomplishment" (Godet, p. 296). After the analogy of the Seals, the Trumpets also are divided into groups of *four* and *three* (see ver. 13). Two distinct episodes, moreover, intervene between the sixth and seventh Trumpets (ch. x.—ch. xi. 14), as in the case of the Seals (ch. vii.):—see the remarks introductory to ch. vi.

Two opposite principles of interpretation have been commonly employed in order to explain the connexion between the Visions of the Seals and the Trumpets:—

(1) The principle of "*Recapitulution.*" This principle is supported by the authority of St. Augustine ("*recapitulando* dicit tanquam ad id rediens, quod præterierat, potiusve distulerat."—*De Civ. Dei*, xx. 14). In modern times it has been adopted by Vitringa, Bossuet, Hengst., Words., Alf., Elliott, and others. It is to be understood, however, that "*recapitulare*" is not identical with "*repetere*:"—"to recapitulate" is not "to go over the *same* ground again" ("Licet repetat per Phialas, non tamen quasi bis factum dicitur . . . Quod in Tubis minus dixit, heic in Phialis est."—Victorinus). In "*Recapitulation*" there is a *parallel*, not an *identical* series of events. "*Repetition*," however, in the sense of scripture, is but a token of the *certainty* of the event—cf. Gen. xli. 32; Ps. lxii. 11. To this class belong the "Synchronisms" of Mede. (2) The principle of which Andreas, C. à Lapide, Bengel, De Wette, Stern, Bleek, Ewald, Reuss, and others, are the advocates—viz. that the series of the Trumpet-Visions is developed in order out of the seventh Seal; which Seal, as Düsterdieck expresses it (s. 15), "by means of the seventh Trumpet proceeding from it, extends to ch. xxii. 5."

Vitringa, however, considers the Trumpets to constitute a *new* Vision: he understands them as foreshowing the history of the Roman Empire, or *external* condition of the Church; as the Seal-Visions had foreshewn the Church's *internal* condition.

1. *And when*] See *vv. ll.*:—in place of ὅτε (see ch. vi. 1, &c.) the MSS. A, C read ὅταν, which is used with the *aor. indic.* by the Byzantine writers. Of this use, writes Professor Moulton, there are, in the N. T., "two well-attested examples, Mark xi. 19; Rev. viii. 1"—see Winer, § 42, 5, s. 227; and cf. ch. iv. 9. Alf. notes: "It occurs in the opening of this Seal only, giving it an indefiniteness which does not belong to any of the rest."

he opened *the seventh seal,*] See on ch. vi. 3. As before, it is the Lamb Who opens this Seal. According to Alf. this "lets loose the roll." Burger also concludes that, on this opening of the seventh Seal, the contents of the Sealed Book are made known, and that the Seven Trumpet-Visions represent its contents:—but see on ch. v. 1.

there followed a silence *in heaven*] Gr. "**came to pass**"—see on ch. i. 9. This image seems to have been borrowed from the silence kept by the people while the priest offered the incense. The Silence here is preparatory to the sacerdotal act of the Angel in ver. 3:—cf. Luke i. 10; 2 Chron. xxix. 25–29.

The opening of the seventh Seal, writes Mr. Maurice as a strict "Preterist," introduces "the greatest catastrophe that has yet befallen the Universe"—the destruction of Jeru-

2 And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets.

3 And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto

salem. "There is silence in heaven in the contemplation of it" (p. 136). The Seven Trumpets are to sound around Jerusalem as they had sounded round Jericho.

Here only, notes Bengel, is there "a silence in heaven." Elsewhere we read of continual voices—e.g. ch. iv. 8; v. 9, 12; xi. 15.

about the space of half an hour.] In the word "*about*" we have a form of expression usual with St. John, see John i. 39; vi. 19; xi. 18.

The Vision of the seventh Seal is closed, and no further revelation is granted to the Seer in connexion with it as in the case of the preceding Seals—not even such as that granted in ch. x. 4 which he was commanded not to write. The "*Silence in heaven*" (see on ch. xi. 15) symbolizes this absence of a revelation; and the "*Silence*" lasting for but "*half an hour*" denotes that the consummation of all things, to which the seventh Seal directly leads up, is to follow the opening of that Seal after a period *absolutely* short. (For a period absolutely *long*, see on the "Thousand Years," ch. xx. 2.) The *relative* shortness of duration—relative, that is, to the divine apprehension—is elsewhere usually expressed by such phrases as "The time is at hand," "I come quickly:" see on ch. i. 1, 3; and also Note A at the end of this chapter.

The preparation for a new series of Visions now begins at ver. 2. This series which covers the same period of time as the Visions of the Seals is a "*Recapitulation*," as the ancient expositors express it. It is commonly assumed that the opening of the seventh Seal follows, in the order of time, the events referred to in ch. vii. Thus Alf. notes: "The coming of the Lord has passed, and the elect are gathered in. Accordingly the last Seal is now opened,"—but for such a conclusion there is no proof. The seventh Seal follows the sixth, just as the sixth follows the fifth, and the fifth the fourth—the episodes of ch. vii. relating to the entire course of the Seals from the beginning, and not revealing events subsequent in time to the sixth Seal: see the remarks introd. to ch. vii. It may well be, no doubt, that the "*Silence*" has a further spiritual meaning; it may be that, as Words. after Victorinus notes, "St. John has now a brief view of the 'eternal peace' of heaven" ("cernit *initium quietis* æternæ"). Beda also connects in this manner ch. vii. with ch. viii. ("In sexto sigillo maximas ecclesiæ pressuras; in septimo requiem cernit. . . . Nunc vero recapitulat ab origine, eadem aliter dicturus").

The "*Silence*" is broken by the Trumpet notes which announce the wrath of the Lamb.

The Third chief Vision (viii. 2—xi. 19) of the Revelation Proper now opens:—see Introd. § 12.

THE TRUMPET-ANGELS.

2. *And I saw*] According to Düsterdieck, the introductory Vision, *vv.* 2–6, is seen during the symbolic "*Silence*." According to Ebrard, the brief "*Silence*" merely introduces the events which now follow; and it is included under the seventh Seal. On this point, however, nothing is told us, and on it nothing depends. The "*Silence*" is itself symbolic as stated on ver. 1; and, quite irrespectively of it, another series of Visions begins as it were *de novo*. This series of Visions Düsterd., on the other hand, with the majority of commentators, regards as "evolved" out of, and as continuing the Seal-Visions. His reason is that on the principle of "*Recapitulation*" "the organic connexion of the Visions as a whole would be torn asunder" (s. 296). Renan offers the following criticism: The "*Silence*" denotes that the first act of the mystery is terminated, and that another is about to commence. The same thing occurs in the Song of Songs. *Hebrew literature ignores the law of unity.*—*l. c.*, p. 391.

the seven angels **which stand** *before God;*] (For the verb *stand* see on ch. vii. 11). Cf. ch. xv. 1; we may also compare the words of Gabriel in Luke i. 19. The definite article manifestly denotes a special reference; and commentators (as early as Clemens Alex., *Strom.* vi., p. 493) quote here the words of the book of Tobit (xii. 15): "I am Raphael, one of the Seven Holy Angels (τῶν ἑπτὰ ἁγίων ἀγγέλων) which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One:"—Victorinus to the same effect quotes Mark xiii. 27. Alford considers that what is here referred to "was part of that revelation with regard to the . . . . Angels which seems to have taken place during the captivity." The Seven are "Archangels," 1 Thess. iv. 16; Jude 9; cf. Dan. x. 15 (Stern, De Wette);—"The Seven Spirits of God," ch. i. 4; iv. 5; v. 6 (Aret., Bossuet, Ewald);—"Seven Angels chosen merely on account of the Seven Trumpets" (Hengst., Ebrard,—the latter considering that the art. is used in order to contrast the *seven* here, with the *four* Angels of ch. vii. 1). Luther and Vitringa take the article to be "a Hebrew superfluity."

him much incense, that he should [1]offer *it* with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne.

[1] Or, *add it to the prayers.*

and there were given unto them *seven trumpets.*] In order to proclaim the judgments described in *vv.* 7, 8, &c. Ewald refers to the use of trumpets on days of rejoicing (Num. x. 10), observing: "The Last Judgment is the greatest Festival in history,"—cf. Josh. vi.; Hos. viii. 1; Joel ii. 1. Mede regards the Trumpets as included in the Seals, the seventh Seal being "the Seal of the Trumpets"; and these two Visions, extending from ch. iv. 1 to ch. x. 8, form, according to Mede, the first chief division of the Apocalypse (*Works*, p. 424). Words. regards the final triumph of the righteous as the *moral* of the Seals; the punishment of the wicked as the *moral* of the Trumpets—the Vials (ch. xvi.) executing upon the empire of the Beast the judgments of the Trumpets. Max Krenkel (*Der Ap. Johannes*, s. 68) connects the Trumpets and Vials differently:—On the unconverted world (contrasted with "*the servants of God*," ch. vii. 3; ix. 4) St. John sees impending a double series of judgments; of these the first *Seven* are the Trumpets, and the second *Seven* are the Vials, ch. xvi.

On the word "Trumpet" see Note B at the end of this chapter.

THE INTRODUCTORY RITE (3–5).

3. *And another angel*] According to St. John's usage (see on ch. vii. 2), and contrasted with the Seven specified in ver. 2,—"*another Angel*" who offers upon the Altar, as was done in ch. v. 8, the incense which typifies prayer. A spirit of prayer is now poured forth, in order that the servants of God may prepare themselves thereby to meet the coming judgments.

Many commentators, both ancient and modern (Beda, Vitr., Elliott, &c.) take this Angel to be Christ—a sense which confuses the entire meaning of what follows. The text leaves the reference indefinite, and does not support the special interpretation of Grotius, "the Angel of the Church's prayers" (cf. ch. xiv. 18, xvi. 5);—or of Züllig, that the same Angel reappears in ch. xiv. 18, and, as having "*authority over the fire*," now takes his place at the Altar of burnt offering.

came and stood **over** *the altar*,] Or "at," see *vv. ll.*; compare Amos ix. 1 (LXX.), and Dr. Pusey's note: the Angel seems to have placed himself so that his form appeared "*over* the Altar." The whole description implies that "*the* Altar" here (note the force of the article) is that already described (see on ch. vi. 9),—viz. "the *Brasen* Altar" of burnt offering which stood in the court immediately in front of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxxviii. 1–7), as distinguished from "the *Golden* Altar," or Altar of incense which was "before the Veil that is by the Ark of the Testimony" (Ex. xxx. 1–6):—see Ex. xxxix. 38, 39; xl. 5, 6. Both Altars are mentioned in this verse. In the earthly Temple the priest took "a censer full of burning coals of fire from off the Altar"—the Altar of burnt-offering (Lev. xvi. 12)—and went with it to the Altar of incense within the Sanctuary. Having there received the incense from the proper minister, he placed "the incense upon the fire before the Lord" (Lev. xvi. 13). According to this ritual, the Angel here brings from the Altar of burnt offering coals of fire on the "*golden censer*" which was part of the furniture of the Altar of incense, or "Golden Altar," Num. iv. 11, 14 (see also Num. xvi. 6, 7). The "fire-pan" (Ex. xxvii. 3), or "*censer*" conveyed the fire; the vessel which held the incense to be offered is called a "*vial*" in ch. v. 8 (where see the comment, and Note A; cf. Num. vii. 13, 84). The Angel next receives the incense from another who bore "*the vial*"; and then offers it "*upon the Golden Altar* which was before the throne:"—so Vitr., Beng., Züllig, Stern, Hofmann, Ebrard, &c. Were one Altar only intended here, why should it be described at first without, and then, as in ch. ix. 13, with the epithet "*Golden*"—by which epithet we know that the Altar of incense (Ex. xxxvii. 26) was expressly distinguished from the Altar of burnt offering (Ex. xxxviii. 2)? Düsterdieck however argues (and Alford, as usual, follows him) that we are not justified in supposing that we have in these Visions of heaven beginning with ch. iv. 1 any counterpart of the Jewish Tabernacle;—the singular reason being added that to assume this would be inconsistent with ch. xi. 19 where the Temple of God in heaven is first opened. The fact is that each new Vision affords a deeper insight into the heavenly scenes, and adds some new feature to what had been revealed before. In ch. iv. 1 the Seer beholds "*a door opened in heaven*";—here he witnesses the ritual worship of the heavenly Temple;—in ch. xi. 19 the Temple is thrown open, and the Ark of the Covenant disclosed;—in ch. xv. 5 "*the Temple of the Tabernacle of the Testimony*" is opened. Düsterd., nevertheless, concludes that there is but one Altar—that spoken of in ch. vi. 9, which resembles in some respects both the Altar of burnt offering and that of incense. De Wette, Hengst., Bleek, Words., &c., see only the Altar *of incense* here; and this, observes the writer of the article *Altar* in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,'

4 And the smoke of the incense, *which came* with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand.

5 And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast *it* into the earth: and there were voices, and thunder-

"is the only Altar which appears in the heavenly Temple."

The Altar, notes Bossuet (cf. on ch. vi. 9), is Christ; and it is to this the Angel brings, as if they were incense, the prayers which Christ alone can receive. From this interpretation Bossuet derives a proof of the intercession of Angels.

having a golden censer;] The material is of gold (see Ex. xxvii. 3) as in the descriptions of heaven throughout the Apocalypse—cf. ch. iv. 4; v. 8; xv. 6, 7, &c. On the word rendered "*censer*," see note C at the end of this chapter: its use in ver. 5 fixes its meaning here; it bore the fire, and upon the fire was placed the incense—see Num. xvi. 6, 7.

and there was given unto him] *I. e.*, as just explained, given to him by the ministering Angel who corresponded to the priest at the Altar of incense. This Angel held the golden cup or vial containing frankincense, and poured it upon the fire in the censer—as obviously required by the parallel of the Temple service. Elliott is clearly wrong in stating that it was given to Christ, as "the One Mediator" and High Priest, by the saints, "the 144,000, the sealed ones," who offered the prayers;—for the incense is distinctly marked as being different from the prayers of which it is the symbol.

much incense,] See Note A on ch. v. 8.

that he should **add it to the prayers of all the saints**] (As in margin. Gr. "**give**" —see *vv. ll.*; compare ch. iii. 9). *I.e.*, that he should *incense* the prayers of the saints—see ver. 4. *Incense* is not here, as in ch. v. 8, the type of prayer; but typically bears up the prayers to "Him that sitteth on the throne." "The dative here," notes Words., "is a *dativus commodi*; the incense was given *to* the prayers, and made them *pleasing to God*. Cf. Winer, § 31, s. 193:"—see Num. xvi. 46, 47. Similarly Calov., Vitr., Ewald, De Wette, Ebrard, Düsterd., Alf., Burger. From this follows the statement of ver. 4. Grotius ventures to change the dative into an accus., and renders: "Accepit multos suffitus, ut eos suffitus, qui sunt omnium sanctorum preces, injiceret in altare."

upon the golden altar which was before the throne.] *I. e.*, the Altar of incense, as already stated, which is not to be confounded with the Altar of burnt offering at the beginning of the verse. The Altar of incense stood before the Veil which separated the Holy place from the Holy of Holies; and now, in place of the Ark of the Covenant, we contemplate the throne of God. Cf. Heb. ix. 3, 4.

4. *And the smoke of the incense,* **with the prayers** *of the saints,*] (Omit "*which came*"). Or **for the prayers.** The Angel offers up the incense which had been given to him, so that it may mingle with the prayers (see ver. 3) addressed to God—e.g. ch. vi. 10. Ebrard. and Hengst. explain, "the smoke of the incense *added to*, or *given to*, or *belonging to* the prayers of the saints went up" &c.—the *dative*, like the Hebrew ל (Gen. ix. 5; Deut. i. 3; 2 Sam. iii. 2; LXX.), being equivalent to a *genitive*. Düsterd. renders, "**the smoke of the incense went up to the prayers**" —cf. Winer (§ 31. 6). Reuss thus interprets the image: "Cette fumée est en quelque sorte le véhicule *pour* les prières."

went *up before God out of the angel's hand.*] Cf. Ps. cxli. 2; Acts x. 4. The thought in *vv.* 3–5 is that God will hear the prayers of His afflicted Church. Hengst. infers from this that the exposition is erroneous which sees in the Trumpet-Visions either the persecutions of the Church, or heresies; those events only being intended which are "salutary to the Church, destructive to the world."

5. *And the angel* **taketh** *the censer;*] Having used it as described in ver. 3, and having poured out its contents on the Altar, the Angel again takes the censer, while the smoke is ascending.

Note the perfect among the aorists, either in the sense of "the narrative aorist;" or, retaining its force, "**hath taken**"—see on ch. v. 7.

and **he** *filled it*] Note the aorist.

with **the** *fire of the altar,*] *I.e.*, the Altar of burnt-offering, to which he now returns —not the *Golden* Altar of incense: see on ver. 3. Düsterd. and Words., as before, understand, in a general sense, the "fire of the Altar which had consumed the incense."

and cast it into the earth:] Or **upon**—the prep. is εἰς. "It"—*i.e.*, the fire thus taken from the Altar of burnt offering, the Altar of ch. vi. 9.

This symbolical act typifies the answer to the prayers which had ascended with the incense. Cf. the similar action, preceding judgments, in Ezek. x. 2, as well as our Lord's words: "I came to cast fire on the earth"—Luke xii. 49. As regards the prep. (εἰς) here and in ver. 7, see on ch. xvi. 1, 2.

ings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.

6 And the seven angels which had the seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound.

7 The first angel sounded, and

and there followed thunders, and voices, *and lightnings, and an earthquake.*] Gr. **there came to pass.** See *vv. ll.*

The outbreak of Divine judgments is always thus introduced — see ch. iv. 5; xi. 19; xvi. 18, in which passages the order is "lightnings and voices and thunders." Such judgments are here represented as consequent on the prayers "*of all the saints*" (ver. 3): see on ch. vi. 10. When the priest had offered the incense in the Temple service, and had come out and blessed the people, the Levites burst forth into song accompanied by the full swell of the Temple music, the sound of which say the Rabbins could be heard as far as Jericho (Mishna, *Tamid*, iii. 8): see Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Incense*, where a reference is suggested to this verse.

Mr. Maurice notes that ver. 2 recalls the ministry of the Priests before Jericho; and that *vv.* 3–5 recall the ministry of the Priests in the Tabernacle: "And now the Holy City is to be judged" (p. 140).

• THE SEVEN TRUMPETS (6—xi. 19).

6. This verse resumes, and corresponds to ver. 2. In the Trumpet-judgments, as subsequently in the Vials (ch. xvi.), we are reminded of the plagues of Egypt. The first Trumpet reminds us of the *seventh* plague, of hail, Ex. ix. 24;—the second, of the *first* plague, "the waters turned to blood," Ex. vii. 19, 20;—the fourth, of the *ninth* plague, of darkness, Ex. x. 21;—and the fifth, of the *eighth* plague, of locusts, Ex. x. 12. This similarity was pointed out by St. Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iv. 30, 4, p. 268), who notices how the departure of Israel from Egypt was the type of the coming forth of the Church from among the Gentiles. This idea is the foundation of the imagery here—so far as it exhibits the judgments to come on the oppressors, in all times, of the people of God. What the prophet had said of the literal Israel, the Evangelist applied to Christ—what Hosea (xi.), had spoken of the Body, St. Matthew (ii. 15) refers to the Head: and now St. John employs the judgments on the Egyptian oppressor to symbolize the judgments denounced on the enemies of Christ's Body—the Church—during the whole period of her future conflict with the world. That the application is purely figurative is indicated by the indefiniteness of the selection, neither the number nor the order of the plagues of Egypt being observed. "When the Apocalypse was written," notes Bishop Wordsworth, "the Church of Christ was persecuted by the power of this world—the power of heathen Rome. . . . . The Church of Christ was then in Egypt; the Cæsars were her Pharaohs." We are also to observe that the Trumpet-judgments—themselves more intense than the Seals (cf. "the *fourth* part," ch. vi. 8)—return with increased intensity in the Vials. Here, only "the *third* part" of men (ch. ix. 18), of the earth, of the sea, of the luminaries of heaven, is subject to the plagues;—in the Vials, the whole Creation. There is no mention now of the guilt or the innocence of the sufferers (except, perhaps, in ch. ix. 20); in the Vials, the plagues are judgments on the ungodly: see ch. xvi. 2, 5–7, 9–11, 21.

So much as to the Vision which follows. On its relation to the Vision which precedes, Todd (*l.c.*, p. 127) writes: "A great number, perhaps a majority of commentators, ancient and modern, admit the principle that the Trumpets are a *recapitulation* of the Seals;" and he describes the Seals and the Trumpets as "the two great parallel Visions of the Apocalypse" (*ib.* p. 225). Ebrard considers that, like the first four Seals, the first four Trumpets relate to a series of judgments inflicted generally on the ungodly, but that single events are represented by the last three; and, assuming (s. 311) that a relation subsists between "*the five months*" of ch. ix. 5, and the 3½ "*times*" or "*days*" of ch. xii. 14 (see on ch. vii. 3), he places all the six Trumpets before the time of the sealing of converted Israel.

Düsterdieck, who makes the Trumpets to follow the opening of the seventh Seal, observes: "The half-hour's silence in heaven is now at an end; after the fire—the import of which is manifested by the threatening signs that immediately follow (ver. 5)—has been cast upon the earth, the Trumpets sound" (s. 304).

And the seven angels which had the seven trumpets] See ver. 2. Vitr. and Hengst. compare Josh. vi. 4, and the fall of Jericho. "The *last* trump" (1 Cor. xv. 52) suggests the idea of successive Trumpets. For the imagery here, cf. Joel ii. 1, 15:—the Trumpet had been wont to sound in Zion only for religious uses (Num. x.; xxxi. 6; 1 Chron. xv. 24), but Joel announces that in Zion itself, the "holy mountain of God," the trumpet was to be used for sounds of alarm and fear—cf. Jer. iv. 5; Ezek. xxxiii. 1–6; see note A at the end of this chapter. "The judgments pre-

there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up.

8 And the second angel sounded,

dicted by Joel represent all judgments unto the end."—Pusey, *in loc.*

prepared themselves to sound.] The signal had been given by the presenting of the incense on the Altar, and the casting of the fire to the earth. In a similar manner at ch. ix. 14 the loosing of the Angels follows the voice from the Altar.

The Trumpet-Visions are divided into the two distinct groups of the first four (ch. viii.), and of the last three or "Woe-Trumpets" (ch. ix. 12; ch. xi. 14). Under the first four inanimate nature suffers; in the last three the judgments fall on men. See Note A on ch. ix. 14.

THE FIRST TRUMPET (7).

7. And the first *sounded,*] (The A. V. omits the first **And**). In the case of this Trumpet alone is the word "*Angel*" omitted—see *vv. ll.*; in the Vision of the Vials (ch. xvi.) it is omitted throughout. Except in the case of the sixth Trumpet (ch. ix. 13–15), where the Angel is commanded to act, the Angels merely announce the coming judgments. In the first four Trumpets, as at ch. xiv. 7; xvi. 2–8, the visible Creation is represented by its four chief divisions—the dry land, the sea, the rivers, the luminaries of heaven: see on ch. vii. 3.

Note the allusions, under the Trumpets and Vials, to the description of Creation in Gen. i.

and there followed hail and fire, mingled with blood,] (See *vv. ll.*). Cf. the note on ver. 5:—the *participle* "mingled," in the *neuter plural*, refers to both "*hail*" and "*fire.*" Düsterd. explains that the hailstones and balls of fire descended in a shower of blood;—others understand lightning and hail;—"*blood*" is not mentioned in Ex. ix. 24, and some take it to imply here the destruction of life. The connexion of fire with blood recalls the imagery of Joel ii. 30, which, as St. Peter (Acts ii. 16) declared, began to be fulfilled at the Day of Pentecost. The mention of "*hail*" connects this Trumpet with the plagues of Egypt; and suggests the deliverance of Israel from bondage, which symbolizes the calling of the Church of Christ from the world:—see on ver. 6. And thus the Trumpet-Visions open, somewhat after the manner of the Seal-Visions, with the rise of Christianity and its progress amid trials and sufferings.

and they were cast **into the earth**:] Or **upon**,—as in ver. 5. Or "**it was cast**," *i.e.*, the fire (but see the gender, neuter plural, of the participle).

The "*earth*," notes Vitringa, signifies in the Apocalypse the Roman Empire; the "*sea*" the barbarous races, as in ch. xii. 12.

and the third part of the earth was burnt up,] This addition to the *Textus Receptus* appears in all the uncial MSS. The sense seems to be that all in this third part is burnt up, except the classes of animals and plants afterwards specified. The proportion a "*third part*" occurs throughout most of this Vision—in the first four Trumpets (*vv.* 7–12), and in the sixth (ch. ix. 15, 18): it also occurs in ch. xii. 4 (cf. Ezek. v. 2, 12; Zech. xiii. 8, 9).

The judgments increase in intensity. Under the fourth Seal (ch. vi. 8) the *fourth* part of the earth is afflicted; here the *third* part; under the Vials (ch. xvi.) *all* Creation. Further: as in the sixth Seal (ch. vi. 12–16)—which represents the fulfilment of our Lord's prediction in Matt. xxiv. 29, 30, and which brings us to the very eve of the final catastrophe—the judgment is universal, on *all* Creation; and as the *third part* denotes but a *partial* fulfilment, it results that the first *four* Trumpets *precede* the sixth Seal.

Among commentators, Words. takes the "*third part*" to denote simply "a large part." Mede (p. 459) understands St. John as comparing the Roman Empire to the Universe whose parts are earth, sea, rivers, sky, stars—the Seer denoting by "*the third part*" of the earth, &c., wherever the phrase occurs, the extent of the Empire which embraced the *third part* of the known world (see on ch. xii. 4): "*the third part*," he adds, is always taken "*partitivè*" (p. 474),—see on ch. ix. 18. According to Elliott, the Empire under Constantine was divided into three parts; and the "*third part*" in the first four Trumpets refers to the Western division, the Eastern and the Illyrian (or central) divisions being as yet spared:—see Note A at the end of ch. ix.

and the third part of **the** *trees was burnt up,*] *I.e.*, all on that third part; or, it may be, the third part of the trees on *the whole* earth, as in ch. ix. 15. The destruction is caused by the fire, not, as in Ex. ix. 25, by the hail.

all green grass] *I.e.*, on the *whole* earth. Vitr. explains, "all the grass of the third part of the earth"—cf. *vv.* 10, 12. The general import of the desolation under the first Trumpet, Bossuet observes, "is vividly repre-

and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea: and the third part of the sea became blood;

9 And the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.

sented by the comparison of a beautiful and rich country which is laid waste by hail." Many commentators of very different classes see in this Trumpet the judgment of war: e.g. I. Williams ("The first Trumpet is the fall of the blood-polluted Jerusalem");—Bengel (The wars of Trajan and Hadrian);—Wetstein, Herder ("Arma civilia");—Hengst. ("The scourge of war so far as it respects the opposition of the heathen world to Christ");—Words., Elliott (The Gothic invasion of Cent. iv.—"this Trumpet is like a retributive sequel to the second Seal"). Vitringa understands the pestilence and famine under Decius and Gallus;—Stern refers to the early heresies, and the persecutions in which bishops and priests ("*the third part of the trees*"), and all believers ("*all green grass*") suffered;—Ebrard considers that the spiritual famine is signified, which those countries endure where the light of the Reformation has not been diffused (s. 582).

As to the symbolism itself:—By the *trees*, notes Hengst., are denoted the high and mighty, according to the established imagery of the Old Test.; the *grass* indicates the people (Isai. xl. 6, 7); *trees* and *grass* occur in ch. ix. 4, as a designation of princes and subjects: see Introd., § 10, (b). Words. sees here "the princely Oaks and tall Cedars of the proud dynasty" of the heathen Empire whose pomp and glory like "*green grass*" is to be scorched by the Sun. However we interpret, it is to be noted that in the first Vial (ch. xvi. 2) it is *men* who are smitten, not the *grass* and *trees*.

Renan, with other rationalists, refers to the fearful storms of the years 63, 68, and 69:—"vis fulgurum non alias crebrior," writes Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 47; *Hist.* i. 3, 18).

THE SECOND TRUMPET (8–9).

8. *And the second angel sounded,*] See on ver. 7.

and as it were a great mountain] In the Old Test. a mountain is the type of a great kingdom—Zech. iv. 7; cf. Dan. ii. 35; Jer. li. 25. The words "*as it were*" denote that a literal mountain is not meant:—compare the symbolical action in ch. xviii. 21, which rests on Jer. li. 63. The healing and life-diffusing stream of Ezek. xlvii. 8, 9, which is the source of the image here, forms the contrast to the burning and death-bringing mountain (Hengst.).

was cast into the sea:] Compare ch. vi. 14: see also Ps. xlvi. 2; Matt. xxi. 21. The image is that of a volcano, "a burnt mountain" (Jer. li. 25). Referring to St. John's position in Patmos, Dean Stanley (see Introd., § 4) writes: "The extraordinary aspect of Thera (the modern Santorin), even when its volcanic fires were dormant, may well have furnished this image,"—*l.c.*, p. 230. The results which now follow also signify that this description is figurative. Some, however (e.g. Stuart, Düsterd.), understand the *natural* result of a meteor cast down from heaven, which now causes putrescence in the sea.

and the third part of the sea became blood;] Cf. the first plague of Egypt, Ex. vii. 19, &c., which is the original of this description; although, as Stuart observes, "the image of the burning mountain is new, and appropriate to John." Several applications of the prophecy are founded on this idea. The volcanic mountain, withering with its lava all around, is Imperial Rome uprooted by the barbarians—its solid mass dissolved into a swelling sea agitated by the winds and waves of revolutions. So Bengel, who notes that from Patmos Europe appeared to St. John encompassed by the "*sea*";—thus, too, Words. and others. The *sea*, according to Hengst., symbolizes the world and the nations (ch. xiii. 1; xvii. 15); and, combined with the *burning mountain*, denotes that an apostate world—not exclusively the Roman Empire—shall be punished by war and conquest. According to I. Williams, the "*mountain*" is the Church of Christ "cast into the sea" of the nations (Matt. xxi. 21) by the prayer of faith, amidst the conflagrations of Jerusalem. Accordingly the Angel of the Covenant in ch. x. 2, 5 "*stands on the earth and the sea*," intimating that Christ's kingdom is established, embracing both Jew and Gentile (p. 146).

9. and there died the third part of the creatures which were in the sea,] This may mean the third part of the creatures in all the whole extent of the seas; or perhaps, all in that third part which this Trumpet affects—death following naturally, as in Ex. vii. 21 (see on ver. 7).

[**even**] **they that** *had life;*] Gr. "*had souls*"—viz. "the living creatures": cf. ch. xvi. 3; Gen. i. 30 (the nom., in irregular apposition, refers to "*creatures*" in the gen. plur.; cf. ch. ii. 20; iii. 12). From the mention of the *earth*, the *sea* the *trees* in ch. vii. 3, Alf. infers that the place of the first two Trumpet-

10 And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters;

11 And the name of the star is called Wormwood: and the third

plagues "must be sought *after* that sealing:" but this assumes that the "Sealing" is one act, once for all performed—see on ch. vii. 3.

Writers usually allegorize here, and see in this Trumpet the signal of war:—e.g. Grotius, Vitringa, Bengel, Stern. In like manner Hengst. interprets, by the light of Matt. xxiv 7, all the Trumpet-Visions except the last as signifying war. He understands the *sea* to mean "the sea of the world," in the sense of ch. xvii. 15—the death of the living creatures in it signifying the death of men, and the *ships* symbolizing communities in towns and villages. Words. (see on ver. 8) writes:—"They, who, amid the judgments that came upon Rome, clung to their mere *animal life* (ψυχή), died in body and soul."

and the third part of the ships **was** *destroyed.*] By the destruction of "*ships*" Words. understands the destruction of the instruments of commerce and luxury (cf. Isai. ii. 16)—referring here to Alaric's attack on the Roman arsenal at Ostia; see Gibbon, ch. xxxi. Similarly, Elliott refers to the destruction of the navies of Rome by the Vandals. The "*living creatures*," notes Stern, are men living in the *sea* of this world:—"the *ships*" mean primarily, little states, which, together with the fiery power of the Roman Empire, are engulphed in the "*sea*" of the nations; and secondarily, Christian churches, ruined by the Arian heresy, inasmuch as the entire Church is typified by a *ship* (Luke v. 1–10).

THE THIRD TRUMPET (10–11).

10. *and there fell* **from heaven a great star, burning as a torch,**] (On the word "**torch**" cf. ch. iv. 5; John xviii. 3). *I. e.*, falling as a meteor which falls as it shines, and only shines in falling: see on ch. ix. 1. A Star, in the Apoc., is the symbol of a *ruler*—see ch. i. 20; vi. 13; &c. The Star does not appear in the third Vial (ch. xvi. 4):—no Star alleviates that darkness. "It is '*the Star*' of the Apocalypse, the Angel of the Church falling from Christ's hand or keeping;—the corruption of Divine truth;—heresy turning the waters of Baptism into the 'wormwood' of death" (I. Williams). And so Words. explains: "A luminary of the Church . . . . . A fallen Star is emblematic of a false teacher;"—and he refers to the temporal results seen "in the fury of the Asiatic Monophysites, of the African Circumcellions, of the Arian Vandals under Genseric, A.D. 417." "In the Seals," he observes, "heresy is represented as a trial of the Church and as a severe suffering to be endured by her (ch. vi. 5, 6). In the Trumpets, heresy is treated as a judgment inflicted on men for sin, and brought upon them by themselves."

and it fell upon the third part of the rivers,] Elliott sees in this Trumpet Attila, "the scourge of God" (A.D. 450), during whose invasion "all the river and fountain waters of the Western Empire ('*the third part of the waters*') became, as it were, deadly as wormwood." Renan, unable to find a literal event of the time corresponding to this Vision, refers to the foolish popular tales ("inepties") with which Tacitus fills his pages.—*l. c.*, p. 395. Alford mentions, "as an illustration," "the deadly effect of strong spirituous drinks." See Note A at the end of chapter ix.

and upon the fountains of **the** *waters;*] Ver. 11 seems to imply *the third part* of the fountains; but cf. "*all green grass*," ver. 7, and see ver. 12. "The fire with which the great Star burns is the fire of wrath, war, and plunder" (Hengst.).

Under the second and third Trumpets, as under the second and third Vials (ch. xvi.), "*the sea*," and "*the rivers and the fountains of* **the** *waters*" are included under what are described generally in the narrative of the second and third Days of Creation as "*the waters under the heaven.*" These waters are defined by a common name, "*Seas*," in Gen. i. 10. One symbol is thus presented here under *two* aspects; and the distinction between these two aspects consists in the distinction between the judgments signified. In the one case the living "*creatures which were in the sea;*" in the other "*men*" perish:—see *vv.* 9, 11.

11. *Wormwood:*] The *Artemisia absinthium* of botanists—of frequent use as a medicine among the ancients, see Pliny, *H. N.*, xxvii. 28 (Heb. לַעֲנָה, *laanáh;* LXX. πικρία, χολή, ὀδύνη, ἀνάγκη. In Prov. v. 4, Aquila renders by ἀψίνθιον). "The Orientals typified sorrows, cruelties, and calamities of any kind by plants of a poisonous or bitter nature. . . . Kitto (*Phys. Hist. of Palestine*, 215) enumerates four kinds of wormwood as found in Palestine—*Artemisia nilotica, A. Judaica, A. fruticosa*, and *A. cinerea*. . . . The Hebrew *laanáh* is doubtless generic."—Smith's *Dict. of the Bible.* The word is used metaphorically in the Old Test.—in Deut. xxix. 18, of the idolatry of Israel; in Jer. ix. 15; xxiii. 15;

part of the waters became wormwood; and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.

12 And the fourth angel sounded, and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them

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Lam. iii. 15, 19, of calamity and sorrow; in Amos v. 7, unrighteous judges "turn judgment to wormwood." (The gender, usually fem., is here assimilated to that of ὁ ἀστήρ, see *vv. ll.*)

and the third part of the waters] See *vv. ll.*:—the *Textus Receptus* omits "*of the waters.*"

became wormwood;] *I. e.*, bitter as wormwood. The name, describing the nature of the Star, declares (as the name "*Death*" in ch. vi. 8) its effect, viz. causing *bitterness*—cf. Heb. xii. 15.

and many men] See *vv. ll.* Gr. "**many of the men**," or, "**of mankind**"—a phrase found only here: cf. ch. ix. 20.

died of the waters,] The prep. (ἐκ) denoting *whence* the result proceeded,—"**by reason of**," see ver. 13; ch. ix. 2; xvi. 10, 11.

In these judgments, as in the Seals, blow follows blow. In this case, *men;* under the previous Trumpet, *the creatures which were in the sea*, perish.

because they were made bitter.] It is plainly irrelevant to discuss whether wormwood is, in its nature, a deadly poison or not: it denotes here, as in the Old Test., a noxious influence. The application to the history of heresy "which corrupts and embitters the pure springs of Scripture—the fountains of truth" (Lightfoot, Stern), is usual: see above. The contrast also which this plague presents to the sweetening the waters of Marah, Ex. xv. 23–25 (cf. 2 Kings ii. 19–21), is often dwelt upon.

The Fourth Trumpet (12).

12. *And the fourth angel sounded,*] This Trumpet corresponds to the ninth Egyptian plague of "darkness," Ex. x. 21; and we pass from visitations upon the elements of *earth*, to judgments in the firmament of *heaven.*

and the third part of the stars; **that** *the third part of them* **should be** *darkened, and the day* **should not shine**] Or, if the verb is accentuated as a passive, "**should not appear**"—see *vv. ll.;* and cf. ch. xviii. 23.

for **the** *third part of it,*] *I. e.*, during the third part of the day there was to be total darkness—cf. ch. vi. 12; Matt. xxiv. 29. Here we have one of the many proofs of the principle of "*Recapitulation*": this Trumpet is clearly not subsequent to the sixth Seal, when the whole "*sun became black as sackcloth*"—see on ver. 7.

Bengel, Züllig, Stuart explain that the luminaries being shorn of one third part of their brightness, a sombre gloom would be diffused over the earth.

and the night **in like manner.**] *I.e.*, either perfect darkness during a third part of the night; or the partial darkness arising from the third part of the moon and stars having been obscured. Hengst., as before, thinks that war is meant, the darkness importing trouble and distress;—and so symbolical interpreters generally, according to whom this Trumpet denotes the confusion of nations or the obscuring of spiritual truth. Thus: the sun, writes I. Williams (p. 292), is the symbol of our Lord in the Incarnation; its being smitten here is the withdrawal of Christ's light in the spiritual darkness which preceded Mohammedanism; after heresy follows infidelity; yet the faith is but partially eclipsed—the *sun*, the *moon*, and the *stars* are not fallen, they are still in heaven. Similarly Stern, who adds to the rise of Mohammedanism, the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches.

In the exposition of the first four Trumpets we meet with illustrations of the various schools of interpreters:—

I. The judgments are *literal*—affecting, like the plagues of Egypt, inanimate nature. (*a*) "Preterists," and Rationalists refer all to the times before the Apocalypse was written: e.g. Renan (p. 395), refers the *fourth* Trumpet either to the numerous eclipses about A.D. 68 (Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 47; *Hist.*, i. 86), or to the remarkable storm of January 10, A.D. 69 (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 18; Plut., *Galba*, 23). (*b*) "Futurists," such as Todd and De Burgh also regard these judgments as *literal* visitations which are "to usher in the great tribulation of the latter times;" and so Bisping and Burger. Bleek only differs by understanding a general *poetical* description, borrowed from the Old Test., of great natural convulsions to be connected with or to precede the Lord's Coming.

II. The judgments are *symbolical*—they refer to the history of the Church: and (*a*) to the *heresies* which opposed her teaching. Thus De Lyra sees in these four Trumpets the heresies of Arius, Macedonius, Pelagius, Eutyches;—Luther sees here Tatian, Marcion, Origen, Novatus. (*b*) Again on the "Historical" system Mede explains the four by

was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.

13 And I beheld, and heard an angel flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabiters of the earth by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels, which are yet to sound!

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the *events* of the Empire from Theodosius the Great (A.D 395) to the humiliation of Rome by the Exarchate. (*c*) Vitringa combines (*a*) and (*b*) interpreting the first Trumpet of the wars of Alexander Severus; the second, of the Gothic invasion; the third, of Arianism; the fourth, of the overthrow of the Roman Empire—see also Note A at end of ch. ix.

III. Düsterdieck, who rejects the symbolical interpretation, considers that as Matt. xxiv. 6-8 is related to ver. 29, so are the Seals to the first four Trumpets which, following the sixth Seal, announce new tokens of the coming end:—see, however on ver. 7.

THE THREE WOES (13–ch. xi. 14).

13. This verse introduces the last three of these judgments, or the Three Woe-Trumpets:—

And **I saw, and I heard an eagle,**] See *vv. ll.* Gr. "**one eagle**"—cf. ch. xviii. 21; xix. 17 (on the indefinite sense of the numeral, see Winer, s. 106). Some suggest "**a single**" or "**solitary eagle.**" St. John beholds in his Vision a literal eagle (cf. the Altar which speaks, ch. xvi. 7), whose cry as it flies on its prey (cf. Hab. i. 8) is here employed to announce the coming Woes: this consideration renders not unsuitable Ebrard's reference to Matt. xxiv. 28. Ebrard sees in "*the great eagle*" of ch. xii. 14, and the flight to the wilderness there described, a reference to this place: he also suggests that the reading of the A. V., "*an Angel*," has arisen from a transcriber's "correction" of the text here, in imitation of ch. xiv. 6. Herder understands the eagle of the Roman Legions;—Hofmann thinks that the resemblance between the Greek term for "woe" (οὐαί) and the scream of an eagle suggested this symbol to St. John;—Hengst. that the *Eagle* is named here in contrast to the *Dove* in John i. 32;—Stern, Stuart, De Wette explain by an Angel in the form of an eagle;—De Lyra, and I. Williams see St. John himself;—Zeger, St. Paul;—Words. writes: "*One eagle.* This *oneness* marks a special messenger . . . probably Christ Himself, who is called '*the great eagle*,' ch. xii. 14, cf. Deut. xxxii. 11, 12." Victorinus reads "*an Angel*," whom he takes to mean the Holy Ghost speaking by St. John, as he had spoken by Malachi (iv. 5) of Elijah (see on ch. vii. 2);—Elliott (as Joachim formerly) takes the "*Angel*" to be Pope Gregory the Great protesting against the title "Universal Bishop;"—Züllig also rejects the authority of MSS. and of Versions, and maintains the reading "*an Angel*" whose successor is the Angel of ch. x. 1.

flying **in mid-heaven,**] "The meridian," found in the N. T. only here and in ch. xiv. 6; xix. 17:—clear as the sun at noon, and visible to all. From ch. xix. 17 Züllig argues that the space midway between the earth and the concave of the sky is meant.

saying with a **great** *voice,*] Three judgments more awful still—those of the three Woe-Trumpets—are now announced: see ch. ix. 12; xi. 14.

Woe, woe, woe, **for them that dwell on** *the earth,*] (See *vv. ll.*:—οὐαί is also followed by the accusative in ch. xii. 12). Woe for the ungodly world as distinguished from the Church: see on ch. iii. 10; vi. 10; and Words. concludes that, however terrible the remaining judgments may be, the Church, "who is not of the earth," is here assured of the Divine protection—cf. Ps. xci. 4. On the other hand, Mede (p. 466) explains that the Christian inhabitants of the Roman world had given themselves over to idolatry while the first four Trumpets were sounding; and that this sin, added to the previous slaughter of the martyrs, now draws down a more grievous punishment in the remaining Trumpets: this punishment of idolatry he infers from ch. ix. 20. So too, in effect, Elliott.

by reason of the other voices] For the prep., see on ver. 11.

of the trumpet] Bengel takes the singular *distributively*;—Düsterd. explains that *one* idea is common to the voices, viz. that each proceeds from a Trumpet.

of the three angels **who** *are yet to sound.*] As three Trumpets remain, each is named "*a Woe*"—see ch. ix. 12; xi. 14. What follows will indicate, observes Bossuet, that the Seven Vials are connected by the "*Three Woes*" with the Trumpets, as the Seven Trumpets are connected with the Seals. A terrible cry, ringing through the air, denouncing calamity, is signified by the "*Woes*," as in Ezek. ii. 10.

Bengel's interpretation is that the "*Woes*" extend over the earth from Persia to Italy and the West. In this space lies Patmos, whence St. John beholds the Eagle. The "*Woes*" are not found in the first four Trumpets, nor in

the Seven Epistles, nor in the Seals, nor in the Vials. The *first* "Woe" is contained in ch. ix. 1–11; the *second* in ch. ix. 13–21; the *third* (touched on but not described in ch. xi. 18) is unfolded in ch. xiii., having been previously indicated in ch. xii. 12, "*Woe to the earth and sea*"—words added to the announcements of the *first* and *second* "Woes."

In the remarks on ver. 6 the symbolical character of the first four Trumpets has been indicated; as well as the relation of the judgments announced by them to the never-ceasing conflict of the Church with the world. On the principle of "*Recapitulation*" the Trumpets follow, from the very first, a course parallel to the Seals; and, while they set forth calamities more intense than the Seals, they are themselves succeeded by a class of judgments still more intense represented by the Vials. The three Trumpets also which remain present to the Seer, in the three "*Woes*," judgments far more formidable than any which had gone before.

The first four Trumpets announce plagues inflicted immediately by Divine power; the remaining three—at least the fifth and sixth—are inflicted by the agency of the Spirits of the Abyss: for the seventh, see Bengel above. The first *four* Trumpets precede the sixth Seal: see on *vv.* 7, 12.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. VIII.

Note A on ver. 1—The Silence in Heaven.

Many interpretations have been given of the "*silence in heaven:*"—The "*Silence*" is "the type of the patience of the saints, a symbol of the Church's peace [on earth] when her triumph is assured" (Vitr.);—"a transition merely to new events" (Züllig, who compares Ex. xiv. 13);—the "silence *in heaven*," according to Hengst., "in reality belongs to *the earth*;"—in like manner N. de Lyra sees here a prediction of the decree of the Emperor Julian which imposed "*silence*" on the Christians "tam in Ecclesiæ quam in militia academia et scholis."

Elliott explains the *half hour* to mean the *short* interval between the death of Theodosius (A.D. 395) and the rising of the barbarian hordes;—Bengel too (on his chronological system, see Introd. § 11, (*b*), IV.) understands four common days, or rather half a week;—Ebrard also compares the *short* space of three and a half days (ch. xi. 11) of which short space the half-hour here is the 168th part;—and so Arethas (*in loc.*, ap. Cramer). On the other hand Vitringa takes the *half-hour* to mean the *long* state of peace ("per *longum* temporis intervallum") which the Church is to enjoy under the seventh Seal;—Lange understands the *Millennium*. On a different system, Mr. E. King (*Morsels of Criticism*, vol. ii. p. 79), places the *half-hour* between the seventh Seal and the first Trumpet as a period of "twenty-five years precisely, from 312 to 337; and then began the storm of hail."

Hengst. takes the "*Silence*" itself to mean "the dumb astonishment" of *the enemies of Christ*, Matt. xxiv. 30 (cf. Hab. ii. 20; Zeph. i. 7; Zech. ii. 13). Düsterd. (after C. à Lap.) understands the expectancy of *the dwellers in heaven* looking for the catastrophe of the last Seal, the "stupor cœlitum" suitable to the requirements "ornatûs et dramaticæ scenæ;"—Ebrard, who rejects the principle of "*Recapitulation*," refers to ch. iv. 8, where the Four Living Beings, the symbol of living Creation, sing praise night and day; understanding by this discontinuance of their song, the indication of some awful event approaching. Nature is about to be convulsed, and Creation ceases its strain of praise.

Note B on ver. 2—The Trumpet.

The word used in Joel (שׁוֹפָר, *shophar*) is not that used in Num. x. 2 (חֲצֹצְרָה *chatsotserah*)—the straight trumpet as seen on the arch of Titus; the *shophar*, or "cornet" (*shawm*, P. B. version of Ps. xcviii. 6 where both words are found), being regarded by many as of pastoral origin, and derived from "the ram's horn" (Josh. vi. 5). So St. Jerome on Hos. v. 8: "Buccina pastoralis est et *cornu recurvo* efficitur unde et proprie Hebraice *sophar*, Græce κερατίνη appellatur." On the other hand, Credner takes the *chatsotserah*, and the *shophar* to be the same instrument (*Joel*, s. 164, &c.); see too Note A, on Josh. vi. 4. They are held to be different by Winer (*Bibl. Real WWB.*, art. *Musik. Instr.*). The *shophar* is the *signal-trumpet* of the Jubile, Lev. xxv. 9, 10; the *war-trumpet* of Job xxxix. 25; Jer. iv. 5; vi. 1.

Note C on ver. 3.—The word rendered "Censer."

This term, ὁ λιβανωτός, is thus defined by Grimm (*Lex. Gr. Lat. in N. T.*): "(1) apud profanos *thus*, ἐκ τοῦ λιβάνου destillans (1 Chr. ix. 29; Hdt., Menand., Eurip., Plat., Diod., Hdian., al.); (2) *thuribulum* (ap. profanos ἡ λιβανωτίς)." The word is found only in 1 Chron. ix. 29, where it certainly

means the *frankincense* itself; and in Rev. viii. 3, 5, where the context requires the meaning "*censer*." On the Hebrew term, לְבוֹנָה, Gesenius notes: "Gr. λίβανος, λιβανωτός) *thus*, Lev. ii. 1, 15; v. 11; xxiv. 7; Num. v. 15; Isai. lx. 6, à colore albo dictus," &c.:—λίβανος is used to signify "*frankincense*"[1] in ch. xviii. 13. The term מַחְתָּה (LXX. τὸ πυρεῖον), rendered "firepans" in Ex. xxvii. 3, is rendered "censers" in Lev. x. 1; xvi. 12; Num. iv. 14; xvi. 6, &c. These seem to have been shallow metal vessels, which served to burn small quantities of incense, or for other purposes (e. g. *snuff-dishes*, Ex. xxv. 38, LXX. ὑποθέματα; in Ex. xxxvii. 23, ἐπαρυστρίς, *i.e.*, "*a vessel for pouring liquids*," esp. oil into a lamp). The employment of this utensil to carry burning embers from "the Brasen Altar" to the Altar of Incense seems to furnish "their only claim to the name of *censers*. See on Num. xvi. 6;" cf. the note on Ex. xxvii. 3,—and also note A on ch. v. 8.

[1] "Frankincense," said to be so called from its liberal distribution of odour, the gum-resin *olibanum*, is the produce of the *Boswellia thurifera*, and is imported from the Levant.—Brande and Cox, *Dict. of Science*.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *At the sounding of the fifth angel, a star falleth from heaven, to whom is given the key of the bottomless pit.* 2 *He openeth the pit, and there come forth locusts like scorpions.* 12 *The first woe past.* 13 *The sixth trumpet soundeth.* 14 *Four angels are let loose, that were bound.*

AND the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.

[Ver. 2 [א, B *omit* καὶ ἤνοιξεν . . . τῆς ἀβύσσου]. Ver. 4 ἀδικήσουσιν.—*om.* μόνους.—*om.* αὐτῶν. Ver. 5 βασανισθήσονται. Ver. 6 οὐ μὴ εὑρήσουσ.—φεύγει. Ver. 10 [א, A read ὁμοίοις].—κέντρα, καὶ ἐν τ. οὐρ. αὐτῶν ἡ ἐξουσία. Ver. 11 *om.* 1st καί. Ver. 12 [א, A read ἔρχεται]. Ver. 13 *om.* τεσσάρων. Ver. 14 λέγοντα.—ὁ ἔχων. Ver. 15 [A, P read καὶ ἡμέραν,—B reads κ. εἰς τὴν ἡμέρ.,—א, 1 *omit* καὶ ἡμέραν]. Ver. 16 τῶν στρατ.—δισμυριάδες.—*om.* καί before ἤκουσα. Ver. 18 ἀπό.—τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν.—*om.* the 2nd and 3rd ἐκ. Ver. 19 ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων ἐν . . . . ἐστὶν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν. Ver. 20 [C reads οὐ μετεν.,—א, B read οὐδέ,—A, P, 1 read οὔτε].—προσκυνήσουσιν.—τὰ εἴδωλα. Ver. 21 [א, C read φαρμάκων].]

CHAP. IX. THE FIFTH TRUMPET (1–11).

1. *And the fifth angel*] Announces the first Woe—see ch. viii. 13.

a star **from heaven fallen**] Not *falling*, but *having already fallen*—the part. perf. active; cast down as in ch. vi. 13, not descending voluntarily as in ch. xx. 1. This Star, like the Star of ch. viii. 10, belongs to the imagery of this Vision, and represents typically that what follows results from the Divine command.

According to Reuss, this verse presents the most recent trace of the antique Semitic mythology—see Judges v. 20.

unto the earth:] Not *upon* the rivers, as in ch. viii. 10:—the prep. is εἰς as in ch. viii. 5, 7.

and **there was given to** *him*] Here, as in ch. i. 20, the *personal* import of the Star is implied. In the Old Testament conception of "the host of heaven," a Star and an Angel are kindred ideas—Job xxxviii. 7; Ps. ciii. 20, 21, and some personal agent of the divine justice is evidently intended. We can hardly understand, with Andreas, Bengel, Bleek, De Wette, 'a good Angel' (cf. ch. xx. 1). The analogy of Isai. xiv. 12; Luke x. 18 (cf. Rev. xii. 9) suggests that an evil angel is described—so Arethas, Beda, Vitr., Todd, Alf., &c. He is Satan himself according to Tertullian (*Hermog.* c. 11);—according to Words. "a Christian Teacher" is to be understood (ch. i. 16, 20; viii. 10), representing "the heretical apostasy of some who were designed to be Lights in the Church;"—"Hell," notes Bossuet, "does not open itself; it is always some false teacher that sets it open." De Lyra sees in the Star the Emperor Valens;—Elliott sees Mohammed;—Volkmar, "the demon Nero." Not content with the symbolical meaning of "a Star" (Introd. § 10, a, note [2]), Hengst. adds that the giving *to him* the "*key*" "shows that the appearance of the Star was intermingled with that of the human form." With reference to the character of this "Woe," he observes that the absence of all individual features shows that this "Ruler" is no single historical personage, but a whole series of real persons. And so, regarding war as the judgment inflicted in all the Trumpets, Hengst. adds: "The last great

2 And he opened the bottomless pit; and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit.

3 And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth: and

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embodiment of this Star was Napoleon; but he shall not remain the last."

It has been observed that here, as under the third Trumpet (ch. viii. 10), it is not said to be "a Star *of* heaven," but that his fall is *from* thence as of one unduly exalted.

the key] Given by Christ Who holds the *key* (ch. i. 18):—permission is now given to let loose the demon host. The "*key*" is the symbol of authority—see on ch. iii. 7.

of the pit] "Deep shaft" or "well" (φρέαρ),—cf. Luke xiv. 5; John iv. 11, 12.

of the abyss.] An adjective of two terminations, and signifying "*bottomless*:"—in Scripture it is used as a fem. subst. (ἡ ἄβυσσος, *scil.* χώρα), as in Rom. x. 7. It is the equivalent in the LXX. of the word (*tehôm*) rendered "*the deep*" in Gen. i. 2:—cf. "*the depths* of the earth," Ps. lxxi. 20. Here, and in *vv.* 2, 11; ch. xi. 7; xvii. 8; xx. 1, 3, it denotes the abode of the Devil and his angels—their *present* abode, perhaps (see Luke viii. 31), as distinguished from "*the lake of fire*," ch. xx. 10. Ebrard, on ch. xx. 1, thinks that no literal locality is meant, but a symbol of the limits assigned by God to Satan's power, from the date of his fall to the Last Judgment:—Satan is here permitted to exert his full influence upon men; and so St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xx. 7) says of the Abyss, "Quo nomine significata est multitudo innumerabilis impiorum." The fifth Seal and the fifth Trumpet both belong to the invisible world—the one to the domain of heaven, the other to the world of darkness. See on ch. xi. 7.

THE FIRST WOE (2–11).

2. *And he opened the* **pit of the abyss**;] Thus, notes Ebrard (see on ver. 1), is explained Satan's appearance in ch. xii. 3. (Some good authorities omit these words—see *vv. ll.*).

On the rationalistic scheme, the phenomena exhibited in "the volcanic centre of the Bay of Naples" suggested the symbolism here and in ch. xix. 20; xx. 10, 14, "ten years before Nature, by a singular coincidence, reopened the crater of Vesuvius."—Renan, pp. 330–335.

and there went up *a smoke out of the pit*,] Cf. Gen. xix. 28; Ex. xix. 18. We may, perhaps, with Hengst., take the smoke to denote a hellish spirit which penetrates to the earth (cf. ch. xvi. 13)—a contrast to "*the smoke of the incense*" in ch. viii. 4.

and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit.] (On the preposition ἐκ, cf. ch. viii. 11, 13.)

Düsterd. thinks that *two* results follow:—both the sun and the air are darkened, and not *one* of them only (Bengel); the air is darkened as the consequence of the obscured sun. Bochart (*Hieroz.*, ii. p. 495) suggests as the source of this symbolism the fires which husbandmen kindle in order to destroy locusts. Vitr., Eichhorn, Züllig, Volkmar refer to the dense clouds of locusts which impede the sunlight:—so it befell Egypt (Ex. x. 15).

Mede's interpretation (p. 467) has found favour with many:—The smoke is Mohammedanism which covered with a new darkness the world already illumined by the Sun of Righteousness. And so Words.:—Heretical teachers ("the Star") caused the opening of the Abyss; and Mohammedanism owes its origin to heresies, schisms, and corruptions in Christendom; "all the features of this Vision attract the mind to Arabia. I. Williams also notes that this plague does not assume a definite character, as in ver. 3, until the "foul vapours of idolatry and infidelity had obscured the Sun of Righteousness: this plague is not of devastating armies only, or of any spread of infidelity, but of both combined; under circumstances, too, "such as attended the progress of the prophet-conqueror of Islam" (p. 152).

The general applicability of this Trumpet to Mohammedanism is deserving of notice. Even were this to be admitted, the first "Woe" would not be exhausted in this one application.

3. And out of the smoke came forth locusts *upon the earth*;] It is to be noted that the "*smoke*" only is said to come up "*out of the pit*," while the locusts themselves come forth "*out of the smoke*." These words, therefore, do not decide whether a demon-host from the Abyss is intended; or whether the locusts symbolize a host of human warriors, instigated by Satan:—see on *vv.* 5, 11. Literally speaking, locusts are noxious creatures from which man has no means of defending himself.

There is much however here which points to an outbreak of moral evil, the hellish smoke being the veil beneath which the locusts ascend from the Abyss:—cf. the eighth plague of Egypt, Ex. x. 12–15. In the description of Joel ii. the imagery is taken from the flight and inroad of locusts:—"The alle-

unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power.

4 And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads.

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gory (notes Dr. Pusey *in loc.*) is so complete that the prophet compares them to those things which are, in fact, intended under them, warriors, horses, and instruments of war; and this the more because neither locusts nor armies are exclusively intended. The object of the allegory is to describe the order and course of the divine judgments. . . . Wonderful image of the judgments of God, Who marshals and combines in one, causes each unavailing in itself, but working together the full completion of His inscrutable will."—*The Minor Prophets*, p. 112. The locust (Heb. *arbeh*, Joel i. 4) is the common name of a species forming a group or subgenus of the *gryllus* of Linnæus. They have coloured *elytra* (the superior or first pair of wings in four-winged insects), and large wings disposed in straight fan-like folds, exhibiting bright blue, green, or red colours:—see Brande and Cox, '*Dict. of Science*;' and the notes on the Book of Joel.

and power was given them,] Or **authority**, as described in ver. 10. See also ver. 19.

as the scorpions of the earth] These words imply that *these* locusts are not of the earth (cf. ver. 5), but are possessed of a deadly power resembling that of the scorpions referred to in Deut. viii. 15. *Scorpion*—"A well-known Arachnidan articulate, in which no spinnerets [organs with which insects form their webs] exist at the extremity of the body, their place being supplied by a venomous apparatus.'—Brande and Cox, *l.c.* There is no contrast to the so-called *sea-scorpions* described by Bochart (*Hieroz.*, ii. p. 635).

The interpretations are various and often arbitrary:—The locusts symbolize (1) evil spirits (Andreas);—(2) heretics (Beda);—(3) historical events, e.g. the Roman wars in Judæa (Grotius); or the Gothic invasion (Vitringa); or the Vandals (Aureolus); or the Mohammedans (Mede); or "the commencement of the latter Three Times and a Half, the Saracenic Woe," A.D. 604 (Faber.);—(4) events yet unfulfilled, e.g. "veræ locustæ" (the Jesuit Less); "literal locusts" although of supernatural origin (De Burgh); and similarly Todd, who holds that the "Star" is Satan, and the locusts evil spirits (perhaps in form resembling locusts), whose king is the Angel of the Abyss (ver. 11), sent forth by Satan against the Jews when restored to Canaan;—(5) restless speculations as to the future (Maurice);—(6) religious controversies: thus, Bullinger and Brightman see in the "Star" the Pope, and in the locusts the mendicant orders; and Scherzer sees in the "Star" the papacy, and in the locusts the Jesuits. The figure of the fallen Star was applied by a class of Protestant expositors (e. g. David Chytræus, A.D. 1575) to Pope Gregory the Great; and Bellarmine gives an elaborate reply (*De Rom. Pont.*, iii. 23). Bellarmine himself sees in the "Star" Luther, and in the locusts Protestants (Alcasar noting, "Nimium honoris Luthero deferri existimo, si Apoc." &c. &c.);—(7) Bisping, confessing his perplexity, assents to the allegorical interpretation of De Wette who takes the locusts to be a type of some unknown judgment which intensifies that of Ex. x. 12.

Mr. Birks (*Elem. of Sacred Proph.*, p. 377) takes the locust "Woe" to illustrate Mr. Faber's "maxim" (*Provincial Letters*, i. p. 122) of "the systematic employment of miniature in hieroglyphical symbolization:" "The locusts are a miniature symbol, insects for men or invading armies. The time . . . therefore is expressed (ver. 5) in a miniature form." Dr. Pusey (*loc. cit.*) also writes that locusts "are little miniatures of a well-ordered army."

See note A at the end of this chapter.

4. And it was said unto *them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth,*] Like literal locusts. of *these* locusts, therefore, the Old. Test. knows nothing—see Ex. x. 15; Joel ii. 3. Cf. the restriction ch. vi. 6; and also Ex. ix. 26. (See *vv. ll.*).

neither any green thing, neither any tree,] Gr. "**neither every green thing, nor every tree**"—cf. ch. vii. 1. This plague is to fall upon nothing except the persons of men.

but only such men, as *have not the seal of God* **on** *their foreheads.*] (See *vv. ll.*). Baptism is "*the seal of God*" under the New Dispensation—cf. Rom. iv. 11; Eph. iv. 30. As to the immunity of the Sealed (ch. vii. 3) from *all* the impending calamities, see the remarks introductory to ch. vii. The present verse, at the most, merely proves that the Sealed are not to suffer from the locusts which come up from the Abyss. Alf. employs this consideration to set aside the application of this Trumpet to Mohammedanism: "It is surely too much to say that [all God's elect] escaped scathless from the Turkish sword." Elliott, who so inter-

5 And to them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment *was* as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man.

prets it, refers to the command of the Koran enforced by Abubeker in his invasion of Syria (A.D. 632): "Destroy no palm trees, nor burn any field of corn. Cut down no fruit trees," &c.—Gibbon, ch. li. According to the symbolical school of interpreters, the trees in ch. vii. 1, 3, correspond to the kings and nobles in ch. vi. 15;—trees and grass in ch. viii. 7 correspond to princes and subjects, the high and the lowly: and so here. That all suffer from this plague except the Sealed shows, notes Hengst., that the Sealed of the Tribes of Israel in ch. vii. comprehend all believers:—see on ch. vii. 4.

5. And it was given them *that they should not kill them,*] *I. e.*, that the locusts should not kill the *unsealed;* as is also evident from what follows, and from ver. 6. Physical evil is not now the judgment, but the outburst of moral evil. This latter is the plague of the fifth Trumpet.

but that they should be tormented] That the unsealed should be tormented. (See *vv. ll.;* the indic. fut. follows ἵνα, as in ver. 4: cf. the use of both the infin. and the fut. in ch. vi. 4—see Introd. § 7, IV., *f.*)

Wordsworth notes that the Mohammedan persecution differed from that of ancient heathen Rome which martyred Christians *as such*, in that the duty prescribed by the Koran was merely to subject Jews and Christians, if they refused to profess Islamism, to many disabilities (see Gibbon, *l. c.*, ch. li.). During the seventh and eighth centuries the Saracens in Asia, Syria, and North Africa, did not persecute the Christian inhabitants on account of their faith if they paid the tribute, but there were many occasions for arbitrary oppression, cruelty and insult. Cf. on ver. 4. "Mohammed," writes Gieseler, "was at first tolerant towards other religions (*Sura* ii. and v.). At a later period, by the ninth *Sura*, he made a religious war a duty, in order to root out idolatry and make Jews and Christians tributary" (*Kirchen-Gesch.*, i. s. 723). Mede's explanation is that while the Saracens ravaged the Roman Empire they were unable to capture either Rome or Constantinople;—or, as Elliott (after Bishop Newton) notes, could not annihilate the Christian body politic, but were repulsed time after time, both in East and West.

Burger understands literal armies assembled in preparation for war. As yet they do not "*kill*;" but they "*torment*" and harass the land in which they are encamped:—see on ver. 16.

five months:] A period repeated in ver. 10, and generally taken to be a feature of the symbolism of this passage—locusts being popularly believed to continue their ravages from April to September (Bochart, ii. 495). Others perceive a reference, in the number *five*, to the number of this Trumpet:—cf. on ch. vi. 8. In either way of regarding it, this period of "*five months*" would signify an indefinite, but comparatively brief duration. To settle the chronology here, Bishop Newton considers *the greatest difficulty of all:*—to Mr. G. S. Faber, it appears an "*easy task.*"

The following are among the interpretations given:—

(1) On the "Year-day" theory, 5 × 30 = 150 mystic days = 150 common years: accordingly the "*five months*" signify the duration (*a*) of the Gothic rule [it may be perhaps *five* common years, *one*, under Alaric, and *four* under Ataulphus] (Vitringa);—(*b*) of Arianism (Calov.);—(*c*) of the Saracenic devastation of the Empire, from A.D. 830 to A.D. 980; and it may be, as this period occurs again in ver. 10, that it is to be taken *twice*, as 300 years, viz. from the rise of the Abasside Caliphate, A.D. 750, to the capture of Bagdad by Togral Beg, A.D. 1055 (Mede). [Sir I. Newton counts these 300 years from A.D. 637 to A.D. 936, *five* months at Damascus, and *five* at Bagdad.] Mede however is obliged to add *five* years in order to obtain the duration of the rule of the Caliphs: and he is followed, with variations, by Daubuz, Bishop Newton, Keith, Faber. Elliott counts this judgment of 150 years on Christian idolaters from Mohammed's announcement of his mission, A.D. 612, to the settlement of his "locusts" at Bagdad, A.D. 762;—(*d*) I. Williams, following Mede, refers to Gen. vii. 24—the 150 days during which the Deluge lasted, "judicial and corrective, yet remedial, as differing from the final Judgment" (p. 156). To the same effect Züllig.

(2) Bengel on his system (see Introd., § 11, b, IV.) understands five *prophetic* months as representing 79⅓ common years—from A.D. 510 to A.D. 589—during which the Jews were persecuted in Persia.

(3) Hofmann (ii. s. 340) regards the number as borrowed from the *five* sins specified in *vv.* 20, 21.

(4) Hengst. regards 5 = 1/2 0 as the broken 10—the "signature" of what is incomplete; this Trumpet being *incomplete* as compared with the *seventh*, while in neither this nor the seventh Trumpet do we find the number *one third.* In fact, the *five*, in relation to the

6 And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.

7 And the shapes of the locusts *were* like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads *were* as it were crowns like gold, and their faces *were* as the faces of men.

8 And they had hair as the hair of

twelve months, are of relatively *long* duration, "and still not the longest." And so Words.: "Islamism has its 'five months,' but the Gospel of Christ is everlasting" (Rev. xiv. 6).

(5) "The meaning must be a *short* period," notes Stuart; and thus Todd, who understands *five* literal months, refers to Matt. xxiv. 22. Burger also takes the time to be literally "five months."

(6) Bleek explains: "a round number, like the ten days in ch. ii. 10."

(7) Renan writes: "Cinq mois (tout un été),"—*l. c.*, p. 396. He would refer to the invasion of the Parthian cavalry, were it not that this is the subject of the sixth Trumpet, ver. 16. There *may have been*, he adds, in some province a plague of actual locusts.

and their torment] *I.e.*, not, as Alf. explains, "that of the sufferers," but the torment caused by the locusts:—see the words which follow.

[*was*] *as the torment of a scorpion,*] *I.e.*, caused by a scorpion (the same construction as before, "the genitive of the subject").

when **it** *striketh a man.*] They hurt, not the earth as locusts, but men by their fiery sting.

6. *And in those days*] When the Vision shall be fulfilled.

men shall seek death,] Words. notes: "Observe here '*the* men,' *the* men who have not the Seal of God, ver. 4; cf. ver. 10." We may refer to Job iii. 21; Jer. viii. 3.

and shall **in no wise** *find it;*] (See *vv. ll.*). Note here the prophetic instead of the descriptive style, and the use of the prophetic future:—the Seer ceases to be the exponent of what he saw, and he describes what is to happen hereafter; see ch. iv. 1. In ver. 7 he returns to describe the locusts.

and **they** *shall desire to die, and death* **fleeth** *from them.*] (See *vv. ll.*). The poetic parallelism of the words has led some (Heinrichs, Bleek) to conjecture that this verse is a quotation from a lost poem.

Beda here quotes the saying of St. Cyprian under the Decian persecution: "'Volentibus,' inquit, 'mori, non permittebatur occidi.'" Bengel illustrates this passage by the persecution of the Emperor Julian, in which the Christians were not put to death. Some would compare this verse with ch. vi. 16. Burger refers to Dan. xii. 1; Matt. xxiv. 21—the first four Trumpets have desolated external Nature on which man depends for food and earthly existence; and now a judgment still more bitter renders life itself a burden to him: in the confusion also and disruption of social life he has to reap the harvest which he planted when he departed from God. Mr. Keith evades the difficulties of this verse by taking "*the men*" who "*seek death*" to be the *locusts*, or Mohammedans, themselves; and their seeking death and death fleeing from them, to imply their doctrine of predestination: "They *sought death* in the faith that death could not thereby find them a moment sooner. . . . They desired death, but death fled from them for whom it had no terror."

7. Having described the issuing of the locusts from the Abyss and the torment which they are to inflict, St. John proceeds in *vv.* 7–10 to depict more accurately their extraordinary shape. The tenth verse alone has express reference to what is said in *vv.* 3–5: the other features of the description—the lion's teeth, the woman's hair, the faces of men—relate rather to the supernatural than to the natural symbolism; and, while not applying to the injury to be inflicted by the locusts, afford room for allegorical exposition.

And the shapes] Gr. "**the likenesses**"—cf. Ezek. i. 16; x. 21 (LXX.); *i.e.*, the forms corresponding to the type: so Rom. i. 23; Phil. ii. 7. Hengst. renders "**likenesses**", observing that four verses are devoted to a description of what the locusts *are like*, both generally and in detail.

[*were*] *like unto horses prepared* **for war**;] For the resemblance of the natural locust to the horse, see Joel ii. 4; cf. Job xxxix. 20:—as commonly noted, in German *Heu-pferd*, in Italian *Cavaletta* means a locust.

and **upon** *their heads* **as it were crowns like unto gold,**] *I.e.*, neither literal crowns, nor literal gold. In this feature of the imagery Eichhorn and Heinrichs see the helmets of soldiers. They are "crowns of victory," as in ch. vi. 2 (Words.). Elliott (who represents the locusts in an engraving) understands the Arab turban.

and their faces [*were*] *as the faces of men.*] As before, a literal sense is excluded. Elliott supplies here the beard which the Arabs wore,

women, and their teeth were as *the teeth* of lions.

9 And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings *was* as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.

10 And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails: and their power *was* to hurt men five months.

11 And they had a king over them, *which is* the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue *is* Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath *his* name ‖Apollyon.

‖ That is to say, *A destroyer.*

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and by which "they were easily distinguished from the general mass of the men of Christendom."

8. *And they had hair as the hair of women,*] The *antennæ* of the locusts were like woman's hair. Hengst. sees here a token of barbarism, long hair being opposed to ancient civilization.

were as [*the teeth*] *of lions.*] Note the recurrence of this image in ver. 17; and cf. Joel i. 6, where see Dr. Pusey's comment:—"They appear to be created for a scourge; since to strength incredible for so small a creature, they add saw-like teeth. . . . Some are armed with two jaws toothed like a saw, and very powerful."

9. *as it were breastplates of iron;*] The natural *thorax* of the locust is, in the case of these supernatural locusts, compared to iron.

[*was*] *as the sound of chariots, of many horses* **rushing to war.**] One idea,—the sound produced by chariots drawn by horses.

10. And they have tails like unto scorpions, and stings;] (See *vv. ll.*). The plain meaning is:—"they have tails like to the tails of scorpions, and stings in their tails;" for the constr. cf. ch. xiii. 11. On the other hand, Bengel, Winer, De Wette, Hengst. argue, from ver. 19, that the tails of the locusts are not merely like the tails of scorpions, but like the scorpions themselves.

and in their tails is their power *to hurt men five months.*] See *vv. ll.* The A. V. here translates a text different from that given in all the Uncials. Compare too the reading of the *Textus Receptus* in ver. 19.

The nature of the plague committed to the locusts (*vv.* 3–5) is here described, and the details already given are resumed. It appears probable that, throughout this imagery, the description is in accordance with the popular idea of the locust entertained in the East. Niebuhr (quoted by Züllig, ii. s. 113), gives an Arabian adage: "In head like the horse; in breast like the lion; in feet like the camel; in body like the serpent; in tail like the scorpion; in *antennæ* like a virgin's hair." The crowns like gold and the faces of men (ver. 7) seem to be the more specially symbolical features of this description.

By the *tails* in this verse, Mede (*l. c.*, p. 409) understands the African Saracens,—those most remote from the East; the assailants of the Empire from the East being represented by the upper part of the body of the locusts. Italy was ravaged chiefly by the hordes from Africa.

11. They have over them as king] (Omit *And*—see *vv. ll.*). They are thus again distinguished from natural locusts who "*have no king*," Prov. xxx. 27. According to Hengst. (see below), the "*king*" here, corresponds to the "*Star*" in ver. 1.

the angel of the abyss:] Cf. ch. xvi. 5. The def. article points to a special agent—the agent, as Hengst. thinks, symbolized by the "*Star*" in ver. 1. Burger hints at the possibility of understanding a *human* agent ("Angel" = "Messenger") of Satan. Some see in this Angel Satan himself (Ebrard, Elliott);—some, a chief among Satan's angels (ch. xii. 7, 9): e.g. Stuart particularizes "Sammael, *i.e.*, the chief of the evil angels;"—some an angel who in a particular sense is chief of the Abyss: so Bengel, De Wette, Düsterdieck. In the face of the Greek article Reuss specially notes that we must understand "*an* angel, not *the* angel—*un* ange de l'abîme . . . non pas *l'*ange."

his name in Hebrew] On the constr. cf. ch. vi. 8, and on the word rendered in **Hebrew**—a phrase peculiar to St. John—see ch. xvi. 16; John v. 2; xix. 13, 17, 20; xx. 16: the phrase is different in Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2; xxvi. 14—"*in the Hebrew dialect.*" See Introd. § 7, IV. *a.*

[*is*] *Abaddon,*] A Hebrew noun signifying "destruction:" it is combined with "death" in Job xxviii. 22; and with the grave or *Hades* (*Sheol*) in Job xxvi. 6; Prov. xv. 11. Thus, including the idea of the "Abyss," it is used as the abstract of *Apollyon* "the Destroyer:"—cf. Heb. ii. 14.

and in the Greek [**tongue**] **he hath the name** *Apollyon.*] The abstract personified; cf. the different term used in Heb. xi. 28. We note here St. John's "manner"—the Hebrew term is given and its Greek equivalent: e.g. Rabbi, Messiah, John i. 38, 42; iv 25;—Cephas, i. 42;—Siloam, ix. 7;—Thomas,

12 One woe is past; *and*, behold, there come two woes more hereafter.
13 And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is before God,

xi. 16;—Gabbatha, xix. 13;—Golgotha, xix. 17;—compare Rev. i. 7; iii. 14; xii. 9. Bengel, Stern, Hengst., &c., contrast the title "Jesus the Saviour" with "Abaddon the Destroyer." Ebrard interprets:—"He is Satan the 'destroyer,' the 'murderer from the beginning.'" He is called the *Destroyer*, observes I. Williams, from the peculiar character of Mohammedanism, which has not utterly destroyed Christianity, but bound it up in Mohammedanism,—a corruption worse than death," see ver. 6. Bleek simply writes "Napoleon;" and Volkmar notes: "It is natural that writers, since 1800, have sought in the Antichrist for NApoleon as well as for Apollyon." ("Natürlich, dass man seit 1800 in dem Antichristen gleich Apollyon den NApoleon gesucht hat").

Bengel's comment is that this leader in the first "Woe" has a Hebrew and a Greek name; in the third "Woe" (ch. xii. 9) a name Greek and Hebrew—"*the Devil and Satan.*" See on ch. xiii. 3 the suggestion of Burger as to the relation of this passage to that which describes "the Beast from the sea."

12. **The first Woe is passed:**] Gr. **The one Woe.** These are not, as some hold, the words of "the Eagle" (ch. viii. 13) but of the Seer summing up the contents of *vv.* 1–11. The fact of the feminine form of the word "Woe" (ἡ οὐαί) here, and in ch. xi. 14, Winer explains by the underlying idea of *tribulation* or *wretchedness* (θλῖψις, ταλαιπωρία).

behold, there come] (Omit "*and*"). The verb is in the singular: it precedes the nominative plural—see *vv. ll.*

yet two Woes *hereafter.*] The second Woe extends from this point to ch. xi. 14. The first (see ver. 1) proceeds from the Abyss, and is produced by a power which had fallen from God. The signal for the second Woe is given from God's presence, and proceeds from the Golden Altar (see *vv.* 13, 14). The description of this Woe is divided into sections of which the first is given in *vv.* 13–21, introducing its chief infliction. The present verse is taken to imply that the Woes are to be "not contemporaneous, but consecutive"—some interpreters placing a comparatively short, others a long interval between the first and the second. Thus, Bengel (see on ver. 5) makes the first Woe, during the *five* prophetic months, to *end* A.D. 589, and the second to *begin* A.D. 634;—Bishop Newton makes the first Woe to *end* A.D. 762, and the second to *begin* A.D. 1281;—Mr. Faber makes the first Woe to *end* A.D. 762, and the second to *begin* with the reign of Othman, June 9, A.D. 1301 (*Sacr. Cal.*, vol. ii. p. 411);—Elliott places the end of the first Woe, *i.e.*, the abatement of its intensity, in the year 755—the reward, as it were, for the decrees of the Council held by Constantine Copronymus in 754, which condemned the use in churches of any artistic representation. In 755 the Caliphate was divided, and the scorpion locusts were carried to the Euphrates—see ver. 14. In 842, however, image worship was triumphant once more, and, the Moslem power being again loosed, the Turk became the chief of Islam.

Bisping who adopts Kliefoth's and Keil's interpretation of Daniel's "*Seventy Weeks*," places the second and third Woes in the *seventieth* Week, *i.e.*, under Antichrist at the end of all things. The judgment on unbelieving Israel falls in the *first* "half-week," under the second Woe (ch. xi. 13); while under the third Woe, or *second* "half-week" (the 42 months of ch. xi. 2), the Last Judgment comes on the rest of the antichristian world (*l. c.*, s. 173):—see ch. xi. 14.

THE SIXTH TRUMPET (13–21).

13. *And the sixth angel sounded,*] The second "Woe-Trumpet."

and I heard] What is *heard*, and what is *seen* (cf. ver. 17) are placed side by side in these Visions—cf. ch. vi. 1–8.

a voice] Gr. "**one voice**"—see on ch. viii. 13.

from the horns *of the golden altar*] Omit *four*—see *vv. ll.* Düsterd. thinks that *four* was suggested to a copyist as a contrast to the preceding "*one voice*," and as a parallel to the "*four Angels*" in ver. 14. Vitringa lays emphasis on the numbers—*one* harmonious voice out of the *four* horns. Hengst. reads "the *four* horns," and connects with the *four* Angels, ver. 14, and the *four* sins, ver. 21. The 'Codex Sinaiticus' merely reads "the voice of the Golden Altar,"—cf. ch. xvi. 7. The preposition "*from*," "*out of* (ἐκ)" excludes the sense given to the words by Stern, that the voice proceeds "*from*" God seated behind the Altar (cf. Acts xix. 34). "The Golden Altar" (ch. viii. 3) is the Altar of incense before the Veil (Ex. xl. 26). "*Horns*" projecting upwards at the corners (see Ex. xxx. 2) were attached to this Altar like those of the Altar of burnt-offering: see the note on Ex. xxvii. 2.

14 Saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates.

The voice—of which the source is not defined—issues, as in ch. xvi. 7, from the Altar, from the space included between the "*horns*," and where the prayer of the saints (see ch. vi. 10) had been offered (ch. viii. 3, 4). In ver. 14 we read the answer to that prayer.

THE SECOND WOE (14—xi. 13).

The judgment of the second Woe-Trumpet is inflicted by a vast army of horsemen, ver. 16, &c.; and this is followed by two episodes (as in the case of the sixth Seal—see on ch. vii.), the first of which is contained in ch. x., where it is announced (ver. 6) that the delay adverted to in ch. vi. 11 was approaching to its close; the second episode being contained in ch. xi. 1–14.

Todd considers that the second Woe consists of two periods, (1.) 'The hour, day, month, and year' during which the third part of men will be slain (ver. 15); (2) the 1260 days of the Two Witnesses, ch. xi. 3 (p. 176): —see on ver. 15.

14. *saying*] Or **one saying**—see *vv. ll.* For the gender and concord of the participle see on ch. iv. 1.

to the sixth angel,] Here only is the Angel commanded to act—see on ch. viii. 7.

which had the trumpet,] (See *vv. ll.*). The Trumpet belonging to this Vision—"the nom. in irregular apposition;" cf. ch. ii. 20. Tregelles takes the participle (ὁ ἔχων) as the vocative, "**Thou that hast.**"

Loose the four angels which are bound] The article, "*the* four Angels," refers to the following "*which are bound*," cf. ch. viii. 2. There does not seem to be any reference to ch. vii. 1, as Beda, Elliott (see on ver. 12), and others hold;—Stuart makes the number refer to the four quarters of the desert whence the hosts are to come;—others (De Wette, Hengst., Düsterd., Words.) refer the number *four* which in the Apoc. denotes *universality* to the four quarters of the earth (cf. ch. vii. 1; xx. 8): it would thus signify the universality of the judgment;—Ebrard explains that they are the four leaders of the demon host, to the four divisions of which they correspond (Ewald), contrasting in number with the *one* king of the locusts (ver. 11) and not having any of the insignia of royalty;—Züllig considers that *three* types are combined under this Woe: (1) death, as in the last Egyptian plague, Ex. xii. 29; (2) the *four* kings of Gen. xiv. 9, typifying the *four* Angels of destruction (opposed to the *one* Destroyer, ver. 11); (3) to the same effect, the *four* destroying kingdoms, Jer. li. 27, 28. Alf. takes them to be personifications merely, as they are immediately resolved into a host of cavalry. De Wette takes the four Angels to be "Angels of destruction," although not *evil* Angels.

Beda, Bengel, Ewald, Stern, Stuart, I. Williams, consider that they are *evil* angels (cf. Tobit iii. 17; Ps. lxxviii. 49). Bossuet, Hengst., Words., are certain that they are *good* Angels—Angels of God for punishment, and hitherto restrained or "*bound*" by the Divine command; and Wordsworth observes that the word "Angel" placed absolutely, as here, nowhere signifies in the Apoc. an *evil* Angel: he refers to ch. vii. 1, 2. Some have even suggested their names—Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael: see Andreas *in loc.* (p. 51).

So long as these Angels are "*bound*, they stand "*prepared*," as in ver. 15.

at *the great river Euphrates.*] Compare the sixth Vial, ch. xvi. 12. (On the preposition here (ἐπί) see ch. xxi. 12; John iv. 6). This is not a geographical, but a symbolical description which rests on the earlier history. Indeed, if we bear in mind the figurative character of this Vision, we cannot understand the Euphrates literally. In the Old Test. the chastisements on Israel proceeded thence—Isai. vii. 20; viii. 7; Jer. xlvi. 10; and, according to one class of expositors, St. John using the language of the Old Test. (Gen. xv. 18; Deut. i. 7; Josh. i. 4) now employs the Euphrates as the boundary of the region whence the demon-host is to come upon the earth—so Hengst. and Düsterd. "The great river," writes Stern, is "the symbolic limit which separates the Church from her enemies."

In a different manner Wordsworth also takes the verse figuratively:—it is the river of Babylon; the four Angels represent the Divine word, summed up in the fourfold Gospel, which had been long bound in the mystical Babylon; by the aid of printing it has been translated into all languages; and thus the four Angels have been loosed.

Elliott (and Alford adopts his conclusion) sees no difficulty in taking the Euphrates *literally*, and the rest of the Vision mystically: he appeals to such instances of Scriptural allegory as that in Ps. lxxx. 8:—"Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt" &c., where Egypt is literal and the Vine mystical. "It was the almost universal opinion of the ancients," notes Dr. Todd, "that Antichrist shall arise from this region" (p. 152); and on this principle, taking the Euphrates to mean the literal river, Mede, Vitr., Daubuz,

15 And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared [1]for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men.

[1] Or, *at.*

Faber, Elliott, &c. refer this Trumpet to the invasions of the Tartars and Turks. Bengel makes *vv.* 13, 14 describe the activity of Mohammed, A.D. 589–634.

Again:—N. de Lyra understands by the Euphrates the Roman Empire; and he takes the four Angels to be the Emperor Anastasius, the Ostrogoth Theodoric, and the anti-Popes Symmachus and Laurentius. "Preterists" (Hammond, Wetstein) usually refer to the Tiber, because Babylon (ch. xiv. 8) is Rome. Ewald and rationalistic "Preterists" refer to the literal Euphrates as the frontier of the Empire: thence the Parthian legions menaced the Roman power. In this sense Renan (p. 398) takes the four Angels to be the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Median, and the Persian kingdoms; he refers to Josephus (*B. J.*, VI. vi. 2), and to Tacitus (*Hist.*, iv. 51), where we read that Vologesus offered to aid Vespasian with 40,000 cavalry. This Trumpet, continues Renan (p. 400), differs from the preceding five which refer to events already past when the author wrote; here it is not so,—"mais il est probable que l'auteur la tenait déjà pour un fait accompli." He applies *vv.* 14–21 and ch. xvi. 12–16 to the period of Jewish enthusiasm shared by St. John which followed the defeat of Cestius Gallus, Nov. 5, A.D. 66 (Jos., *B. J.*, ii. 18, 9; Tac., *Hist.* v. 10; Sueton., *Vesp.* 4), when it was expected that, by the aid of the Parthians, the Roman power would be overthrown (*l. c.*, p. 272).

Mr. Maurice makes this loosing of the Angels denote that the barriers between the Babel kingdom, and the kingdom of Israel which Jerusalem represented, should exist no longer; and thus Jerusalem becomes the centre and capital of the Babel society (p. 164). For other expositions see note A at the end of this chapter.

15. *which* **had been** *prepared*] Cf. ch. viii. 6. They had been "*prepared*," but bound.

for] *I. e.*, "*unto*," "*against*," "*in reservation for* (εἰς)"—as in ver. 7.

the hour and day and month and year,] The article prefixed to the first noun and not repeated gives unity to the common conception of time, fixing a determined moment—*the* hour of a definite day,—*the* day of a definite month, &c.—cf. Num. i. 1; Hag. i. 15; Zech. i. 7: "*the* hour of God's judgment, *the* day of His wrath" (Words.). The article may also indicate the great appointed conflict at Armageddon (ch. xvi. 16) as well as that which is described in ch. xx. 7, 8,—the opposing host being spoken of in ch. xix. 14.

Chronological calculations have also been founded on these words, as if there were no article at all, or as if it had been repeated before each noun: (1) On the "Year-day" theory, a year = 360 days = 360 prophetic years; and hence Sir I. Newton counts 360 + 30 + 1 = 391 years (the "*hour*" being altogether omitted)—viz. from A.D. 1063, when Alp Arslan "passed the Euphrates at the head of the Turkish cavalry" (Gibbon, ch. lvii.), to A.D. 1453, the date of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. (2) Mr. Elliott, noting that we have here not "*a time*" (καιρός, ch. xii. 14), but "*a year*" (ἐνιαυτός), departs from the *usual* "Year-day" theory. He arbitrarily assumes a year in this place to be 365¼ common days,—while he reckons 30 days to the month, and "*twelve hours* to the *prophetic day*." He thus obtains 365¼ + 30 + 1 + $\frac{1}{12}$ = 396 prophetic years + 121 days. As a common year, however, is about *eleven* minutes *less* than 365¼ days, and as this deficiency amounts in 396 years to *three* days, the true result is 396 years and 118 days—or the interval between January 18, 1057, when the Turks marched from Bagdad, to May 29, 1453, when they took Constantinople. These dates indeed require 396 years + 130 days, which exceed Mr. Elliott's calculation "by *but* 12 natural days, or *less than half a prophetic hour*" (vol. i. p. 527): see Introd. § 11, b, II. Mede had adopted the same principle, and thus obtained the interval between 1057 and 1453; but he was puzzled as to "*the hour*:" this he takes to mean "the opportune time" (the first "*and*" being "exegetical)," "parati in tempus opportunum, *nempe* in diem, mensem, et annum."

(3) Mr. Birks thinks fit to adopt the reading of Codex B which places an article before "*day*," and translates: "The Angels prepared for that hour and that day were loosed both a month and a year," *i. e.*, for 390 prophetic years—see Ezek. iv. 5—a period not found elsewhere in Scripture.—*Elem. of Sacr. Prophecy*, p. 378.

(4) Bengel, as already stated, makes a prophetic hour = 8 common days, and a prophetic day = about half a common year (see Introd. § 11, b, IV.). He reckons here 213 years, from A.D. 634, the last days of Abubeker, to A.D. 847, the death of Mutezam; and he makes this same space of time to be the duration of the sixth Trumpet. From this point he places the interval of 100 years between the *second* and *third* Woes. The *third* Woe thus began A.D. 947, and had not expired in Bengel's time.

(5) Daubuz (*l.c.*, p. 328) interprets: "For

16 And the number of the army of the horsemen *were* two hundred thousand thousand: and I heard the number of them.

17 And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breastplates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the

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a Year, Month, Day, and Hour, namely, so as to be ready upon any occasion or warning to put this great event [the destruction of the Eastern Empire by the Ottomans] in execution."

(6) Todd takes the words (as he renders them) "an hour, a day, a month, and a year" to imply duration, and to signify the *first* of the two periods into which "the events constituting the second Woe" are divided; the *second* period being the 42 months, or three years and a half, of ch. xi. 2:—see on *vv.* 12, 13.

that they should kill] Referring to "*prepared*," as in ch. viii. 6; or, it may be, to "*were loosed*," see above, ver. 14.

the third part of men.] Apparently "the third part" of "them that dwell on the earth" (see ch. viii. 13, and cf. ch. vi. 10) as distinguished from those who are sealed: see ver. 4, and the note on ch. viii. 7. It is now added that such persons are to suffer death, in the same proportion as the *trees* and *ships* in ch. viii. 7, 9, 11 suffer.

Elliott understands the *Eastern*-third of the old Roman Empire—see on ch. viii. 7.

What the Angels proceed to do is left untold: they are, probably, the leaders of the host in ver. 16; and hence the destruction which they are here said to cause is ascribed in ver. 18 to the fire, &c., proceeding from the horses' mouths.

16. *And the number of the* **armies** *of the horsemen*] Gr. "**of the cavalry.**" Burger (see on ver. 5) identifies this host with the locusts under the fifth Trumpet; comparing the imagery in *vv.* 8 and 17, in *vv.* 9 and 17, in *vv.* 10 and 19.

was twice ten thousand times ten thousand:] *I.e.*, twice the number spoken of in Dan. vii. 10:—"**two myriads of myriads**," or 200 millions. The vastness of the number shows that no literal army is intended:—cf. ch. xx. 8. This description seems clearly to be based on that of the countless hosts of God, Ps. lxviii. 17 (on which see the note); Hebr. xii. 22; Jude 14. Horsemen also constitute the Armies of Heaven in ch xix. 11, 14, 19.

I heard *the number of them.*] (Omit "*and*" —see *vv. ll.*). Ewald suggests that the Seer heard the number from one of the Elders, as in ch. vii. 13;—"he was told what the number was; count them he could not" (Stuart): see on ver. 17. Two armies are described in the Apocalypse:—(1) that which is described here and in ch. xvi. 14, 16; xx. 8, and of which the aspect had been foreshown in Ezek. xxxviii. 4, 15; and (2), in opposition to this host, the Armies of Heaven of which we read in ch. xix. 14. The vastness of the number, according to Hengst., excludes the idea of a *particular war*—"we have here to do only with a personified species."

17. *And thus I saw*] "After this manner," "according to the following description." Stuart refers "*thus*" to what precedes—"In such vast numbers did I see them." Some take it *pleonastically*—see on ch. ii. 15. On the union of "*I heard*" and "*I saw*," see on ch. i. 2; vi. 1.

in the vision,] (As in Dan. viii. 2; ix. 21:—cf. Acts ii. 17, and on ch. i. 1). These words, notes Düsterd., are added to "*I saw*," in contrast to the "*I heard*" in ver. 16. Ebrard infers from this addition that we must not think of *literal* horsemen; and so Stuart, who sees in this Trumpet the most remote of all the symbols in the Apoc. from the real objects of the natural world. Mede interprets "in appearance" not "in reality"—"non revera, sed aspectu"; and he refers to ch. iv. 3, where see the note.

and them that sat on them, having] The participle "*having*" refers to both horses and horsemen, both bearing armour—so Züllig, Ebrard, Düsterd., Alf. On the other hand, Bengel, Ewald, De Wette, Hengst. consider that the Riders alone wear breastplates.

breastplates [**as**] **of fire and of hyacinth and of** *brimstone:*] "The *hyacinthus* of the Romans is invariably blue and lustrous;" it was the favourite epithet "applied to the flowing hair of southern beauty, the black of which exactly represents the violet reflex of the raven's plumage."—King, *Precious Stones*, p. 197. For the distinction between the "hyacinthus" of St. John, and the "*jacinth*" of the Authorized Version, see the note on ch. xxi. 20. This description suggests the blue flame which issues between the fire and the brimstone, and which is represented as "*smoke*," below and in ver. 18: the three colours relate to what proceeds from the horses' mouths. Züllig understands "copper, steel, and brass";—Stuart explains "particoloured";—I. Williams takes the three colours to signify different degrees in intensity of evil (ch. xiv. 10; xix. 20; Ps. xi. 6);—Hengst., with whom every Trumpet signifies war, understands "wild exasperation, the thirst for murder,

heads of the horses *were* as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone.

18 By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths.

19 For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails *were* like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt.

20 And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship

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the desire of desolation:" and he concludes that but for the variations in the imagery the six Trumpets might be compressed into one.

[**are**] *as the heads of lions;*] There is, doubtless, here, as many have noted, a reference to ver. 8, where behind their deceptive female hair, the locusts have the teeth of lions. The horses' heads are now plainly lions' heads—this Trumpet does not conceal its destructiveness. See, on *vv.* 5, 16, the remarks of Burger on the connexion between the fifth and sixth Trumpets.

and out of their mouths] I. Williams notes that the word "*mouth*" is three times repeated (*vv.* 17–19), as under the sixth Vial, ch. xvi. 13.

proceedeth *fire and smoke and brimstone.*] By a usual poetic figure, the horse breathes forth "*fire and smoke*"—"volvit sub naribus ignem" (Virgil, *Georg.*, iii. 85; Ovid, *Metam.*, vii. 104), to which "*brimstone*," as associated with evil, is here added: cf. ch. xiv. 10; xix. 20; xxi. 8. Mede and Elliott understand the Turkish artillery. Alf. gives a singular interpretation:—The plagues proceed "separately," he notes; one of them "out of the mouths of each division of the host. It is remarkable that these divisions are *three*, though the Angels were *four*."

The fifth and sixth Trumpets, notes Reuss, bring on two plagues peculiar to the East—locusts, and the simoom.

18. *By these three* **plagues**] (See *vv. ll.*). Gr. **from** (*ἀπό*) equivalent to the German *durch* (Winer, § 47, s. 332)—viz. by the fire, the smoke, and the brimstone.

was the third part of men killed,] See on ver. 15, and on ch. viii. 7. The army of horsemen is not prohibited from killing, as the locusts were in ver. 5.

Mede explains that the sufferers belonged to those styled "*the third part of men*"—*i.e.*, the inhabitants of the Roman Empire (see on ch. viii. 7); and they consist of *some* only of the inhabitants of that "*third part*" just as in ch. xvii. 16 only some of the "*Ten Horns*" are meant; see also Judges xii. 7.

by the **fire and the smoke and the brimstone,**] (Omit "*by*" twice—see *vv. ll.*). Gr. "**by reason of**" (*ἐκ*)—for the preposition see ver. 2; ch. viii. 11.

which **proceeded** *out of their mouths.*] The participle (with its art.) agrees with the last noun, but applies to all three.

Elliott refers this verse to the fall of Constantinople; and quotes Gibbon's description of the Ottoman artillery (ch. lxviii.).

19. **For the power of the horses** *is in their mouth, and in their tails:*] See *vv. ll.* The Codex of Erasmus here differs from all the Uncials; and the A. V. translates a text different from the *Textus Receptus.* "The Authorized Version agrees with Beza (1589) against Stephens (1550)."—Scrivener, *Intr. to Par. Bible*, p. ciii. Cf. the imagery of ver. 10.

for their tails [**are**] *like unto serpents, and* **have** *heads;*] Wetstein, Bengel, Herder, &c. quote, as the source of this imagery, what the ancients (Plin., *H. N.*, viii. 35; Lucan, *Pharsal.* ix. 719) relate of a genus of serpents or ophidian reptiles called *amphisbæna* "in which the tail and head are equally obtuse, and the scales of the head so similar to those on the back as to render it difficult to distinguish one extremity from the other. Hence these reptiles have been supposed to have the power of creeping backwards or forwards with equal facility."—Brande and Cox, *Dict. of Science.* Bengel notes that certain tribes (of Turks) fight even while they retreat;—Grotius sees a reference to the custom of foot-soldiers mounting behind horsemen;—Stuart observes that the Turcomans train their horses to assault with their hinder part, as well as with the front;—Elliott refers to the horsetails borne as symbols of authority by the Turkish Pashas, the tails having *heads* denoting that authority;—Stern, Ebrard, Hengst. see here a type of the malignity and treachery practised by these armies.

and with them they do hurt.] Inflict pain by the bite of the serpent-heads. Elliott renders, "they (*i.e.*, the Turkish Pashas) commit injustice"—a sense opposed to the use of the verb in ch. ii. 11; vii. 2, 3; ix. 4, 10; xi. 5.

20. *And the rest of* **mankind,**] *I.e.*, the remaining two-thirds, see ver. 18:—Gr. *the men;* cf. ch. viii. 11.

which were not killed **with** *these plagues,*]

devils, [a]and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk:

21 Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

[a] Ps. 115. 4 & 135. 15.

(Gr. "**in**"—as in ver. 19, "*with* them do they hurt"). That is the *plagues* of ver. 18.

Ebrard refers *vv.* 20, 21 to all the first six Trumpets, which have not succeeded in causing the ungodly to repent; the two-thirds of men who survive, not having been converted:—but see the true reading, "these three *plagues*," in ver. 18. So also Züllig, who regards these verses as explaining why a *seventh* Trumpet is to be added,—because had men repented in consequence of the preceding *six*, they would have been spared the more fearful judgment yet to come. He adds that "the men of the earth" are classed in the Apoc. as Jews (ch. vii.; xv.) and Gentiles (ch. x. 11; xiv. 6–9); accordingly, the gross idolatry of the Gentiles is first censured, and then sins common to both Jews and Gentiles.

Elliott refers these verses to Western Christendom—to "the men of the West" who were not killed as a body politic, and whose religion and crimes (e.g. the persecution of the Albigenses, &c.) throughout the Middle Ages he considers are here described.

repented not of] (Omit "*yet*"). Gr. "**from**" see on ch. ii. 21. The meaning is explained by the clause "*that they should not worship.*" The final catastrophe is inevitable:—man will not accept the loving forbearance of God, 2 Pet. iii. 9. Neither by the Trumpet-plagues here, nor by the Vial-plagues (ch. xvi. 21), are mankind moved to repentance.

the works of their hands,] Either, generally, "the sins of their life,"—so De Wette, Ebrard, Bleek; or (for it is not merely "*their works*" as in ch. ii. 22; xvi. 11) "the idols wrought by their hands," "their idolatry," as we read in Acts vii. 41 (cf. Deut. iv. 28; Ps. cxxxv. 15; Isai. ii. 8),—so Bengel, Hengst., Düsterd., Words., Alf., Bisping, Burger. The rest of the verse indicates that this is the meaning.

that they should not worship devils,] Gr. "**the demons**," as in 1 Cor. x. 20, evil spirits of an inferior order, see on ch. ii. 10; xvi. 14. The verb is in the future (after ἵνα), see *vv. ll.*

and **the idols** *of gold*,] See *vv. ll.*

and **of** *silver, and* **of** *brass, and* **of** *stone, and of wood; which* **can neither** *see, nor hear, nor walk*:] Cf. Dan. v. 23, whence this enumeration is taken. In this verse, sins against God condemned in the first Table of the Decalogue—viz. demon-worship (cf. 1 Tim. iv. 1), and its equivalent, idolatry (cf. 1 Cor. x. 19–21)—are recited. See on ver. 21.

21. and they repented not *of*] As in ver. 20. The repetition of the verb "repent" seems to have no greater significance than to connect more clearly the two verses.

sorceries,] Gr. "the use of **drugs**," denoting the magic rites of the heathen (ch. xviii. 23). The word is used by the LXX. to describe the "enchantments" of the Egyptian sorcerers (Ex. vii. 22), and of Babylon (Isai. xlvii. 9, 12), the form varying when used to describe the "witchcrafts" of Jezebel (2 Kings ix. 22). In Gal. v. 20 it is placed next to idolatry; elsewhere in the N. T. the word occurs only in ch. xviii. 23:—cf. ch. xxi. 8; xxii. 15, both of which texts are cognate to this verse. Suicer connects the word with the use of drugs in causing abortion and infanticide; and thus its connection here with idolatry on the one hand, and with murder and fornication, on the other—*i.e.*, with carnal and spiritual fornication—can be accounted for.

fornication,] The use of the *singular* in the case of this word alone, is well explained by Bengel: "There is one, never-ceasing impurity with those who are not clean in heart" ("Alia scelera ab hominibus per intervalla patrantur; una perpetua πορνεία est apud eos, qui munditie cordis carent"). The sins condemned in the second Table of the Decalogue, are now recited,—see on ver. 20.

The great obscurity of the several Trumpet-Visions, especially of the two Visions of this chapter, is admitted by all. As in the first four Trumpets we discern judgments under various forms of physical evil, so in the fifth and sixth we seem to discern manifestations of moral evil. In the fifth, the locusts issue from the Abyss (ver. 3), and their "King" is "the Angel of the Abyss" (ver. 11). Their mission is not to "*hurt*" material Creation (ver. 4), or to "*kill*" (ver. 5),—but by their poisonous influence (venomous *as that of* scorpions, *vv.* 3, 5, 10) to torment and injure men. The period of "*five months*" may, as already suggested, be only a feature of the imagery suggested by the symbol of natural locusts; or it may refer simply to the number of the Trumpet. Or, again, the sense may be that this is not the great outbreak of evil in the last times to which all prophecy points,—but that this short and "broken" period indicates a partial exercise of Satanic power, confined to no particular generation. The sixth Trumpet seems no less distinctly to announce a still more intense, perhaps the final (see ver. 15) on-

slaught of the powers of darkness. The binding of the four Angels (ver. 14) leads on the mind to the binding of Satan himself (ch. xx. 3); the mention of the Euphrates, the river of Babylon, at once suggests the thought of that great City which is specially chosen as the symbol of the God-opposing World-power (ch. xiv. 8; xvii. 5); the Army of Heaven is composed of horsemen (ch. xix. 14), but here we see the antagonistic host as foreshown in Ezekiel xxxviii. 4 (cf. ch. xvi. 16; xx. 8); the addition to natural imagery which we find in ver. 17, brings before us the symbols of hell employed elsewhere in the Apocalypse (ch. xiv. 10; xix. 20; xx. 10; xxi. 8);—in a word, every token points to the great outbreak of evil. In the case of both Trumpets, moreover, the monstrous features added to the natural forms of locusts and horses confirm the reference of these two judgments to the exhibitions of moral evil in *all* its aspects; and accordingly there is nothing singular in the very general *application* of the fifth Trumpet to Mohammedanism—the most striking, as it has been the most formidable manifestation of the antichristian Power hitherto developed under the Christian dispensation.

Godet (*l. c.*, p. 353) regards the first six Trumpets as forming one picture, exhibiting the preparation for the decisive trial which will determine the appearance of Antichrist: they are the signals of the dissolution of the old social order, and then of the establishment and the ruin of the empire of Antichrist (see on ch. xiii. 1). Accumulated convulsions in the earth, the sea, the rivers, the air (the first four Trumpets); then convulsions in society which a diabolical epidemic undermines (the fifth Trumpet) and the foundations of which an invasion of barbarians overturns (the sixth Trumpet), such are the judgments which pave the way for the last Adversary.

When Renan (*l. c.*, p. 326, &c.) dwells upon the accumulated catastrophes of the Roman Empire from A.D. 59 to A.D. 79, may we not, in reply, ask him, Why should not similar catastrophes be repeated—nay, catastrophes still more intense—on the eve of the dissolution of our old world, and the birth-pangs of a new Heaven and a new Earth? In such commotions the physical and the moral worlds are not to be separated. The two domains are united by mysterious affinities. As Palestine has followed, in its alternations of desolation and of fertility, the destiny of Israel, why may not the fate be the same of the earth in relation to man?—cf. Godet, *l.c.*, p. 355.

Burger concludes that since, according to the two intervening Visions in ch. x.–xi. 14 which precede the seventh Trumpet, the kingdom of Antichrist appears under that last Trumpet as a perfected World-kingdom, the *preparation* for this kingdom consists in the events under the fifth and sixth Trumpets; so that all is now ready for ch. xiii.:—see on ver. 16.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on Chapter IX.

Note A—The Trumpet-Visions.

Ancient Expositors.

Victorinus is the earliest expositor of the Trumpet-Visions. "The Trumpet," he writes, "is a word of power." What the Trumpets here announce the Vials (ch. xvi.) repeat; not as if the thing were twice done, but in order to show the certainty of God's decree—as in Gen. xli. 32 ("Quod ergo in tubis minus dixit, hoc in phialis est. Non aspiciendus est ordo dictorum, quoniam sæpe Spiritus Sanctus, ubi ad novissimi temporis finem percurrerit, rursus ad eadem tempora redit, et supplet ea quæ minus dixit; nec requirendus est ordo in Apocalypsi, sed intellectus"):—see the remarks introductory to ch. viii. The Trumpets and Vials, therefore, describe: (1) The plagues sent on the world;—(2) The madness of Antichrist;—(3) The blasphemy ("detractio") of the peoples;—(4) The variety of the plagues;—(5) The hope in the kingdom of the saints;—(6) The fall of cities;—(7) The fall of that great City, Babylon, *i. e.* of the city of Rome.

Andreas (see Note A on ch. vi.) regards the Trumpets as *evolved*, so to speak, from the seventh Seal, and as denoting the dissolution of earthly governments: (1) In the first Trumpet, the hail denotes God's wrath, and the fire and blood the ruin caused by the barbarians;—(2) The sea denotes, "tropically," the present life, and the "*great mountain*" is the Devil burning with fiery wrath against men;—(3) The fallen star (cf. Isai. xiv. 12) is Satan who brings the plagues;—(4) The fourth Trumpet is akin to Joel ii. 31.

In these four plagues, God's mercy restricts the judgments to the *third* part.

(5) The "*Star*," *i. e.*, a divine Angel, lets loose shortly before the end of all things the demons whom Christ at His Incarnation had bound, and the "*five months*" denote "the shortened days" of Matt. xxiv. 22;—(6) "*The four Angels*" of ch. ix. 15 are not Archangels, but demons of the worst kind who had been bound at Christ's coming, and who are now let loose by the divine Angel of ver. 13. Their being bound in the Euphrates he illustrates by the instance of the demons in Matt. viii. 32.

Beda follows, for the most part [Ticho-

nius[1] and] Primasius. The Seven Angels signify the Church; and the Trumpets signify, (1) The destruction of the ungodly by fire and hail—the heat of Gehenna, and bitter cold; "*blood*" denoting the spiritual death of the soul;—(2) The casting of the Devil by the Church into the sea of this world, as Christ promised His disciples in Matt. xxi. 21;—(3) Heretics falling like stars from the Church, and corrupting the waters of Scripture;—(4) The glory of the Church obscured by the falling away of false brethren;—(5) Heresy becoming more intense, as Antichrist draws near; but heretics cannot kill the soul (ch. ix. 5);—(6) The open war of Antichrist against the Church: "Cornua altaris aurei Evangelia sunt Ecclesiæ præeminentia" (ch. ix. 13);—(7) The Day of Judgment.

MODERN EXPOSITORS.

THE FIRST FOUR TRUMPETS.

I. "*Historical*" Interpreters:—

MEDE takes the Trumpets to signify, (1) The subversion of the Roman world by the northern nations, who are symbolized as "*hail*" (Isai. xxviii. 2); the "*trees*" are the chief men (Isai. xxxvii. 24; Zech. xi. 2), and, by analogy, the "*grass*" signifies the people at large. This Trumpet begins with the death of Theodosius, A.D. 395;—(2) The Roman world, or "*sea*," is assailed by Alaric and Genseric, A.D. 410, and A.D. 455;—(3) The fallen "*Star*" is Romulus Augustulus, A.D. 476 ("de cælo potestatis suæ revulsum"), to whom the title "*Wormwood*" applies as a prince of bitterness and sorrow;—(4) The glory of Rome under the Ostrogoths is quenched by Belisarius and Narses, A.D. 542, who abolished the Consular dignity (the "*sun*"), and the authority of the Senate (the "*moon*" and the "*stars*").

BIRKS: (1) A furious invasion of the Roman Empire, especially its Greek or Eastern provinces (A.D. 250–268, see Gibbon, chap. x., xi.), "with the pause of judgment," A.D. 270-365;—(2) The extinction of the Western Empire, A.D. 365–476;—(3) Heresy, either Arian or Nestorian;—(4) A notable eclipse of the Imperial splendour of the third or Greek Empire, A.D. 540–622. The expression "*the third part*," writes Mr. Birks, "is found *once* in ch. xii. 4, and *fourteen* times in the Trumpet-Visions;" and as, when the Apocalypse was written, the judgment of the Grecian, the *third* of Daniel's four Empires (Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, Rome), was still to come, Mr. Birks concludes that "whenever the 'third part' is specified in this Vision, the direct reference is to the Greek or Eastern Empire."—*The Mystery of Providence*, p. 65.

The opinions of "commentators of considerable eminence and reputation" as to the first four Trumpets are thus summed up by Mr. Birks (*l. c.*, p. 103):—(1) "The first Trumpet *begins*, according to Lowman, in the time of *Constantine*; according to Mr. Cunninghame and Mr. Frere, with the death of *Valentinian*, A.D. 376, and *ends* with the death of *Theodosius*, A.D. 395. But Mede, Newton, Dr. Keith, and Mr. Elliott, make it *begin* with the death of *Theodosius*, and reach to the death of *Alaric*, A.D. 410. Cressener and Whiston include in it both periods. Mr. Faber agrees with Mede and Newton, in its commencement, but continues it forty years *after Alaric's* death, A.D. 395–450."

(2) "The second, according to Lowman, Mr. Cunninghame, and Mr. Frere, reaches from *Theodosius* to *Alaric*, the exact interval which Mede, Newton, Dr. Keith, and Mr. Elliott assign to the first. Cressener refers it to the Transalpine invasions, A.D. 410–448; Sir I. Newton to the *Visigoths and Vandals*, 407–427; Whiston, Mr. Faber, and Dr. Keith to the *Vandals* only, but within different limits, A.D. 406–450, 439–477, and 429–477 respectively."

(3) "The third Trumpet by Sir I. Newton is applied to the *Vandals*, A.D. 427–530; by Whiston, Mr. Cunninghame, and Dr. Keith, to *Attila and the Huns*, A.D. 441–452; by Mede, Cressener, and Lowman, to the *troubles of Italy*, or setting of the *Western Cæsar*, A.D. 450–476; by Mr. Faber, to the same within narrower limits, A.D. 462–476; and by Mr. Frere to the *Nestorian heresy*."

(4) "Lastly the fourth is referred by Mr. Cunninghame to the *fall of the Empire*, A.D. 455–476; by Whiston, to the extinction itself, A.D. 476; by Mede, Cressener, Lowman, and Dr. Keith, to the subsequent *eclipse of Rome*, A.D. 476–540; by Sir I. Newton to the *wars of Belisarius*, A.D. 535–552; by Mr. Faber, and Mr. Frere, to the reign of Phocas, and the Persian invasion of the East, A.D. 602–610."

II. (a) *Ordinary "Preterists":*—

BOSSUET sees in the first four Visions:—(1) The desolation of the Jews under Trajan;—(2) The last desolation of the Jews under Hadrian;—(3) In the "*Star*" Barchochab ("Son of the Star"), the cause of the desolation under the second Trumpet;—(4) The darkening of prophecy by the malice of the Jews at this very time; Christ is "*the sun*;" the Church is "*the moon*;" the Apostles, "*the stars*." "On marque seulement la troisième partie, quand la menace ne regarde ni la totalité ni la plus grande partie."

WETSTEIN:—(1) The burnt trees and grass denote the villages and country parts of Judæa, where the sedition first showed itself;—(2) The burning '*mountain*" which stained the sea

[1] See Note A on ch. vi.

with blood, and also (3) The "*Star*" which made the waters bitter, signify the slaughter of the Jews at Cæsarea and Scythopolis;—(4) The obscuration of *sun*, *moon*, and *stars* denotes anarchy in the Jewish commonwealth.

HERDER: The first four Trumpets are signals of tumults, massacres and contests in Judæa, internal and external, under Florus and the Zealot Eleazar (*Maran Atha, in loc.*).

(b) *Rationalistic "Preterists":*—

VOLKMAR: In the first four Trumpets the Seer beholds the calamities which the world endured A.D. 63 (Tac., *Ann.* xv. 47), A.D. 68 (Tac. *Hist.* i. 3), and A.D. 69 (*Hist.* i. 18): the prodigy of *blood* as *rain* was always believed at Rome—'sanguine pluit' (Liv. xxxix. 46); the Seer has also in his view, a Volcano, a falling Meteor, and an Eclipse.

To the same effect RENAN.

III. "*Futurists*":—

TODD assumes that the judgments predicted in the first four Trumpet-Visions are to be understood literally. He appeals to the manner in which "our Lord has predicted a visitation of the same kind as one of the signs of His future coming" (Luke xxi. 25, 26); and concludes that the judgments foretold on the sounding of these Trumpets are future and equally literal (p. 135).

DE BURGH: "I consider [the first four Trumpets] future; and of this we have a twofold evidence":—(*a*) "The variety of explanations offered on the supposition of fulfilment"; (*b*) "The necessity, on that hypothesis, for a forcible accommodation of the whole language." Thus if, as expositors contend, the *trees*, *grass*, &c., figuratively mean *persons*, then these four Trumpets affect the inhabitants of the earth as well as the last three; whereas under them inanimate objects alone are affected, while we read in ch. viii. 13: "Woe, woe, woe, *to the inhabitants* of the earth by reason of the other voices of the Trumpets of the three Angels, which are yet to sound!" Cf. also ch. ix. 4, where "the grass, trees, &c." are distinguished from men (*l.c.*, pp. 186–188).

On the fact that scarcely any two expositors agree in the division of the same subject among these four Trumpets, Mr. Faber observes: "So curious a circumstance may well be deemed the opprobrium of Apocalyptic interpretation, and may naturally lead us to suspect that the true key to the distinct application of the four first Trumpets has never yet been found, or, if found, has never yet been satisfactorily used."

THE THREE "WOE-TRUMPETS."

The three remaining Trumpets, generally styled the "Woe-Trumpets," are introduced in ch. viii. 13. It will be convenient to give here a summary of the principal opinions as to the fifth and sixth Trumpets (ch. ix.), reserving for the present any remarks on the seventh, ch. xi. 15.

(5) Dr. Todd reduces the various interpretations of the "locusts" in the *fifth* Trumpet-Vision to four classes: (1) The ancient opinion that they are evil spirits; and their appearance still future;—(2) The medieval or controversial opinion, that they denote heretics. This is the opinion of Beda, Haymo, Berengaudus, &c., each applying the prophecy to the heretics of his own day. Under this head may be classed Roman Catholic writers (e.g. Bellarmin) who see in the locusts only Luther and the Protestants; as well as Protestant writers (e.g., Ussher, Bochart, Forbes, Paræus, &c.), who apply the Prophecy to the Pope, the Monks, the Inquisition;—(3) The "Historical" interpretations: These were begun by Aureolus, De Lyra, and their followers who apply the prophecy to the Vandals, A.D. 441–536, and have since been adopted by subsequent writers, some of whom (including the "Preterists"—e.g. Hammond, Rosenmüller, Ewald, &c.) have had recourse to earlier times, and interpret the locusts of the Roman wars in Judæa, ending in the destruction of Jerusalem. Modern commentators, since the time of Mede, generally suppose this prophecy to have been fulfilled in the victories or the religion of Mohammed; although Vitringa rejects this theory, and returns to the more ancient application of it to the Goths and Vandals;—(4) "Futurists" (e.g. the Jesuit Lessius, and De Burgh) think that literal locusts are intended—"veræ locustæ," as Lessius expresses it, "licet peregrinæ et monstrosæ" (*l. c.* p. 148).

(6) Dr. Todd again sums up the opinions of modern writers as to the *sixth* Trumpet:—

(1) "*Preterists.*" Grotius takes the four Angels to be the generals of Vespasian, Titus, Mucianus, and Tiberius Alexander, whose armies penetrated as far as the Euphrates. Hammond supposes them to be the generals of Vespasian: these were *bound*, because Vespasian was for a long time hindered by the affairs of Rome from coming against Jerusalem, and bound *in the Euphrates*, *i.e.*, in Rome, for the Euphrates surrounded Babylon and is here put for the city Babylon, *i.e.*, for Rome.

(2) The "*Historical*" commentators. *Four nations* are intended, viz., the Arabs, Saracens, Tartars, and Turks, who dwelt beyond the Euphrates, and were now permitted to cross it. So Paræus, Cotter, &c. Others of the same school (Durham, Forbes, Piscator) understand the Mohammedans, who are called *four* either to denote a *sufficient* number, or to indicate that this plague would extend to the *four* corners of the

earth. Mede, Sir I. Newton, and Bishop Newton suppose the Turks to be the subject of the prophecy; because they divided themselves after they had crossed the Euphrates into *four* Sultanries; and the loosing of these four took place after the Crusades, *i.e.*, about the year 1300; or, as Daubuz supposes, when the Ottomans were invited over by Cantacuzen, A.D. 1346. Faber takes the four Angels to be four Turkish dynasties, viz., Persia, Kerman, Syria, and Rhoum, A.D. 1092; who killed the third part of men, *i.e.*, destroyed the Roman Empire in the East, A.D. 1453; and so Keith and Habershon. With Lowman and Doddridge the Angels are the Saracens, who were loosed A.D. 513, and who are spoken of as *four* merely to denote the universality of their ravages. Mr. Cunninghame supposes the number *four* to be mystical, signifying *complete*, *entire;* and the Euphrates to be put for the Turkish nation (p. 154).

As to "the hour, day, month, and year" (ch. ix. 15) some maintain that only a fixed or appointed time is denoted (so Grotius, Hammond, Daubuz, Lowman, Doddridge). Bishop Newton, on the "Year-day" theory, makes the period 391 years and 15 days, from the *first* victory of the Turks over Christians, A.D. 1281, to the *last*, the taking of Cameniec from the Poles, A.D. 1672. Mr. Faber understands this period to be 396 years, 3 months, beginning with the reign of Othman, June 9, 1301, and ending with Prince Eugene's victory at Zenta, Sept. 1, 1697. Mr. Cunninghame takes it to be the period of their *preparation* for destroying men, or 391 years from A.D. 1057, to A.D. 1448; and so Mr. Keith, who reckons 396 years, 103 days, from A.D. 1057 to A.D. 1453. Mr. Habershon makes it the period during which the Turks will hold Constantinople, viz., 391 years, and one month, from May 29, 1453, to June, 1844.

Mr. Tyso (see Note A. on ch. vi.) sums up, as before, the conclusions of the "Historical" commentators as to the dates of the several Trumpet-Visions:—

Trumpets.	De Lyra.	Mede.	R. Fleming.	Daubuz.	Frere.	Faber.	Thos. Scott.	Cunninghame.	Keith.
		A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1	Arius . .	365	339	395	376	395	388	376	395
2	Macedonius	410	405	410	395	439	412	393	413
3	Pelagius. .	475	475	442	439	492	450	441	441
4	Eutyches .	542	568	454	628	603	476	476	476
5	Valens . .	591	622	612	632	604	606	533	622
6	Heretics .	846	1067	1356	1062	1301	1281	1302	1057
7	Favourers of Heretics.	,,	1516	1517	1792	1789	,,	1792	,,

This list of "*Historical*" interpreters may be closed with a rather doubtful example:—

I. With Stern (5) the *fifth* Trumpet denotes heresy, including the errors, from the end of Cent. iv., of the Cathari, the Albigenses and Waldenses, down to the Pantheists of our own day;—(6) the *sixth*, the beginning of the last persecution, shortly before the coming of Antichrist. Then, at "the hour, day, month, and year" which God has determined on in His counsels, the Judgment falls.

II. (a) *Ordinary "Preterists":*—

(5) BOSSUET understands by the *fifth* Trumpet the heresies which, having their origin among the Jews against the Person of Christ and the Trinity, were subsequently revived by Theodotus of Byzantium (who succeeded Cerinthus), and by Artemon (A.D. 196). Heresy is a "*scorpion*," which secretes its noxious venom; the sting is in the tail—*i.e.*, concealed behind, for heresy has a fair aspect (vers. 5, 10). This Trumpet also indicates the war of Persia against Rome, and the calamities thence arising which made men weary of life (ver. 6). The "*locusts*" (ver. 7) have "*as it were crowns like unto gold*," *i.e.*, of false gold, unlike the crowns in ch. iv. 4—heretics put forth a vain imitation of Truth. (6) The *sixth* Trumpet brings us down to A.D. 260, 270, and the Council against the heresy of Paul of Samosata, when the second "Woe" begins (ver. 12). The Persian army crossed the Euphrates; and then, in the fall of Valerian, began the fall of Rome. In *vv.* 16, 17 is described the armour of the Persian cavalry, which marched with the force of lions. The "*serpents*" in ver. 19 denote the arrows which, after the Parthian fashion, the Persians shot back upon the foe.

(b) *Rationalistic "Preterists":*—

VOLKMAR: His principle is that the Eagle of ch. viii. 13 is the type of the Roman Empire. (5) The "*fallen Star*" in the *fifth* Trumpet is Nero, who leads a demon-host from the Abyss against Rome and the Roman world, but not against the Christians (the "Sealed" of ch. vii. 4; ix. 4), who however had been subject to the other natural plagues, except the pestilence in ch. xvi. 2. After Nero, or "*Apollyon*" (ver. 12) follow two "*Woes*"—Galba, now the reigning Emperor, and a seventh not yet come (ch. xvii. 10). (6) Nero, returning as Antichrist, brings his

hellish host nearer from the boundary of the Parthian Kingdom—the Euphrates.

III. "*Futurists*":—

TODD: (5) As a "Futurist" this writer treats the "locust" Vision as related to the Sealing of ch. vii. 3. After the restoration of the Jewish people to the land of Canaan, Satan will raise against them the agency of evil spirits; and these, either under the appearance of literal locusts, or by the instrumentality of natural locusts or of a human army, will not injure vegetation, but will merely injure (not destroy) men, except the Sealed of the children of Israel. The torment of each is to continue for five literal months, or five literal months make up the entire duration of this judgment; —(6) The region of the Euphrates is hereafter to become the scene of the last great struggle between "the Prince of this World" and the people of God,—the army of horsemen being now permitted to *kill* the third part of men, while the locusts were permitted only to *torment*.—(*l.c.*, pp. 136–151).

CHAPTER X.

1 *A mighty strong angel appeareth with a book open in his hand.* 6 *He sweareth by him that liveth for ever, that there shall be no more time.* 9 *John is commanded to take and eat the book.*

AND I saw another mighty angel come down from hea-

[Ver. 1 ἡ ἶρις. Ver. 2 ἔχων. Ver. 4 *om.* τ. φωνὰς ἑαυτῶν.—*om.* μοι.—μὴ αὐτά [1, agreeing with the Comm. of Andreas, reads καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γράφεις. This, Er., after the *et noli ea scribere* of the Vulgate, changed into καὶ μὴ ταῦτα γράψῃς]. Ver. 5 τ. χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιάν. Ver. 6 [א, A *om.* καὶ τ. θάλασσ. κ. τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ].—οὐκέτι ἔσται. Ver. 7 ἐτελέσθη.—τοὺς ἑαυτ. δούλους τοὺς προφήτας. Ver. 8 λαλοῦσαν.—λέγουσαν.—βιβλίον.—τοῦ ἀγγ. Ver. 9 δοῦναι. Ver. 11 λέγουσιν.]

THE TWO EPISODES (x. 1—xi. 13).

Two episodes, that of the "Little Book" (ch. x. 2) and that of the "Measuring of the Temple" (ch. xi. 1–13), now separate the end of the sixth from the beginning of the seventh Trumpet-Vision (ch. ix. 21; xi. 15); just as the two episodes of ch. vii. 4, 9 separate the sixth and seventh Seals. The relation of this tenth chapter to the general drift of the Vision is more difficult to discern than in the case of ch. vii. Among ancient writers, some (e. g. Primasius, Beda, Berengaudus,) understand by ch. x. the propagation of Christianity; while others (e. g. Andreas and Arethas) merely regard it as introductory to what follows. Mede and Bishop Newton consider this chapter as intended to explain how St. John received the prophecy of ch. xi.–xiv.; and as giving an account of his "inauguration" ("sic fuit Joannis inauguratio," Mede, *l.c.*, p. 478) into his prophetic office. Mede also regards the "Second Woe," ending at ch. xi. 14, as identical with the plague of the sixth Trumpet; while he makes the second chief prophecy of the Revelation to be that of the "Little Book," which sets out from the same beginning of Apocalyptic time as the Seals, and proceeds from ch. x. 8 to the end. I. Williams thinks that as, in the first Seal, we see the single Horseman in Judea, and in the first Trumpet the Church going forth from the ruins of Jerusalem,—so here we have a Vision of the expansion of the Gospel throughout the world; the Book given to St. John being "his inauguration into the deeper knowledge of the kingdom," and all that follows after ch. xi. being "Recapitulation," and unfolding mysteries heretofore unrevealed. "The Little Book," writes Mr. Maurice, "is to interpret those puzzling passages of human history which exhibit periods of revolution and anarchy;"—"a Book of judgment" (p. 172).

De Wette, Alford, and others limit the "Second Woe" to ch. ix. 13–21; and Hengst. connects ch. xi. 14 with ch. ix. 21. Ebrard, on the other hand (s. 348) would restrict the "Second Woe" to "the mystic earthquake" of ch. xi. 13, explaining the interlude thus:—As in ch. vii. 1 the course of the Divine judgments is arrested before that final judgment with which the delay allowed by Divine grace comes to an end; so here God strives to bring men to repentance, first through those *unrevealed* acts symbolized by "*the Seven Thunders*" (ch. x. 4)—an effort which the close of Ps. xxix. tells us will not be without fruit; and secondly, by "the mystic earthquake" (or "Second Woe") which occurs after the Law and the Gospel have ultimately failed, and which destroys the tenth part of the kingdom of Antichrist. On an opposite principle, Vitringa (pp. 422, 485) regards the calamities described from ch. ix. 13 to ch. xi. 14, as all belonging to the "Second Woe," that is, to the sixth Trumpet; while Bengel excludes from the "Second Woe" the whole passage from ch. x. 1 to ch. xi. 13.

ven, clothed with a cloud: and a rainbow *was* upon his head, and his face *was* as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire:

2 And he had in his hand a little book open: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and *his* left *foot* on the earth,

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Bisping notes:—Before the "Third Woe," comes the judgment on Israel; and these two Episodes form the transition from the first to the second half of "the last World-Week" (s. 164):—see on ch. ix. 12.

Chapter X.

The Little Book (1–11).

1. *And I saw another mighty angel*] Cf. ch. v. 2; xviii. 21. This Angel corresponds to the "*another Angel*" of ch. vii. 2; and the epithet "*mighty*" points to an analogy between him and the Angel of ch. v. 2, where, in like manner, a "Book"—the "Sealed Book"—is the theme. De Wette understands the word "*another*" as distinguishing this Angel from the Angel of ch. viii. 13 ("the Eagle"); or of ch. ix. 13; or of some one of the Trumpet-Angels. With the early expositors generally, Mede, Hengst., Words., Bisping understand Christ; the symbols—the "*cloud*" (ch. i. 7), the "*feet as pillars of fire*" (cf. ch. i. 15), and especially the "*rainbow*," (ch. iv. 3)—denoting how God tempers justice with mercy. To the same effect Hippolytus ("Ancolitus"—see Note A on ch. xii. 3; Lagarde, *l. c.*, p. 26), writes that St. John here, and Daniel (xii. 1–7) both beheld the Word of God. Vitringa, arguing from the oath in ver. 6, concludes that it can be no created being (cf. Hebr. vi. 17); and he leaves it uncertain whether the reference is to Christ or to the Holy Ghost. On the other hand, Bengel argues from ver. 6 that this Angel cannot be Christ; and so Stern: we may also note how the description here differs from that in ch. i. 13–16 where Christ appears. In "the mighty Angel" Daubuz sees Luther;—Keith and Elliott, the power of Christ manifested in the Reformation, and discerned by Luther;—"the descent of the Angel," writes Mr. Cunninghame (*The Seals and Trumpets*, 4th ed. ch. viii.), "is the French Revolution of 1789."

coming *down* **out of** *heaven*,] Alford considers that the Seer, as in ch. iv. 1, is still in heaven:—but cf. *vv.* 8, 9. Hengst. justly observes that there is a latitude as to St. John's position: when the Vision is seen on earth, he is on earth—e.g. "*in the wilderness*" (ch. xvii. 3); but when the Vision is in heaven, he is there (ch. xi. 16; xix. 1).

clothed with a cloud;] The cloud, charged with lightnings and thunders, is the symbol of judgment—see ch. viii. 5; xi. 19; xvi. 18.

and the rainbow [*was*] *upon his head*,] ("Upon"—see the note on ch. i. 20). The "*rainbow*"—the well-known emblem of mercy, Gen. ix. 13. Compare ch. iv. 3; Ezek. i. 28.

and his face [*was*] **as the** *sun*,] The emblem of the glory with which he was invested—cf. ch. i. 16; xviii. 1; Luke ix. 26.

as pillars of fire;] Not merely shining, as in ch. i. 15; but intimating the fire of judgment, ch. xx. 9. Referring to ch. iii. 12, Hengst. understands by "*pillars*" unchangeable stedfastness.

2. *and he had in his hand*] (Gr. **and having**—see *vv. ll.*). As commentators point out, his *left* hand—see ver. 5.

a little book] The *diminutive* of the word used in ch. v. 1:—see note A at the end of this chapter, and on ver. 8. This Book, as to the contents of which nothing is revealed, is, apparently, altogether distinct from the "Sealed Book" of ch. v. It probably contains the commission given to the Seer in ver. 11:—cf. Ezek. iii. 2, 11.

open:] In contrast to the "Sealed Book" of ch. v.:—it lies unrolled on the Angel's hand, see ver. 8. The "*Little Book*," notes Bisping, (see on ver. 8), forms *part* of the "Sealed Book;" and because its seventh Seal had been broken (ch. viii. 1) this portion of it is "*open*": and so Burger;—it is open, notes Ebrard, in contrast to the concealed meaning of the Thunder-Voices, ver. 4;—it is open, notes Stuart, because, as it concerns the pagan persecutors of the Church, it has less mystery than the "Sealed Book" which contains the destiny of God's people.

and he set his right foot **on** *the sea, and his* **left on** *the earth*;] Intimating the judicial authority committed to him over *the whole* world, as contrasted with the *partial* judgments of the first four Trumpets (ch. viii. 7–12):—cf. Ps. viii. 6. Bleek takes the words to mean the colossal form of the Angel, visible to the Universe. Among allegorizing interpretations, C. à Lapide and Alcazar refer to Christ's preaching to Jews and Gentiles;—Bengel understands Europe and Asia;—Keith, England (the sea), and Germany (the land);—Hengst. interprets, as in ch. viii. 8, "the sea of the nations," and he takes this passage (*vv.* 2–7) as intended to calm the disquietude which the contents of the "*Little Book*" were likely to produce;—according to Elliott, the Angel with the "*Little Book open*" is a prediction of the Reformation.

3 And cried with a loud voice, as *when* a lion roareth: and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices.

4 And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not.

3. *and* **he** *cried with a* **great** *voice,* **as a** *lion roareth:*] Denoting the menacing tone of the voice. What the utterance was the text does not explain—cf. Hos. xi. 10; Am. iii. 8. Alford regards this entire description as a literal representation of the Vision;—Bengel would refer the cry to ver. 6;—Ebrard thinks that the Angel by his cry gives the signal to the Seven-Thunders, as in ch. ix. 14 the Angel of the sixth Trumpet gives the signal to the four Euphrates-Angels.

and when **he cried, the seven** *thunders*] It is to be noted that the Jews were wont to speak of thunder as "the seven voices": this usage was founded on the seven-fold repetition of "the voice of the Lord" in Ps. xxix.—see Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 426. Accordingly, there is here a personification, as if the seven spirits of thunder uttered their voices together:—cf. ch. xiv. 2. They issue, as it were, from the cloud which veils the Angel, and are the echo of his lion-voice.

Beda takes the Seven Thunders to be identical with the Seven Trumpets;—Mede understands seven *Oracles* of unknown import, which divide the seventh Trumpet into certain periods;—Ebrard, seven events occurring between the sixth and seventh Trumpets, which conduce to the repose of the saints and the discomfiture of God's enemies;—Vitringa, the seven Crusades (see Gibbon, ch. lix.);—Daubuz, the seven kingdoms that received the Reformation;—Elliott, the Bull fulminated from the Seven-hilled City against Luther;—Burger thinks that God's judicial omnipotence is intended; and he compares the expression "*the Seven Spirits*" in ch. i. 4; iv. 5; v. 6.

Many explain the article—"*the* Seven Thunders"—by the constant use of the number *seven* in Apocalyptic imagery (e.g. ch. i. 20); and thus, *seven* being the symbol of *completion*, Words. understands "*all* the thunders." Hengst. observes that, except in Mark iii. 17, where St. John himself is described as a "son of thunder," the word "thunder" is found in the New Testament only in St. John's writings:—see John xii. 29, on which verse our Lord Himself gives a comment, in *vv.* 30, 31, with reference to His glory, and to the future Judgment.

their voices.] Gr. "**their own voices**"—voices of a character peculiar to them; with a reference, perhaps, to their remaining unwritten.

4. *And when the seven thunders* **uttered** [*their voices*],] See *vv. ll.*:—Gr. **spake.**

I was about to write:] Viz. what they had uttered: according to the command in ch. i. 11, and as the Seer seems to have understood the words—see ch. i. 19.

It seems to be intimated here that St. John was employed in writing during the intervals of his Visions.

and I heard a voice from heaven] As to the indefiniteness of the speaker, see on ch. i. 10.

saying, Seal up the things] Omit "*unto me*"—see *vv. ll.*

which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not.] (On the text of codex 1—as of the Complutensian and other Andreas-texts,—see *vv. ll.*). Although understood by St. John, what was uttered is not revealed to us (Acts i. 7); while in ch. xxii. 10 he is commanded not to seal the prophecy, "*for the time is at hand.*" The details of the catastrophe are passed over in silence by the Seer in this passage, and a similar silence as to details may be noted in ch. xi. 15–19. Stuart considers that what is thus passed over in ch. xi. 15–19 is that which the Thunders here declared, and that which St. John is forbidden to write, through pity for the weakness of men. Reuss interprets: All is known to the prophet; yet he must not yield to the natural impatience of mortals by at once describing the final result:—he must disclose the events in succession, "according to the regular evolution of the facts."

The command not to write, observes Andreas (*l. c.*, p. 55), is a command to fix the voices in his memory; the fulfilment is reserved for the last times. Until that time when their fulfilment gives light, the voices, notes Hengst., are only provisionally sealed (cf. Dan. viii. 26; xii. 4). In the continuous narrative of the Apocalypse, observes I. Williams (p. 478), there occurs this exception; and the silence here may account for the difficulty in attempting to elucidate the nature of the last conflict with Antichrist:—"We learn from St. John and from St. Paul, that their churches had been informed of the coming of 'the wicked one,' or personal Antichrist; and that they knew well of the power that withholdeth: but of these things the next generation had no knowledge":—see St. August., *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 10.

5 And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea and upon the earth lifted up his hand to heaven,

6 And sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven, and the things that therein are, and the earth, and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer:

7 But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin

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5. *which I saw* **standing on** *the sea and* **on the earth**] Viz. in ver. 2.

lifted up **his right hand** *to heaven,*] (See *vv. ll.*). The gesture of one who swears,—Gen. xiv. 22: cf. Dan. xii. 7. His left hand held the "*Little Book.*"

6. *and sware by him*] (For the constr. cf. Matt. v. 34, &c.). In order to remove the possible doubts of the suffering Church, or of the unbelieving world (2 Pet. iii. 4).

that liveth for ever and ever,] A title taken from Deut. xxxii. 40; cf. Isai. lvii. 15.

the *heaven, and the things that* **are therein,** *and the earth and the things that* **are therein,** *and the sea and the things* **that** *are therein.*] (MSS. of very high authority omit "*and the sea, and the things* **that** *are therein*"—see *vv. ll.*). The form of this oath confirms the conclusion that the Angel, in ver. 1, is not Christ.

that there **shall be** *time no longer:*] Or *that there* **shall be delay no longer:**] See *vv. ll.* For the word rendered "*time*" (*chronos*), see on ch. i. 3; ii. 21).

There are different interpretations here:—

(1) That there should be the *end* of that portion of finite duration which we call *time*, and the *beginning* of eternity; viz. that all shall be finished under the seventh Trumpet, now about to sound (cf. ch. vi. 11):—"There will be then, says Aretas, no evening; no sun to mark the courses of time; the sun shall be hidden by a far greater Light, as the stars are now by the day. Œcumenius: Time will be then no more, inasmuch as it will not be measured by the sun, but life everlasting exceeding the numbering of time. The seventh Seal, and seventh Trumpet are as the seventh Day in Genesis, which has no evening."—I. Williams, *l.c.*, p. 180.

(2) Rendering differently,—and this seems to give the correct meaning,—"**There shall be no longer delay,**" "respite," "an interval:" cf. ch. ii. 21, and the verb in Matt. xxiv. 48; Luke xii. 45. Düsterd. argues that the seventh verse imposes a "chronological" sense: and he adds, "The Angel swears that between the present point of duration—*subsequent to* the close of the *sixth* Trumpet, ch. ix. 21, but *before* the end of the *second* Woe, ch. xi. 14—and the fulfilment of the mystery under the *seventh* Trumpet, no time shall intervene." So Hammond, "There shall be no longer delay,"—as in Hab. ii. 3, "it will not tarry" (οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ); cf. Heb. x. 37. So also many others,—"the little *time*" referred to in ch. vi. 11 having now come to an end. Thus Hengst.: The Church is consoled by the promise that there shall not be under the seventh Trumpet the same *delay* in the coming of God's kingdom as there had been before.

(3) Ebrard understands "a space of time wherein to repent" ("Gnaden-Frist,"), as in ch. ii. 21. Bishop Wordsworth: "There shall be no longer any *delay* or respite for repentance *save only* in the days of the *last* Angel." See on ver. 7.

(4) Mede explains: The *time* of the Four Monarchies, or rather of the last kingdom —*i.e.*, the Roman—the last period of the 'time, times, and half a time' [ch. xii. 14, where, however, καιρὸς is used]—shall be no longer; and the fourth, or Roman Beast being slain (Dan. vii. 23–25; xii. 7), the kingdom shall be given to the saints of the Most High (p. 476).

(5) Bishop Newton, Lowman, Daubuz, &c., accepting the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, take the words to signify: "The time [of the fulfilment] shall not be yet, but it shall be when the seventh Trumpet sounds."

(6) Bengel (see Introd., § 11 (b), IV.), taking a "Chronus" to be $1111\frac{1}{9}$ years, counts from the earlier part of A.D. 725 ("Eudo Saracenos A. 726 vicit"); and renders: "there shall not elapse a Chronus." Hence he places the end of all things in the year 1836. On this verse he also founds his period of a "Non-chronus," greater than $999\frac{8}{9}$ (1000) years, and less than $1111\frac{1}{9}$ years; and counting from A.D. 800, the date of the origin of the German Empire under Charles the Great, he again obtains as the time of the end A.D. 1836.

7. *but in the days*] The connexion, according to the second interpretation of ver. 6, is: "There shall be no delay: on the contrary, when the seventh Angel is about to sound, *then* is finished," &c.

Words. (see above on ver. 6) understands, "*except,*" or "*save only*"—see Matt. xx. 23; Mark x. 40: God, in His mercy, will give a brief respite on the eve of the final consummation, in order that the ungodly may repent.

Bengel considers that the seventh Angel will sound continually during the days at the end of which comes "the last Trump" (1 Cor. xv. 52)

to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets.

8 And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, and said, Go *and* take the little book

when **he is about to sound,**] These words are an explanatory description of "*the voice of the seventh Angel*" (cf. Mark xiii. 4). Elliott renders, "at what time soever he may have to sound,"—an indefiniteness which scarcely agrees with the usage of the N. T.

then is finished] **Or fulfilled**] (See *vv. ll.*—cf. John xiii. 31; xv. 6). So Winer, "dann ist vollendet," the apodosis beginning with καί. Ebrard and Düsterd. make καί with the *aorist* correspond to the Hebr. *Vav* with the *perfect* in Ex. xvi. 6, 7; xvii. 4,—where the LXX. use καί with the *future*. Or, we may render, "**when he is about to sound [all shall come to pass]: and the mystery of God is finished.**"

the mystery of God,] As being still future (1 Cor. ii. 9); cf. on ch. i. 20; xvii. 5. The "nearest authentic explanation of the *mystery*" Düsterd. finds (under the seventh Trumpet) in ch. xi. 17, &c.;—in ch. xi. 15, 18, notes Hengst. "the things concealed here from the Church actually appear." Stuart considers that these words absolutely demonstrate that the "Sealed Book" is brought to a close in ch. xi:—the world looked on in silence (ch. viii. 1) when the last Seal was broken and divided into Seven Trumpets; the Trumpets admit of no subdivision; there is an interval (ch. xi. 1–14), and then the mystery is fulfilled.—Vol. ii. p. 210, *note*.

according to the good tidings which he declared *to his servants the prophets.*] **Or brought to.** As in Amos. iii. 7 For the construction with the *accusative*, see *vv. ll.*, and cf. Luke iii. 18; Acts viii. 25. In the N. T. the verb (εὐαγγελίζω) is found in the *active* only here, and in ch. xiv. 6; it does not occur elsewhere in St. John's writings:—we may translate literally, "**as He evangelized His servants.**"

De Wette makes the period of three years and a half, spoken of in Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7, and referred to in Rev. xi. 2; xii. 14; xiii. 5, to begin now; and in this fact he finds the meaning of the present verse. So also Bisping notes: "The 3½ 'times' of Daniel are identical with our 'days of the seventh Trumpet.' With the sounding of the seventh Trumpet begins the second half of Daniel's World-week:"—the mystery revealed of old to the prophets will be fulfilled under the Seventh Trumpet.

Hitherto, according to Mede, the *second* prophecy of the Apocalypse has referred to the fate of the Roman Empire; henceforward it treats of the fortunes of the Church:—the former was the theme of the "Sealed Book," ch. v. 1; the latter is the theme of the "Little Book" of this chapter; and from the eighth verse here to the end of the Apoc., the *third* chief division of the Revelation proceeds—although "some of the sequent Visions [e. g. ch. xii.] do begin at the beginning of Apocalyptical time" (*l.c.*, p. 583). The whole Book is thus divided by Mede into *three* chief prophecies, each ushered in by "*a great voice as of a Trumpet*"—viz. at ch. i. 10; ch. iv. 1; ch. x. 4, 8.

8. *And the voice which I heard from heaven,*] See ver. 4.

[I heard it] again speaking with me, and saying,] See *vv. ll.* Cf. ch. iv. 1.

Go,] Cf. ch. xvi. 1; the command is obeyed in ver. 9. (Omit *and.*)

take the book] See *vv. ll.* In ver. 2 it is described as "*a Little Book*," which, as usually explained, is contrasted with the "Sealed Book," ch. v. 1. Of the contents of the Sealed Book the "*Little Book*" forms part,—so Vitringa, Düsterd., and others. As differing from "the great sealed roll of God's purposes," Alf. understands by it "one portion of those purposes which was to be made the Seer's own for his future prophesyings," *i.e.*, the subject of the rest of the Book;—It is "less copious" than the "Sealed Book," notes Stuart;—It is diminutive, according to Bengel, as opposed to the great form of the Angel, ver. 1;—According to Eichhorn, its size has a reference to the eating of the Book by the Seer, ver. 9. Beda sees in it the New Test., as contrasted with the Old;—The "Sealed Book," according to Hengst., contains the judgments on the world; the "*Little Book*" differs from it, it contains the destinies of the degenerate Church (cf. Mede in the note on ver. 7);—According to Ewald it contains the destiny of Jerusalem;—Ebrard finds the contents of the "*Little Book*" in ch. xi.;—De Burgh applies it solely to the testimony of the "Two Witnesses;"—Elliott, to the special commission of Christ to Luther and the preachers of the Reformation:—Stern sees in it a special revelation respecting Antichrist; and it lies "*open*," because while Antichrist rules no one can plead ignorance as to the destinies of the Church.

Godet, who considers that the contents of the "*Little Book*" are summed up in ch. xi. 1–13, also includes a reference to Antichrist (see on ch. xi. 13; xvii. 16): he takes the "*Little Book*" to be, as it were, a parenthesis in the "Great Book" of ch. v. 1; and

which is open in the hand of the angel which standeth upon the sea and upon the earth.

9 And I went unto the angel, and said unto him, Give me the little book. And he said unto me, [a] Take it, and eat it up; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth sweet as honey.

10 And I took the little book out

[a] Ezek. 2. 8. & 3. 3.

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to be the announcement (anticipated in the prophetic picture itself) of the conversion of Israel. In proof Godet refers to the appearance of Antichrist, the Beast, in ch. xi. 7, who has quitted Rome for Jerusalem (ch. xi. 8), where we recognize the faithful Jews who worship at the Altar (ch. xi. 1); as well as the rest of the people, "almost completely paganized," represented by the "*court which is without*" (ch. xi. 2).—*l.c.*, pp. 355–357.

Mr. Faber regards the episode of the "*Little Book*" as identical with ch. x.—xiv., or the history of the Western Church, from A.D. 604. This episode he interposes between the first and second divisions of the great Sealed Book —see on ch. v. 1; and he makes the period embraced by it to begin with the *fifth* Trumpet (ch. ix. 1) with which it partially synchronizes, and to extend to the end of the world.

Wordsworth: "We shall see reason to believe the *little roll* of St. John concerns the power which is called the LITTLE HORN, by Daniel (vii. 8, 20), namely the spiritual power of Rome;"—The introduction of the "*Little Book*" before the seventh Trumpet arises, notes I. Williams (p. 180), from the fact that St. John, after partaking of the hidden knowledge which it contains (ver. 9), proceeds through the rest of the Apoc. to recapitulate the Church's history as to its *inner nature;* for he had heretofore traced its development only as visible to the *external eye.* It is not "the Large Book" of the Church universal, but, alas! "*a Little Book*," "of a sacred remnant of the little ones of God;"—It is *before* the seventh Trumpet, notes Stuart, because the Angel who declares that "*time shall be no longer*" in respect to the completion of the first great Catastrophe, or "overthrow of the Jewish persecuting power" (ch. vi.–xi.), also gives St. John a new commission; and assures him that his duties will not end with the full disclosure of the Seven-sealed Book (*l.c.*, p. 206).

which is open in the hand of the angel **that** *standeth* **on** *the sea* **and on** *the earth.*] See *vv. ll.;* and the note on ver. 2.

9. *And I went*] Alf. renders "I went away," *i.e.*, "from my former place as a spectator in heaven:"—but see on ver. 1 as to St. John's position.

saying *unto him* **that he should give me** *the little book.*] See *vv. ll.*; and the note on ver. 2.

And **he saith** *unto me, Take it, and eat it up;*] For the symbolism here see Ezek. ii. 9—iii. 1. The meaning is explained in Ezek. iii. 10: "All my words that I shall speak unto thee, receive in thine heart, and hear with thine ears." In fact the Seer was to *assimilate*, to make thoroughly his own, the contents of "*the Little Book.*"

but in thy mouth it shall *be sweet as honey.*] See Ezek. iii. 3; cf. Jer. xv. 16: "Thy words were found and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy of mine heart;" cf. also Ps. xl. 8; cxix. 103.

10. *and it was in my mouth sweet as honey:* **and when I** *had eaten it, my belly* **was made bitter.**] In Ezekiel, the sweetness only of the book is expressed (iii. 3); for God's judgments "are sweeter than honey and the honey-comb"—Ps. xix. 10: but "the bitterness" is not only implied in Ezek. ii. 10, but expressed in Ezek. iii. 14, the former of these two verses explaining what "the bitterness" imports—viz. "lamentation, and mourning, and woe." As to this latter effect, cf. Jer. viii. 21; Dan. viii. 27; Rom. ix. 2: "Very sweet," says Origen, "is this the Book of Scripture when first perceived, but bitter to the conscience within."—*Philocal.* v.

The following expositions are given:—Andreas, who takes the "*Little Book*" to be the record of the deeds of the wicked, explains that St. John thus learns that the sweetness which sin at first presents, is afterwards turned to bitterness. The same Book, we are told by others, cannot be both sweet and bitter, and hence some (Heinrichs) explain by the different nature of the contents, or (Todd) by "the mixed character of the succeeding prophecies;"—others (Hofmann) that the Book causes joy to the spiritual mind, but bitterness to the carnal;—others (Ebrard) consider that, at first, the revelation appeared pleasing (ch. xi. 5–6 and 11–12), but after calm reflection, sorrowful (ch. xi. 7–10).

St. John, notes Elliott, symbolizes how Luther at Wartburg, and his companions pondered the word of God.

"Why," asks Mr. Maurice (as a "Preterist"), "should the Book be sweet like honey in the mouth, if it is so full of woe? . . . St. John might have hoped that the open Book would have told him the judg-

of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey: and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter.

11 And he said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.

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ment on the great Babel-Empire of the world. . . . The seventh Trumpet might have announced the fall of Rome. No! when it sounds Jerusalem will fall" (*l.c.*, p. 186).

11. And they say *unto me*,] (See *vv. ll.*). The plural is indefinite as in ch. xii. 6—"on dit," "man sagt." Auberlen observes that (as in Dan. vii. 5, 13) the third person plural refers to heavenly powers—see the note on Dan. vii. 5. Ewald refers to the Angels generally, in contrast to the chief Angel spoken of in *vv.* 4, 8, 9.

Thou must] Not the *subjective* necessity, resulting from eating the "*Little Book*" (as Bengel, Hengst.); but the *objective*, arising from the command of God—see ch. i. 1, &c., and cf. Acts xxiii. 11.

prophesy] Here only (cf. ch. i. 3; xxii. 7, 10, 18, 19) is St. John said to "*prophesy*." His new consecration (*vv.* 9, 10) now places him side by side with Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah; and points to the change in the Apocalyptic announcements introduced by ch. xi. 1–14, and beginning at ch. xii. 1.

again] As in the former part of the Book, and in addition to it; *i.e.*, as in the Seals, and the first six Trumpets.

The eating the "*Little Book*," and "*to prophesy*," are related one to the other as "*revelation*" and "*prophecy*," ch. i. 1, 3.

Victorinus—see Introd., § 2, b, No. (23)—applies this verse to St. John's return personally, on the death of Domitian, from Patmos to Ephesus, and there publishing the Apocalypse. Many ancient writers—Arethas, Œcumenius (*ap.* Cramer, *Catena*), Primasius, Beda, &c.—take the word "*again*," as referring to the subsequent composition of St. John's Gospel. Mede understands, "to repeat former utterances;"—Bengel, "to speak as did the old prophets;"—Todd, "to perform, under the New Test., as regards the Gentiles, the office which the prophets of the Old Test. had performed for Israel," cf. ch. xi. 1, 2, with Ezek. xl. 3;—Elliott explains that the Reformers were to preach, not, as before, in their papal ordination, but by Christ's commission.

concerning *many peoples and nations and tongues*] *I.e.*, "**In the case of**," "**with reference to**"—the datives, as in John xii. 16, being the object of the prophecy: see on ch. xxii. 16. Ebrard, referring to Ezek. iii. 4, renders, as does the A. V., "*before*" (but cf. Acts xxv. 26; xxvi. 2, where the prep. governs the genitive).

and kings.] Bishop Wordsworth considers that the commission now given to "*prophesy*" has been executed in ch. xi.-xvii.; and he compares the repetition here of kings, peoples, &c., with ch. xvii. 12, 15. Hengst. translates "peoples and nations and tongues, and *many* "*kings*"—"by the mention of *many kings* we are taken out of the relations of the Seer's own time, in which the Christian Church had to do with only one king, the Roman Emperor."

The new commission now conferred, notes Stuart, shows that the Vision of the Sealed Book is closed; and that St. John needed new directions for the future: when the seventh Trumpet shall have sounded his task will still proceed, the scene and persons being changed. According to Renan, the first six Seals and Trumpets refer to events already past when the author wrote. The Apocalyptic drama was indeed over; but in order to prolong his Book, St. John gives himself a new prophetic mission; and what follows relates, for the most part, to the future (p. 400).

The present verse, taken in connexion with John xxi. 22, 23, has received a strange interpretation from some early writers,—e.g. Arethas and Œcumenius (*ap.* Cramer, *Catena*), and Ephraim of Antioch (*ap.* Photius, *Cod.* 229),—viz. that St. John still survives, and that he will reappear with Enoch and Elijah, in the days of Antichrist.

The first of the two episodes—intended, like the two in ch. vii., for the support and consolation of the Church—ends *here* on the eve of the seventh Trumpet, as *there* on the eve of the seventh Seal. The presence of the "*mighty Angel*" of ver. 1, who pauses to announce (*vv.* 6, 7) that the delay spoken of in ch. vi. 11 was about to close, and that the great and final catastrophe was soon to be accomplished, is heralded by the Thunders which are the usual prelude of the Divine judgments—see ch. viii. 5; xi. 19; xvi. 18. The command not to write what the Thunder-Voices had proclaimed may, like the silence as to the judgments under the seventh Trumpet (ch. xi. 15–19), signify a merciful reserve—a tender regard to human fears—when declaring the Divine wrath: at all events, no information is given in either case as to the events of the Great Day. The announcement of *vv.* 6, 7, is followed by the de-

livery of the new commission to St. John to "*prophesy again*;" and this commission—"*the mystery of God*" having been fulfilled under the seventh Trumpet—naturally relates to that part of the Apocalypse which begins at ch. xii.

From this point begin Mede's "Synchronisms"—see Introd., § 12, (2).

ADDITIONAL NOTE on Chap. X.

NOTE A ON VER. 2—THE WORD βιβλαρίδιον.

The word βιβλίον, τό, is a *dim.* from βίβλος, ἡ (see ch. i. 11; iii. 5; cf. Matt. i. 1; Luke iv. 17), *the inner bark of the papyrus* (βύβλος);—*the paper made of this bark.* βιβλίς, ἡ = βιβλίον, *a cord of* βίβλος. βιβλίδιον, τό, is a *dim.* from βιβλίς. βιβλιδάριον, τό, a second *dim.* of βιβλίς, —Arist. *Fr.* 596—see *Liddell and Scott.* "Among the diminutives of the N. T., writes Winer (s. 87), βιβλαρίδιον is deserving of remark; formed first from βιβλάριον, which Pollux quotes, instead of the older forms βιβλίδιον, and βιβλιδάριον (as ἱματιδάριον from ἱματίδιον). Lob. *Pathol.* 281."

This form is not found in profane writers.

CHAPTER XI.

3 *The two witnesses prophesy.* 6 *They have power to shut heaven, that it rain not.* 7 *The beast shall fight against them, and kill them.* 8 *They lie unburied,* 11 *and after three days and a half rise again.* 14 *The second woe is past.* 15 *The seventh trumpet soundeth.*

AND there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and

[Ver. 1 *om.* καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἱστήκει.—ἔγειρε. Ver. 2 ἔξωθεν (*twice*, in place of ἔσωθεν and ἔξω).—καὶ δύο [ℵ, P *om.* καί]. Ver. 4 καὶ αἱ δ. λ.—τοῦ κυρίου.—ἑστῶτες. Ver. 5 θέλει.—θελήσῃ. Ver. 6 τὴν ἐξουσ.—*om.* ἐν.—τὰς ἡμέρας.—ἐν πάσῃ πλ. Ver. 7 [After τὸ θηρίον A inserts τὸ τέταρτον]. Ver. 8 τὸ πτῶμα.—τῆς πόλεως.—ὁ κύρ. αὐτῶν. Ver. 9 βλέπουσιν.—τὸ πτῶμα.—ἀφίουσιν.—μνῆμα. Ver. 10 χαίρουσιν.—εὐφραίνονται. Ver. 11 εἰς αὐτούς [so ℵ, B—cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 10;—A reads ἐν αὐτοῖς,—C, P, 1 read αὐτοῖς].—ἐπέπεσεν. Ver. 12 [ℵ^c, B read ἤκουσα]. Ver. 15 ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία. Ver. 16 *om.* the 2nd καί. Ver. 17 *om.* καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.—[ℵ, C read καὶ ὅτι εἴληφ.,—A, B, P *om.* καί]. Ver. 18 τοὺς μικροὺς κ. τ. μεγάλους. Ver. 19 ὁ ἐν τῷ, οὐρ.]

CHAP. XI. THE SECOND EPISODE (1–13).

The second of the two episodes, separating the sixth and seventh Trumpets, and intended to support and console the Church under the calamities about to befall the world, is contained in ch. xi. 1–13. St. John, having taken rank after his new consecration (ch. x. 11) among the Prophets of the former Covenant, now proceeds to perform a symbolic action such as we read of in their case—see Isai. xx. 2; Jer. xix. 1. Preparation is also made for that change in the character of the Apocalyptic announcements which we notice after the end of this chapter. We are now introduced to symbolism of a type different from that heretofore employed:—we read (ver. 2) of "*the Holy City*" the City of God, *the Church*, in contrast to "*the Great City*" (ver. 8; cf. ch. xiv. 8; xvii. 5; xviii. 10), which is the emblem of *the World* (cf. *vv.* 9, 10);—we read the mysterious description of "*the Two Witnesses*" which exhibits the history of the Church in the world;—we have also, presented by anticipation in ver. 7, the Beast from the Abyss, who fills so large a space in the Visions that follow.

Alford considers that this passage, *vv.* 1–13, is a compendious summary of the prophecies *which follow*, "for it introduces by *anticipation* their *dramatis personæ*."

Interpretations:—I. On the "Preterist" scheme Döllinger and Alford agree in distinguishing "*the Holy City*" from "*the Great City*,"—Döllinger understanding by "*the Great City*" the pagan Roman Empire;—Alford understanding "Rome pagan and papal, but principally papal." According to Stuart, "the symbolic transaction" of *vv.* 1, 2 denotes "the preservation of all which was fundamental and essential in the ancient [Jewish] religion, notwithstanding the destruction of all that was external in respect to the Temple, the City, and the ancient people of God"; and the mention of the Two Witnesses means that faithful Christian teachers were to proclaim

the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.

the Gospel to the Jews, during the invasion of Judæa and the siege of Jerusalem, while the Jews, by destroying them, would bring upon themselves an awful doom. Düsterdieck, on an opposite principle, understands the whole passage (*vv.* 1–13) literally. He identifies the phrases "*Holy City*" and "*Great City*,"—both of them denoting the literal Jerusalem destroyed by the Romans,—and he accounts for the variation between this description and our Lord's prediction in Matt. xxiv.; Luke xxi. 20–24 by saying that our Lord announces the definite fact of the destruction of the City, while St. John envelops the details in symbolism. This passage, as well as ch. xiii., and ch. xvii., Düsterd. (*Einleit.*, s. 51) regards as furnishing "direct chronological testimony" that when the prophecy was written the destruction of the Holy City had not as yet come to pass; and this he infers from a comparison of *vv.* 2, 8, with St. Luke xxi. 24. (But see Introd. § 4, b; together with the notes on ver. 2, and on chapters xiii. and xvii.)

For the interpretation of the Rationalistic "Preterists" see on ver. 1.

II. On the "Futurist" scheme, De Burgh interprets literally:—"The City" (*vv.* 2, 8) is the literal Jerusalem; but all is to be referred to the future, and to the Jewish people which is hereafter to be again subjected to the Gentiles. To Israel are to be sent two literal prophets, Moses and Elijah: these are to be put to death by Antichrist; and his doom, intimated in ver. 13, is followed "*quickly*" by the seventh Trumpet with which the judgment of the Jews is ended, and the judgment of the Gentiles—*i.e.*, of apostate Christendom—follows, at the time of the Lord's Coming. Similarly, Todd refers to the future when Jerusalem shall be inhabited again, the Temple rebuilt, and all once more destroyed by the Gentiles whose power in the "*Holy City*," or the duration of Antichrist's dominion, is to be 1260 days, during which time the two (literal) Witnesses are to prophesy. See also on ch. xvii. 16 the aspect of this interpretation given by Godet.

III. On the "Historical" scheme, Bishop Newton, Elliott, &c., refer this episode to the Reformation and the causes which led to it—among which are reckoned the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and the effect of this event on the revival of learning in the West. See on ch. ix., where the interpretations of the fifth and sixth Trumpets supply the points of connexion.

IV. Interpreting "Allegorically," Wordsworth understands this passage as signifying the word of God which measures the Church's faith (*vv.* 1, 2); from which the transition (*vv.* 3–13) is easy to the Old and New Testaments—*i. e.*, the Two Witnesses by which the Holy Ghost gives light to the Church. Hengst. divides this section into *two*, (1) *vv.* 1, 2 give the promise that the faith of the elect shall not expire; (2) *vv.* 3–13 certify the continuance of the office of witnessing:—the full import is given in the Lord's words, Matt. xxiv. 9–13.

I. Williams sees here a recapitulation of the past:—In the sixth Trumpet the nations proceed against the Holy City for its idolatry, and here "*the Holy City*" is trodden under foot: in fact the same thing which was before represented—"the Church of God possessed by the world"—is seen over again in deeper insight and knowledge (p. 183). Ribera, Viegas, Bossuet, Stern, note that the New Test. (cf. ch. iii. 12; 2 Cor. vi. 16; Eph. ii. 21, 22; 1 Tim. iii. 15) regards the Temple as the type of the Church: and they see here in "*the Temple*" with its worshippers the true members of the Church; in "*the Court*" without, weak and wavering members who fall away under Antichrist; while the Church itself extends through the conversion of the heathen and the Jews owing to the preaching of the "*Two Witnesses*."

Mede, who has divided the entire of the Revelation into *three* chief parts,—(1) *The Seven Epistles*, beginning at ch. i. 10; (2) *The Sealed Book*, beginning at ch. iv. 1; (3) *The Little Book*, beginning at ch. x. 8,—regards ch. xi. as containing the first Vision of the *Little Book*, and as embracing the whole course of Apocalyptic time from the beginning to the end (p. 491). This result depends on his method of "Synchronisms"—see Introd. § 12, (2).

THE MEASURING OF THE TEMPLE (1–2).

1. *And there was given me*] It is not said by whom—cf. ch. vi. 11; viii. 2; and see ver. 3. In the parallel Visions ch. xxi. 15; Ezek. xl. 3 the reed is in the Angel's hand.

a reed like unto a rod:] Large as a *staff*—see ch. ii. 27; Matt. x. 10; cf. 1 Cor. iv. 21. Words. takes the *reed* (κάλαμος) to be "the Hebrew *kaneh*," whence the word *canon* is derived (see Ezek. xl. 3, LXX.: in Zech. ii. 1 it is "a measuring *line*"); and he explains it to mean "the Canon of Scripture." [The word, however, here is not *canon* which is used as a *measure* or *limit* in 2 Cor. x. 13, 15, 16; and *ethically* to denote "*a rule*" in Gal. vi. 16].

The "*reed*," notes Elliott, is a type of the outward authority to preach given to the fathers of the Reformation by the Elector John.

saying,] Or [**and**] **one said.**] (Omit the words "*and the angel stood*"—see *vv. ll.*). The participle in the nom. is out of construction, cf. ch. iv. 1; and hence Bengel follows Andreas in taking the "*reed*" to be the speaker—Andreas explaining allegorically; Bengel referring "by metonymy" to the giver.

Rise, and measure] See *vv. ll.*; *i.e.*, "**Up and measure,**" cf. John v. 8. The mention of worshippers proves that the measuring is symbolical. To "*measure*" (cf. ch. xxi. 15) is to separate for sacred purposes, see Ezek. xl. 3, and the notes on Ezek. xl.—xliii.: what is excluded from the measurement is, accordingly, more or less mingled with evil. Hence, in this place, what is measured—the true believer typified—is to be exempted from the judgments in which what is *not* measured (ver. 2) is involved: cf. Num. xxxv. 5; 2 Sam. viii. 2, and the "Sealing" in ch. vii., which is a figure corresponding to "measuring." Differently:—(1) Alf. understands the taking the dimensions of that which is to be measured, as in ch. xxi. 15; so that the servants of God may be thus distinguished from those who have the mark of the Beast. (2) To *measure* is said to denote "*to destroy*"—see 2 Kings xxi. 13; Isai. xxxiv. 11; Lam. ii. 8; Amos vii. 7–9. (3) It denotes "*to rebuild*," Ezek. xl., whether literally in the future, or allegorically by the restoration of the true Church.

the temple of God,] The *Naos*, or **Sanctuary**, including the Holy place and the Holy of Holies as distinguished from the *Hieron*—the *Temple-court*, the whole compass of the sacred enclosure. *Hieron*, not found in the Apoc., occurs eleven times in the Fourth Gospel, e.g. John ii. 14 (see on ch. iii. 12). De Wette notes that St. John cannot conceive a kingdom of Christ upon earth without a Temple: it is not so in the heavenly Jerusalem, ch. xxi. 22. "*The Temple of God*," notes Words., is always the *Church* in the Apoc.—see ch. iii. 12; vii. 15; &c. Cf. the reference to the Temple in ver. 19.

• *and the altar,*] The Altar of *Incense*, "the Golden Altar" of Ex. xxx. 3; Num. iv. 11, which alone was within the *Naos*—see on ch. viii. 3. Hengst. (so too Grotius, Vitr.) takes it to be the Altar of *Burnt offering* in the outer Court, "the *real* place of resort of the people," but here transferred to the Sanctuary, the *ideal* dwelling of the people; and Burger agrees, arguing from the absence here of the epithet "golden," which is found in ch. viii. 3; ix. 13.

and them that worship therein.] Viz. in the *Naos*, to which now not the priests alone, but all Christians have admission. Vitringa explains, "those who worship at the Altar" (*apud illud, i.e.*, as above, the Altar of *Burnt offering*); protection being thus secured for the true worshippers (cf. ch. vii.), the "living stones" of the true Temple—see 1 Cor. iii. 16; 2 Cor. vi. 16. Godet (see on ch. x. 8) takes those who worship at the Altar to be the body of faithful Jews when Antichrist, in the last days, reigns in Jerusalem:—see on ch. xvii. 16. Bisping understands generally believing Israelites, as distinguished from Judaism hostile to Christ, on which the judgment is now about to fall.

On the other hand, Düsterdieck understands the *literal* Temple and Altar at Jerusalem: the measuring of the worshippers signifies their preservation during the approaching overthrow of Israel—St. John "idealizing" (not "allegorizing") in his use of Jewish symbols. In this result are expressed the principles of modern rationalistic exegesis as to the date and meaning of this Book (see Introd. § 4, b.). The literal Temple is assumed to be still standing, and the Apocalypse, accordingly, to have been written not under Domitian but before the City was taken by Titus:—the patriotic feelings of the Seer impel him to give up only the outer Court (ver. 2) and a tenth part of the City (ver. 13) to destruction. To foretell the deliverance of the City to the Gentiles was, writes Renan, in the first months of the year 69 no great exercise of the power of prophesying ("il ne fallait pas un grand effort prophétique"—p. 400). Another writer of the same school, Krenkel (*l.c.* s. 71), observes: "The author expresses as definitely as possible the expectation that the Roman besieging host will certainly destroy the City, but spare the Temple." And Volkmar:—"Since the Seer expects the deliverance of the Temple, he could have known nothing of the predictions in Mark xiii.; Luke xxi.; Matt. xxiv. This increases the probability that these discourses in the Gospels were composed *post eventum*." To all this Reuss adds: "Our text declares in the most positive manner that the Temple will not be injured."

In reply to such conclusions one may fairly ask,—If St. John had here predicted the preservation of the Temple which, as all the world knew, was destroyed by Titus, how can the acceptance be explained of the Apocalypse as inspired Scripture during the first and second centuries? (See below on ver 2.)

For the opinion of other "Preterists," see the note on ver. 2; and note A at the end of this chapter.

2 But the court which is without the temple [1]leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty *and* two months.

[1] Gr. *cast out.*

2. And *the court which is without the temple*] (See *vv. ll.* The codex of Erasmus reads "within;" and so Luther rendered "*den innern Chor des Tempels*"). The "Temple" is *Naos* as before. There is no need (with Mede, Vitr., Ewald, Züllig) to distinguish between an "inner" and an "outer" Court (1 Kings vi. 36; Ezek. xlvi. 1, 21): nothing is said here of any such distinction (cf. note A at the end of Ezek. xlii.);—what is here meant is every part of the *Hieron* (see on ver. 1) except the *Naos*. Mede distinguishes between an (assumed) "inner Court," or the primitive state of the Church, *before* idolatry pervaded it; and the "outer Court," or the Church *after* it became idolatrous during the apostasy of the 42 months. Stuart argues for this distinction between an "inner" Court comprising the *Naos*, and an "outer" Court, by referring to Ezek. xl. 17, 19—but see the notes on these verses.

leave out,] Gr. **cast out**, "exclude from thy measurement"—an expression involving the idea of rejection. Or **leave without**, see *vv. ll.* It is emphatically added—

and measure it not;] Include it not in the symbolic act which is to guard and preserve the Sanctuary and thus, in a figure, ensure the safety of the Church of God from the assaults of the world.

for it **was given**] Or **for it hath been given**]. The natural force of the aorist is that it *had actually been given over* (ἐδόθη) "*unto the Gentiles*" (see Luke xxi. 20–24) when St. John wrote. St. John is referring to the Temple already destroyed; just as in ch. xii. 5 he refers to the birth of Christ which was likewise past.

Düsterdieck explains 'already given over in the Divine counsels,' 'by a Divine decree;' and this he supports by a reference to the future tense that follows. Bleek, who also places the date of the Apoc. before the destruction of the Temple, concludes that the Sanctuary and Altar of Incense only are to be under God's care during the siege, not the Court and Altar of Sacrifice—St. John thus indicating that, under the new Covenant, not bloody victims but the prayers of the devout, of which the Aitar of Incense was the symbol, are pleasing to God. So the "Preterists.". Other writers —"Futurists," who in like manner understand the *literal* Jerusalem (e.g. Todd, De Burgh)—refer this passage to the time of the Lord's Second Advent, the measuring of the Temple denoting its restoration, after which the Holy City is to be once more trodden under foot by the Gentiles. In opposition to this conclusion of the "Futurists," the orthodox "Preterists" take the passage to have been fulfilled in the early days of the Church; e.g. Bossuet, in the persecution of Diocletian;—and Hammond, in the rebuilding of Jerusalem by Hadrian, and his setting up heathen worship there.

Many writers of the "Historical" school (Vitr., Bishop Newton, Faber, Elliott) suppose the prophecy to denote the separation of the Reformed from the corrupt portion of the Church in Cent. xvi.

Godet (see on ch. x. 8) takes the Court trodden down by the Gentiles to be the Jewish nation unfaithful to their ancient Law. See Note A at the end of this chapter.

The "First Temple," according to Sir I. Newton (*l.c.*, p. 467), was "illuminated by the Lamps of the Seven Churches." This is now demolished; and a new Temple is built for those who will not worship the Beast (ch. xiii.)—namely, the 144,000 who are styled in this chapter the "*Two Witnesses.*" The number *two* he derives from the "*Two Wings*" of the "*Great Eagle*" (ch. xii. 14), and it is again represented by the "*Two* Candlesticks" in ver. 4.

unto the **nations**:] *I.e.*, the enemies of Christ,—Gentiles as opposed to Jews who throughout the Apoc. denote true believers, see ch. ii. 9; iii. 9. The overflowing of the Church (so far as it had become corrupt) by the world is here indicated; and this is symbolized by the fact, already consummated, of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.

and the holy city shall they tread under foot] See Luke xxi. 24. Jerusalem is styled "*the Holy City*" in ch. xxi. 2, 10; xxii. 19; Neh. xi. 1, 18; Isai. xlviii. 2; lii. 1; Matt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53. In the Apoc.—as in Gal. iv. 26; Heb. xii. 22—Jerusalem is the symbol of the Church in her collective and diffusive character. The measuring "*reed*," like the "plumb-line" in Amos vii. 7, sets apart the true Israelites from those who are like "*heathen* men and publicans" (Words.); and the City now trodden down includes the entire Temple (*Hieron*), except the Sanctuary (*Naos*) marked out as still God's dwelling place. "The knowledge of the Church as it came from heaven was sweet as the Angels' song that announced it at Bethlehem; but .... bitter as the roll of Ezekiel is the history of its reception among men. This is now first shown in the measuring of the Temple."—I. Williams, p. 183.

forty and two months.] Note the insertion of *καί*—as in John ii. 20; v. 5—though the *larger* number precedes. According to usage the copulative is inserted only when the *smaller* number precedes, e.g. ch. iv. 4; vii. 4; xix. 4; John xxi. 11: cf. Winer (§ 37, 4);—see *vv. ll.*

This period of prophetic time almost all commentators assume to be represented under *three* forms in the Apocalypse:—(1) here and in ch. xiii. 5 as 42 months;—(2) as 1260 days (=42 × 30) in ver. 3 and in ch. xii. 6;—(3) as "a time (or *year*, *καιρός*) and times and half a time" (=3 × 360 + 180 =1260 days) in ch. xii. 14 (cf. ver. 6), and see Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7. The "Year-day" theory takes the 42 *months* or 3½ *times* to be equal to 1260 *years*: see Introd. § 11, b. II., and note B at the end of this chapter.

According to Andreas (*l.c.*, p. 58) the *forty-two* months denote the *shortness of the time.*

Joachim of Floris († 1202) makes the 1260 days to be the "World-age" of God the Son—which it exceeds by 260 years: he argues from the 42 generations in St. Matthew's genealogy, each of which he counts as 30 years.

Among those who interpret the period of 42 months *literally* is Dionysius of Alexandria, who referred it to the persecution under the Emperor Valerian (A.D. 253–260), which lasted three years and a half (Euseb. *H. E.*, vii. 10). Coming to modern times, Stuart writes: "It is certain that the invasion of the Romans lasted just about the length of the period named until Jerusalem was taken. . . . . This is a natural, simple, and easy method of interpretation to say the least." So the rationalistic school generally. This is also the interpretation of Mr. F. D. Maurice (*l.c.*, p. 190).

[It may be well to state here the conclusion of St. Augustine as to these measures of time: "Tempus quippe, et tempora, et dimidium temporis, annum unum esse, et duos, et dimidium: ac per hoc, tres annos et semissem, etiam numero dierum posterius posito, dilucescit; aliquando in Scripturis et mensium numero declaratur."—*De Civ. Dei*, xx. 23].

On the identity of these three designations of time, Mede (*l.c.*, pp. 419, 481, 597) founds his first "Synchronism" (viz. (1) The Woman, ch. xii. 1, 14; (2) The Beast from the Sea, ch. xiii. 1, 5; (3) ch. xi. 2; (4) ch. xi. 3); and he explains why the profanation by the Gentiles is measured by *months*, and the preaching of the Two Witnesses by *days*, because the *moon* presiding over *months* is the symbol of idolatry and darkness, the light of day denoting *truth*. I. Williams also suggests that the duration of evil is expressed by *months*, that of *good* by days,—and so here in two successive verses (p. 187).

The question of the Apocalyptic numbers has been considered in the Introd., § 11, b. It is there contended that the numbers in this Book properly belong to the province not of chronology but of symbolism. That periods of definite time are not intended here seems, as has been often observed, to follow of itself from the variety in the forms of expression; while the recurrence of the same extent of duration in all three, indicates that the events, to which these periods are assigned, are contemporaneous. In all three cases we have "the broken week" of years—half the mystic "week" of Dan. ix. 27, to which Daniel himself points in ch. vii. 25—the time, in short, in which the power that resists all that is of God, the "*mouth speaking great things*" (Dan. vii. 8; see Rev. xiii. 5) "*shall wear out the saints of the Most High*" (Dan. vii. 25); and this, it is submitted, is precisely that course of events with which the present verse is concerned. Whether the time be expressed by years, months, or days, all intimates *a breaking off*, as it were, of time—like the half-hour space of silence in ch. viii. 1. The days "*are shortened*" for the elect's sake, Matt. xxiv. 22. Among the Jews this period of 42 months was a chronological expression significant of a time of suffering:—e. g. the time of famine in the days of Elijah (Luke iv. 25); or the desolation of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, Dan. xii. 7; 1 Macc. i. (cf. Vitr., pp. 449, 463):—"The waste of sacred things by Antiochus [Epiphanes] lasting for three years and a half [Joseph. *Antt.*, xi. i. 5], the Jews retained that very number as famous, inasmuch as they often made use of it when they would express anything very sad and afflictive" (Lightfoot, *Chronogr. Inquiry*, vi. 4, quoted by Words.). Auberlen observes of the *three and a half* years that "this number does not, like *Ten*, designate the power of the world in its fulness, but a power opposed to the Divine (which unfolds itself in the number *Seven*), yet broken in itself, and whose highest triumph is at the same time its defeat. For immediately after the three and a half *times*, judgment falls on the victorious powers of the world, see Dan. vii. 25, 26" (p. 137). And thus, as we were directed above, by the use of the *aorist*, "**it was given**" to an historical foundation for this symbolism,—viz., to the destruction of the Temple by Titus,—so, counting from that event, the mystic 42 months extend to the close of the Church's conflict with the World-power, and the judgment on Antichrist, and the final victory of Christ. It should be noted, too, that this result is not obscurely indicated in our Lord's words: "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until *the times* (*καιροί*) of the Gentiles be fulfilled" (Luke xxi. 24)—with which passage the language of the present verse

[1] Or, *I will give unto my two witnesses*

3 And [1]I will give *power* unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred *and that they may prophesy.* threescore days, clothed in sackcloth.

agrees in a remarkable manner. Ebrard, with whom Auberlen agrees as to this "church-historical period" of the 42 months, makes the close of the period to be the conversion and return of the Jews to Palestine (Zech. xii. 4, 6). See also Burger quoted on ch. xii. 6.

On the question "Are these three periods successive or contemporaneous?" see Note D on ch. xiii. 5, and Note B at the end of this chapter.

THE TWO WITNESSES (3—12).

3. *And I will* **give unto**] The *object* of the verb is not introduced either directly, or in the form of an *infinitive* as in ch. vi. 4; vii. 2; but, according to a Hebrew idiom (cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 26), it is supplied by the independent clause which follows, "*and they shall prophesy.*" It is not necessary to supply such an *accus.* as "*power*" (A. V. and De Wette); or "*constancy and wisdom*" (De Lyra, C. à Lapide); or "*the Holy City*" ("*dabo illam,*" as Beza, contrary to the context). The speaker is the "*voice from heaven*" (ch. x. 4, 8), in the name of Christ. Afterwards (perhaps in ver. 4, certainly in ver. 8), the Angel of ver. 1, or St. John himself, is the speaker. In ver. 11, where the prediction passes into narrative, St. John continues the description. Some consider that it is Christ Himself who now speaks: they argue from the word "*my,*" and from the expression "*their* Lord," in ver. 8.

my two witnesses,] Gr. "**the Two Witnesses of me:**"—as to the emphatic article see on ver. 4.

In the previous verses has been represented the ordinary condition of the Church in the world (Matt. xiii. 47, 48) throughout the Christian period. Together with the faithful few, the "seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal" (1 Kings xix. 18), who are in every age marked out by the Divine measuring reed, and who are here symbolized by the Sanctuary and the Altar,—is included the diffusive body of professing Christians, lukewarm like Laodicea (ch. iii. 15–19), whose faith is assailed by the evil World-power, a power ever hostile to the Church, and which from time to time tramples upon her. Under this latter aspect, the Church is symbolized by "*the Court without the Temple*" which God has not measured. She is still "*the Holy City*" which "the Nations," the enemies of Christ, "*tread under foot*"; and the questions arise, 'How is the Church under her former aspect to be preserved holy?' and, 'How under her latter aspect can the light of true faith be preserved from extinction within her borders?' The answers seem to be supplied by that most obscure passage (*vv.* 3–13) on which we now enter. The key-note of the Apocalypse, as indeed of all St. John's writings (John i. 7; 1 John v. 9, 10), is "*the Witness of Jesus*"—"the testimony to be borne to Him" (see ch. i. 9; vi. 9; xii. 11, 17; xx. 4); for it is added expressly in ch. xix. 10 that "*the* **Witness** *of Jesus is the Spirit of prophecy.*"

As there are here "*Two* Witnesses" on the side of God, so in ch. xiii. there are *two* Beasts on the side of Satan—one representing the physical World-power, the other the intellectual World-power. This analogy may, perhaps, suggest that the "*Two Witnesses*" are designed to symbolize, one of them, the Church's outward organization and polity, the other, her spiritual and evangelical teaching.

As a reason for taking this verse to be symbolical, Ebrard notes that our Lord laid stress on His having "Witnesses" (John v. 31, 39; xv. 26): this "witness," it is here promised, will still be maintained; and accordingly the testimony to be borne is personified as "*My two Witnesses,*" who are to "*prophesy*" throughout the mystic period (42 months, or 1260 days) of the Church's conflict with the World-power (cf. the Riders in the Seal-Visions, ch. vi.).

Such explanations of the "*Two Witnesses*" as the Law and the Gospel,—or the Old and the New Testament,—or the two Sacraments, are of course included under the symbolical system of interpretation.

Mede and Hengst. take the "*Witnesses*" to be real persons. They observe that Christ always sent forth His disciples two and two together—as in earlier times Moses and Aaron were sent, and Joshua and Caleb, and Elijah and Elisha, and Zerubbabel and Joshua, and Haggai and Zechariah. Burger notes that what Haggai and Zechariah (by whom he understands "*the two Olive Trees*" of ver. 4 as explained in Zech. iv. 14) were once to the Jews, so will the "*Two Witnesses*" be to the Church of the last days. As the *ground* of this form of personification, numerous expositors, ancient and modern, have pointed to the "Two Witnesses" "who appeared in glory," and whom St. John himself beheld on the mountain of Transfiguration (Luke ix. 28–31)—Moses and Elijah, the Law-giver and the Prophet of the Old Test.; and it may be remarked that in Mal. iv. 4, 5, Moses as *the* "*servant*" of God is "*the prophet*" named together with Elijah. Many historical confirmations are supplied by the de-

[b] Zech. 4. 3, 11, 14.

4 These are the [b]two olive trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth.

5 And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if

scription which follows. That Moses satisfies this explanation, is illustrated by Deut. xviii. 15. Mr. Sanday (*Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 30), on John i. 21, "Art thou Elijah? Art thou the Prophet?" refers to Rev. xi. 3–12, adding: "We have the Two Witnesses again, representing Moses and Elias, whose martyrdom is to be the beginning of the end." The "martyrdom" of the Witnesses would thus be the temporary obscuration of faithful testimony.

Enoch and Elijah are suggested by many of the ancient writers, and numerous other explanations have been offered:—for some account of these see note E on verse 3; and also Maldonatus on Matt. xvii. If the "*Witnesses*" are to be identified with actual *persons* spoken of in the Old Test., this can only be in the sense in which John the Baptist was Elijah, Luke i. 17; Matt. xvii. 10–13. Compare too the words of Christ in Matt. xi. 14 respecting John, "*This is Elijah which is to come*" (ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι).

Alford pronounces that "No solution has ever been given of this portion of the prophecy."

and they shall prophesy] Like the old prophets, proclaiming God's judgments (see ver. 5), and preaching repentance, and especially bearing testimony to Christ (see ch. xix. 10). Some—e. g. Alford—understand, as in ch. x. 11; 1 Pet. i. 10; Jude 4, the simple announcement of the future; but this is not consistent with their office as "*Witnesses*."

a thousand two hundred [*and*] *threescore days*,] *I. e.*, during the 42 months.

Bisping and Burger (see above on ver. 2) argue that these 1260 days are not identical with the 42 months; but that the "*Witnesses*" prophesy during the *first* half of the last World-week, while the 42 months constitute the *second* half. Düsterd. thinks that the use of "*days*," intimates that the "*Witnesses*" are to prophesy *daily* during this whole period of a literal 3½ years. Elliott notes:—"My Witnesses," so-called,—two in number, but sufficient, though few; for "the testimony of two men is true" (John viii. 17); and so Stuart, vol. ii. p. 226. They are the line of Witnesses for Christ, adds Elliott, such as the "Magdeburg Centuriators," Foxe's "Martyrology," &c., from the early commencement of the Apostasy, through the dark ages of the Papal Antichrist, for 1260 years: they are ever in a state of mourning, for the corruptions against which they cry.

clothed in sackcloth.] As preachers of repentance (cf. Isai. xxii. 12; Jer. iv. 8; Jonah iii. 5; Matt. xi. 21). Wordsworth considers that the ignominious treatment which the Word of God is to receive is represented by the mournful garb of the "*Witnesses*." Note the points of resemblance to the history of Elijah:—the sackcloth (2 Kings i. 8), and the garb of his antitype the Baptist (Matt. iii. 4); —the 3½ years of the famine predicted by him (1 Kings xvii. 1; Luke iv. 25; James v. 17);—the facts mentioned in *vv.* 5, 6.

4. *These are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks,*] Gr. **lampstands**. See *vv. ll.* The *articles*, as in ver. 3, refer, not to well-known *persons*, but to well-known *types*. See Zech. iv., which is the source of this description, and where (ver. 14) Zerubbabel the anointed Ruler, and Joshua the anointed Priest (Zech. iii. 1) are the persons typified. This verse (cf. Ebrard *in loc.*) supplies two additional types, to which "*the* Two Witnesses" correspond. Moses the Law-giver, and Zerubbabel the Ruler, represent the Law; Elijah the Prophet, and Joshua the High Priest, represent the Gospel:—"They bear," notes Hengst., "the name of lamps and of olive-trees, as the concentration of the light which belongs to the Church of God, and as an instrument of Divine grace for her." The design of the reference here is, doubtless, to enforce the truth stated in Zech. iv. 6; viz. that the purpose of that Vision was to encourage Zerubbabel not to trust in the arm of flesh, but in the Spirit of Jehovah—a truth entirely in accordance with the present context (see the notes on Zech. iv.). In Zech. iv. 2 but *one* Candlestick with seven Lamps is spoken of; and the explanation of the Lamps given by Zechariah in ver. 10, is given more fully by St. John in Rev. iv. 5; v. 6. If we bear in mind that St. John intentionally departs from the symbolism of Zechariah by identifying the "*Two Witnesses*" with the "*two Candlesticks*," we avoid the difficulties which many writers evidently feel. For instance:—

According to Sir I. Newton (see on ver. 2), of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, five "were found faulty; ..... the other *two* [Smyrna and Philadelphia] were without fault; and so their '*Candlesticks*' were fit to be placed in the Second Temple ... The '*Two Witnesses*' are not *new* churches: they are the posterity of the primitive Church, the posterity of the '*Two Wings*' of the Eagle [ch. xii. 14] ... When the 'First Temple' was destroyed, and a new one built for them

any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed.

6 These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood,

who worship in the Inward Court, *Two* of the Seven Candlesticks were placed in the New Temple" (*l.c.*, p. 467).

I. Williams suggests that by the "*two Candlesticks*" here in place of the *one*, is signified "division in the Christian Church," not only of the East from the West, but of the sections of Christendom now disunited: "The primitive martyrs, or witnesses, are the one '*man child*' (ch. xii. 5), but after the Holy City is profaned they are two" (p. 194). Words. explains this variation by saying, that as the Candlestick represents the Church (see ch. i. 20) which with its Seven Lights appears before God (see ch. ii., iii.), there is but *One* Church of Christ, consisting of Jews and Gentiles, while in a certain sense there are *two* Churches. And as here the *Two* Candlesticks "drink in oil from the two Olive-trees, the Jewish Church, on its side, is reminded that it cannot have light without the New Testament; and the Christian Church is taught, on its side, that it cannot burn brightly without the Old."

Todd (p. 182) thinks that St. John, by "*the Two Candlesticks*," refers to the "two Olive *Branches*" of Zech. iv. 12. These are to be distinguished from the "two Olive *Trees*" of ver. 11 "which the Angel, by giving but one answer to the twofold question of the prophet, plainly identifies with the 'two Anointed Ones' (ver. 14);" and which, as "emptying through the two golden pipes the golden oil out of themselves," St. John may have regarded as lamps.

The freedom, however, with which St. John borrows the symbolism of former prophets (cf. ch. xiii. 2 with Dan. vii. 4–6), as well as the obvious necessity for his description here of using the number "*two*" throughout, renders any laboured explanation of the varied image needless.

Observe that in Jer. xi. 16; Rom. xi. 17, the "*Olive-tree*" stands for the Church. For the word "*Candlestick*" see on ch. i. 12.

which are standing before the Lord *of the earth.*] See *vv. ll.*; and cf. Zech. iv. 14. The construction of the masc. participle with the fem. article, points to the *persons* denoted by the symbols (cf. ver. 1, and ch. iv. 1).

Note, on the reference to the Book of Zechariah in this verse, that Zech. iii. and iv., on which the passage rests, are preceded by the words in which "the measuring" of Jerusalem is commanded (Zech. ii. 1, 2).

5. *And if any man* **desireth to** *hurt them,*] See *vv. ll.* The present tense here points to the continued enmity of the world to the Church, during the entire course of the Witnesses' testimony (cf. on ver. 7).

fire proceedeth out of their mouth,] The *first* token of the "*Witnesses.*"

Take as comment: "I have put my words in thy mouth;" "Behold I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them" (Jer. i. 9; v. 14). See in ch. i. 16 a similar figure; and cf. Ecclus. xlviii. 1, where Elijah is spoken of.

and devoureth their enemies:] See above, Jer. v. 14; and "I have slain them by the words of my mouth," Hos. vi. 5. History supplies the illustrations—the fire that consumed the opponents of Moses (Num. xvi. 28, 35), and that which came down at the word of Elijah (2 Kings i. 10, 12; cf. Luke ix. 54); see above on ver. 3.

and if any man **shall desire to** *hurt them,*] See *vv. ll.* In this change of tense the usual style is resumed.

even so must he be *killed.*] Namely, by fire (cf. Ecclus. xlviii. 3); and according to the *jus talionis*, see ch. xviii. 6.

In opposition to any form of allegorical description, Alf. says: "*Individuality* [? Personality] could not be more strongly indicated" than it is in this verse. Not so, however, as Ebrard justly notes;—St. John could not more clearly tell us that he does not mean literal *persons*, than by pointing in ver. 4 to Zerubbabel and Joshua, and then to Moses and Elijah, as satisfying the same figurative language:—see above on ver. 3. Bisping (s. 176) nearly agrees with Ebrard.

6. *These have* **the** *power to shut* **the** *heaven,*] (See *vv. ll.*). As Elijah did, 1 Kings xvii. 1; Ecclus. xlviii. 3; and for the same space of time, Luke iv. 25; James v. 17.

The *second* token of the "*Witnesses.*"

The "*power to shut the heaven*" Beda considers to be the "potestas clavium";—Elliott refers to Isai. v. 6, and Amos viii. 11, which he takes to mean the "shutting up of heaven"; and he recognizes in this connexion, among the line of Witnesses for Christ's truth and against the apostasy of Eastern origin, the Paulicians from Cent. vii. [who virtually held the Manichæan heresy, see Gibbon, ch. liv.; Robertson, *Hist. of the Chr. Church*, vol. ii. p. 164; Archbishop Trench, *Medieval Church Hist.*, ch. xv.] who, with the Christians of Piedmont in the West, were blended together, in one line, from the

and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will.

7 And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast

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end of Cent. xii., in the Waldenses;—Words.: "If any one despises them [by "*them*" he understands 'the Scriptures'], ... they can shut heaven, like Elias, and exclude all who reject them. The dews of divine grace are withheld from all who scorn them."

during the days] (See *vv. ll.*). *I. e.*, the 3½ years (Luke iv. 25; James v. 17)—the "1260 days" of ver. 3.

and **they** *have power over* **the** *waters to turn them* **into** *blood*,] As Moses did—see Ex. vii. 19. Cf. ch. vi. 8.

The *third* token of the "*Witnesses*":—all three pointing to Moses and Elijah as representing the "Law" and the "Prophets."

and to smite the earth **with every plague**,] (See *vv. ll.*). And not merely with the plagues with which Moses *smote* Egypt,—Ex. viii. 16; ix. 15; 1 Sam. iv. 8 (LXX.). On the historical foundation of the symbolism, see on *vv.* 3, 5, above:—"Quis non videt," writes Maldonatus on Matt. xvii. 14, "Mosem quasi digito demonstrari?"

as often as they **shall desire**.] Mede (p. 483) considers that this power, once displayed in Egypt, is now to be exhibited under the Vials (ch. xvi.); and in like manner Godet considers that the judgments spoken of here and in ver. 5, as inflicted by the "*Two Witnesses*" preaching repentance at Jerusalem, are those of the Seven Vials described in ch. xvi. which are inflicted on the human race subjected to Antichrist. It is this, he argues, which accounts for the presence of the Beast at Jerusalem, as we read in ver. 7 (*l.c.*, p. 311).

7. *And when they shall have finished their testimony*,] Viz. at the end of the 1260 days ("ὅταν with the aor. conj. for the Lat. *futurus exactus*, John iv. 25; xvi. 13."—Winer, §42).

Alf. translates "When they had finished." He objects to Mede's interpretation "when they shall be about finishing;"—to that of Daubuz, "whilst they shall perform;"—to that of Elliott, "when they shall have completed," not the whole course of their witness, "but any one complete delivery of it." I. Williams translates, "when they shall be accomplishing"—*i.e.*, while "Antichrist is throughout [the 1260 days] contending with the Two Witnesses." Hengst. seems to give the true sense: "They shall only be overcome when they have finished their testimony, when God has no further need for their service, when their death can produce more fruit than their life. . . . What is said here of the Witnesses of Christ, was exemplified in Christ himself."

the beast that **cometh up out** *of* **the abyss**] (See ch. ix. 1, 11). The coming up of the Beast from the Abyss is twice mentioned—here and in ch. xvii. 8. The Hebrew system of the Universe included four regions, viz. heaven, earth, sea, and abyss. Satan first appears *in heaven* as the opponent of Christ (ch. xii. 1–5)—he has endeavoured from the very beginning to frustrate the Incarnation. This attempt having failed, the opposition of Satan is transferred to the regions of *the sea* and *the earth* (ch. xii. 12; xiii. 1, 11), and the enmity of the Beast from the *sea* begins with ch. xiii. 1. But the Beast is subsequently to emerge from the *Abyss* as the enemy of the Church of God, as he emerged from *the sea*; and it is by this Beast from the Abyss that the "*Witnesses*" are here said to be put to death. The Beast may be expected to rise from the Abyss when Satan comes out of it (see ch. xx. 1–7);—namely when Gog and Magog are to collect their hosts (ch. xx. 8), and the old Pagan principle of antipathy to the Church is to be renewed. Whether the slaughter of the "*Witnesses*" be or be not future,—whether they are to be personal leaders of the Church, or whether they are merely an expression of the fact that the Church, as personified in Zechariah's prophecy, was shadowed forth by the Olive-trees which grew on each side of the Altar,—in any case, they are to make head against the Beast, who appears in this place not as the Beast from *the sea*, but as "*the Beast from the Abyss*"—from "the Abyss" as Satan's special instrument, the revived form of the World-power.

The noun rendered "*Beast*" (see on ch. iv. 6) here, in ch. xiii., and in ch. xvii., has in itself an evil signification: it denotes a wild or predatory animal (cf. Acts xi. 6). This, the concrete representation of the anti-christian World-power, is first introduced in the present episode by anticipation, as Babylon is introduced in ch. xiv. 8. He appears for the first time in action in ch. xiii. 1.

Wordsworth (on ch. xvii. 3) suggests that St. John uses in the Apoc. the term (Ἀρνίον) denoting the *Lamb* as a contrast to the term (θηρίον) denoting the *Beast*; there being "an exact correspondence of syllables and accents"—see on ch. v. 6.

Some (Ebrard, Züllig) question the identity here and in ch. xvii. 8, of the "Beast from the Abyss," with the Beast from "*the sea*," ch. xiii. 1; but the article clearly indicates the identity—see on ch. xiii. 1; xvii. 3. As yet, indeed, the Beast is not described as connected with some mysterious spiritual iniquity—see ch. xiii. 11; xvi. 13; xvii. 5; but the

that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.

8 And their dead bodies *shall lie* in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and

imagery of Dan. vii. is manifestly suggested by the context. Hence, doubtless, the reading of the Alexandrine MS., "**the fourth Beast**" (see Dan. vii. 7):—this reading, observes Renan, is explained by that of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, "the Beast which *then* cometh up;" see note C at the end of this chapter. By the present participle (τὸ ἀναβαῖνον) the continuous activity of the World-power in opposition to "*The Witnesses*" is intimated, as in ver. 5.

Ewald (see Note C on ch. xii. 3) states that (the Arabic) Hippolytus "correctly sees here, not the locusts or their leader,—as several modern writers,—but Antichrist, to be described more accurately hereafter."

Many in recent times further regard this Beast from "the Abyss" as being the *personal* Antichrist, "the man of sin" of 2 Thess. ii. 3. Bisping takes him to represent "the Antinomian *spirit* of *Judaism*, which will know nothing more of Moses and the Prophets:" the "*coming up out of the Abyss*" signifies the devilish wickedness that shall hereafter characterize Judaism, which will not believe on Christ. He becomes at last the hellish Dragon himself who gives his power to anti-christian Judaism.

shall make war **with them, and overcome** *them, and kill them.*] (For the repetition of this idea, see ch. xiii. 7; and for a different result of the conflict, see ch. xvii. 14). This is the last manifestation of unbelief. For a time, but for a short time, the World-power will extinguish the outward testimony of the Church, although "*the Temple of God, and the Altar, and they that worship therein*" are still preserved by the Divine care.

Mede concludes that the description of the fate of the Witnesses is taken from the narrative of the Lord's Passion.

Various interpretations:—

The Beast is the Imperial general Belisarius (De Lyra);—With Aretius, Vitr., and others, he is the Pope;—Elliott notes that the Witnesses being symbolical, the death spoken of was to be symbolical also: this prediction, he adds, can be satisfied by no period of European history other than the opening of Cent. xvi., just before the Reformation, when, as Milner writes, the Waldenses were too feeble to resist the Popedom, and the Hussites, divided among themselves, were reduced to silence;—Renan's comment is: "The Beast which ascends from the Abyss (the Roman power, or rather Nero reappearing as Antichrist) will kill them" (p. 402): it is Nero who has suggested the whole conception of the Apocalypse: "Caligula a été l'*Anti-Dieu*, Néron sera l'*Anti-Christ*. L'Apocalypse est conçuè" (p. 179).

8. *And their dead bodies*] Gr. **their dead body**, and so in ver. 9—see *vv. ll.* The singular is used collectively—"what *is fallen* of them" (τὸ πτῶμα, "*id quod collapsum est*, seu *cecidit*, *corpus mortui*, *cadaver*" —Grimm). Cf. Matt. xiv. 12; Mark vi. 29.

Wordsworth's explanation is: "They are *two* and yet *one;* the Old and New Test. are two, and make one Book." Bisping notes:—The type of the profanation of the Law and the Prophets; the Old Test. is "a *dead* letter" ("ein blosser Leichnam") for the unbelieving Jews.

[**lie**] *in the street*] Gr. **And their dead body lieth on.** There is no verb in the original; but the *present*, rather than the "*shall lie*" of the A. V., better suits the series of present tenses in *vv.* 9, 10, down to "*shall send*" in ver. 10;—see *vv. ll.* Their corpses remaining unburied on "**the broad way**" (as the word imports) denotes the contempt with which the Witnesses were treated. The Jews were especially careful to bury their dead (Gen. xxiii. 4; 2 Sam. xxi. 9–13; Isai. xiv. 19, 20):—for the sentiment of the heathen on this matter see Winer, *R. WW. B.*, s. 172; and compare Hor. *Od.* i. 28; Sophocl., *Antig.*, and *Ajax*.

of the great city,] Observe, not "*the Holy City*," as in ver. 2. The phrase "*the Great City*" occurs eight times in this Book—here; ch. xvi. 19; xvii. 18; xviii. 10, 16, 18, 19, 21. It is never used of Jerusalem; it is not read in ch. xxi. 10. "*The great*" is always the epithet of Babylon—ch. xiv. 8; xvi. 19; xvii. 5; xviii. 2; cf. also Dan. iv. 27 (30). See the explanation of the Angel in ch. xvii. 18.

This result is, in effect, adopted by Vitringa, who understands the City or Empire of Rome;—by Döllinger, who understands the Empire of Rome;—by Alf., who understands "the Great City which will be the subject of God's final judgments."

Elliott, and, with variations, his school, understand Rome Papal, where the "*Witnesses*" were triumphed over, and where their Lord was (figuratively) crucified.

On the other hand, "*the Great City*," writes Todd (p. 188), "can denote Jerusalem, and Jerusalem only." So Bisping and others.

which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt,] "*Spiritually*," *i. e.*, "typically," cf. 1 Cor. x. 3, 4. Auberlen, appealing to 1 Cor. ii. 7, 14, takes the word "*spiritually*" to cor-

Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified.

9 And they of the people and kindreds and tongues and nations shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not

respond with the word "*mystery*," in ch. xvii. 5 (*l.c.*, p. 275). "*The Great City*," being now described as a *country*—"Egypt"—cannot strictly mean *any* city; and, being styled "Sodom," it cannot represent Jerusalem "the *Holy* City" (see on ver. 2). Both Sodom and Egypt are again referred to in ch. xviii. 4; and Sodom specially in ch. xix. 3. Further, Jerusalem is never called Egypt:—in Ezek. xxiii. 3, 4, it is *Israel* which is spoken of; and in Isai. i. 9, 10, the Jewish *nation* is the subject of the comparison with Sodom; cf. Ezek. xvi. 48, and see the note on Ezek. xvi. 44. The common reference to Isai. iii. 8, 9, is scarcely relevant; and the same may be said of Jer. xxiii. 14; cf. Matt. x. 6, 15.

The conclusion then is that as we read in the Apoc. of "the City of God" of which Jerusalem is the type; and of "the City of the World" of which Babylon is the type, and which is expressly styled in this Book "*the Great City*," we are to interpret this verse of the latter,—of Babylon,—of "the Great" World-city. This is called Egypt on account of its oppression of the people of God, and Sodom on account of its moral corruption.

Jerusalem, as described by our Lord in Luke xiii. 33, 34, has suggested a *third* characteristic of the World-city—a characteristic symbolized here by the putting the "*Two Witnesses*" to death. This thought is expressed in the words which now follow:—see the remark of Züllig quoted below.

where also **their Lord** *was crucified.*] (See *vv. ll.*). And slain as well as they:—the Witnesses cannot expect any other fate than that which befell their Lord (John xv. 20).

The majority of commentators, relying upon this close of the verse, insist that Jerusalem is meant—the "*Holy City*" of ver. 2, now no longer "*holy*" after its desecration. So Hengst. and Ebrard who compare Jerusalem to Egypt, on account of the religious corruption with which it infected Israel (Ezek. xxiii. 3, 8, 27); and to Sodom, on account of its morals (Deut. xxxii. 32). We thus have "the degenerate Church;" and Hengst. goes on to explain that the word *spiritually* is to be supplied to the expression 'where our Lord *was crucified*,'—"Outwardly the Lord was crucified in the city called Jerusalem; but spiritually in the degenerate Church." Düsterd. notes that the comparison of Jerusalem to Sodom and Egypt rests simply on the fact that Sodom and Egypt resembled each other in their enmity to God and His people. Züllig, taking the "*Great City*" to mean Babylon, explains that not *two*, but *three* symbolic names are here given to *Jerusalem*, viz. Babylon, Sodom, Egypt:—the name Jerusalem, he adds, is not introduced, because the city has been desecrated, and no longer deserves the name which does not reappear until we come to "the New Jerusalem." To the same effect Auberlen. Jerusalem, representative of the Old Test. Church, has become like the godless and doomed World-city and World-power, because she rejected and crucified the Lord. So the New Test. Church is called after the World-city, Babylon, Rome, because she has forsaken Christ (p. 275). And thus, disregarding the marked distinction between "*the Holy City*" and "*the Great City*," many understand in this place *Jerusalem*,—which is called "*spiritually*," *i.e.*, *allegorically*, "Sodom and Egypt;" and *historically* the city where Christ was crucified: see Todd quoted above. Burger leaves the question undecided.

9. And from among the peoples and tribes *and tongues and nations*] For the constr. cf. ch. ii. 10; v. 9; John xvi. 17; 2 John 4—see Winer, § 47, s. 328. See on ver. 10.

do [men] look upon their dead bodies] Gr. **dead body**:—see *vv. ll.*; and for the use of the present tense in prophetic narrative, cf. ch. xviii. 9, 11. "As if thought silenced in death they continued Witnesses still."—I. Williams, p. 203. Understanding the literal Jerusalem, Düsterd. notes that men from all nations (ch. v. 9), Jews and Gentiles (see ver. 2), are assembled there, and behold the outrage offered to the remains of the "*Witnesses*"—see on ver. 8.

three days and an half,] (Accus. of duration, as in ver. 3). Corresponding to the *years* of their ministry—the 3½ years which are equivalent to the 42 months and 1260 days in *vv.* 2, 3; *i.e.*, *half* the mystic Seven: for "the victory of the world," notes Hengst., "is always a transitory one." "Futurists" take the 3½ days literally, e.g. Todd and De Burgh (and so Tertullian, Victorinus, Andreas, &c.): with Bengel and Ebrard they place them at the end of the world in the time of Antichrist. Ebrard adds that the duration of the punishment for treading down Jerusalem, and the duration of the tyranny of Antichrist are related as 3½ *years* to 3½ *days* (and so Vitringa). Züllig perceives an allusion to our Lord's lying *three days* in the grave (to the same effect Volkmar), and also to Hos. vi. 2. Bleek regards the period as "a round mystical number to denote a space of *several* days." Reuss, on the other hand, understands "A

suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.

10 And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth.

11 And after three days and an half the Spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet; and great fear fell upon them which saw them.

12 And they heard a great voice from heaven saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud; and their enemies beheld them.

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very short space of time, according to the style of the Apocalypse"; and Stuart refers to the *short* time during which the bodies of the dead remain without putrefaction. Prosper, Primasius, Beda, and others explain these *days* as *years*; and, on the "Year-day" theory, Elliott understands the interval between the ninth session of the Lateran Council, May 5, 1514 (where the exclusion of heretics *from burial* was one of the Papal enactments confirmed), and the day of Luther's posting up his theses at Wittenberg, October 31, 1517—the interval being three years and 180 days, "precisely to a day, three and a half years." On this conclusion Alford observes that the three years from May 5, 1514, to May 5, 1517, being years of 365 days each," Elliott's "half year from May 5, 1517, to October 31 of the same year is 180, or half 360 days: *i.e.*, wanting 2½ days of the time required according to that reckoning." Alford should have added that three *civil* years of 365 days (omitting *hours*) = 1095 days, and that the year 1516 was a leap year; consequently, instead of Elliott's 1260 days, the interval stated by him gives us 1096 + 182½ = 1278½ days—a period unknown to the prophecy: see Introd., § 11 (b), II.

and **suffer not** *their dead bodies to be* **laid in a tomb.**] For the *two* readings here see *vv. ll.*; and for the verb "**to suffer**" cf. Mark i. 34; xi. 16.

Note that in this *third* place, we have the *plural* "*dead bodies*"—πτώματα.

Mede (p. 485) suggests that these beholders may be the *friends* of the "*Witnesses*;" and that they do not permit them to be buried because they are convinced that they will miraculously rise again—see ver. 11.

10. *And they that dwell* **on** *the earth*] The godless world—as proved by ch. vi. 10; viii. 13: see on ch. iii. 10.

rejoice *over them, and* **make merry**;] (Both verbs are in the present tense,—see *vv. ll.*, and on ver. 8). *I.e.*, rejoice at the outrage offered to the "*Witnesses*."

and **they** *shall send gifts one to another*;] A custom usual in times of festivity—cf. Neh. viii. 10, 12; Esth. ix. 19, 22.

Note the future tense—see *vv.* 8, 9.

tormented] Hengst. explains: "They have no weapons other than the word. Their word, weak and contemptible in itself, has an ally in the hearts and consciences of those against whom it is directed." Sardis and Laodicea (ch. iii. 3, 15) had nothing of this spirit. Others (e.g. Bengel, Düsterd., Stuart, Alf.) refer this expression solely to the plagues mentioned in *vv.* 5, 6.

them **that dwell** *on the earth.*] Whose representatives now appear in "*the Great City*"—see ver. 9.

11. *And after* **the three** *days and an half*] Viz. those spoken of in ver. 9.

the Spirit of life] Or **the breath of life**: Gr., **a spirit**, or **a breath**; compare Luke viii. 55. "*Spirit*" in the original is indefinite:—see ch. xiii. 15; and Ezek. xxxvii. 5.

entered into them,] See *vv. ll.*

and they stood upon their feet;] See Ezek. xxxvii. 10 (LXX.), the language of which Vision is closely followed here—see also 2 Kings xiii. 21.

and great fear fell upon them **which beheld them.**] On the verb "*beheld*" here, and in ver. 12, see Introd. § 7, IV., (*c*). Compare Matt. xxvii. 54, to which place Düsterdieck justly refers.

Elliott notes:—After vain agitation to put them down, the Lutheran Reformers proclaimed that they were but the "*Witnesses*" of Christ risen up again; *i.e.*, when in 1530 they united themselves at Smalcald under the name of Protestants.

12. *And they heard*] In support of this reading, Hengst. refers, not at all appropriately, to John v. 28. In opposition to the weight of authority, Düsterd. (so also Beng., Ewald, De Wette, Stuart, Elliott) accepts the reading "**I heard**," for so we find the Seer expressing himself, in ch. vi. 6; ix. 13:—if the voice, adds Düsterd., were directed to the "*Witnesses*" themselves the description would have been after the manner of ch. vi. 11; ix. 4.

from heaven] Elliott interprets not the heaven of the Divine presence, but the heaven of political power, to which the "*Wit-*

13 And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain [1]of men seven thou- [1] Gr. *names of men.*

nesses" ascended; thus predicting the triumph in Germany and elsewhere of Protestantism, after the peace of Passau, 1552 (so Bishop Newton):—Elliott similarly takes "*heaven*" to mean "*earth*" in ch. viii. 1.

And they **went up into** *heaven* **in the cloud;**] Cf. 2 Kings ii. 11; Acts i. 9. The symbolism is founded on the facts of the Lord's Passion and Ascension (see on ver. 7 Mede's remark). This is indicated by the reference in ver. 8 to His Crucifixion. The Ascension, notes Hengst., is not mentioned in St. John's Gospel, yet is attested here:—cf. the "*great fear*," ver. 11, with Matt. xxvii. 54; and "*the earthquake*," ver. 13, with Matt. xxvii. 51; xxviii. 2. In confirmation of the allegorical interpretation of the "*Two Witnesses*,"—e. g. the Law and the Gospel,—Ebrard observes that the words ἀνάστασις and ἐγείρεσθαι are avoided in this description; and that a resurrection or ascension to heaven of two actual persons, or of the collective body of believers, *before* the Third Woe and the Seventh Trumpet (*vv.* 14, 15), would be impossible.

See Note D at the end of this chapter.

13. And in that *hour*] In which the "*Witnesses*" were glorified (ver. 12), vengeance falls on their enemies.

there was a *great earthquake*,] See on ch. vi. 12. Some who include this verse under the sixth Trumpet identify the time of the sixth Trumpet with that of the sixth Seal.

The earthquake synchronizes, notes Mr. Faber, with the death and ascension of the "*Witnesses*:" "it denotes the Revolution in England, in 1688, when the Papists were excluded from political power." — *Sacred Calendar*, vol. iii. p. 8. Elliott expounds it to be the mighty disruption of Saxony, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark from the Papacy.

and the tenth part of the city fell;] *I.e.*, "*the Great City*" of ver. 8. Bengel, Herder, Züllig, Bisping, &c., understand Jerusalem:—see above on ver. 8.

Carrying out his idea, Elliott writes: The Great City, including in its Empire just ten kingdoms, *fell.* England, one of the most notable of these kingdoms, threw off the Papal yoke.

and there were killed in the earthquake seven thousand persons:] Gr. "**names of men, seven thousands.**" Cf. ch. iii. 4; Acts i. 15. Stuart and Alf. understand a precise statement, as from a catalogue of enrolment. Words. explains "persons known and distinguished." The idiom, however, does not seem to have any special force.

The number "*seven thousand*," and the mention of "the *tenth* part," contrasted with the *fourth*, and the *third* part of ch. vi. 8; viii. 7, lead many (Stuart, Lücke, Ewald, De Wette, Düsterd.) to understand "a comparatively small part";—Words., on the other hand, takes the 7000 to denote "a complete overthrow." Züllig and Ebrard argue that since, taken literally, the words mean the inhabitants of the destroyed "*tenth part*," the population of the city amounts to 70,000; but, as Ebrard adds, "since '*the city*' is not a geographical locality, there is here no statistical notice," and the Vision is symbolical:—the "*tenth part*" refers to the division into *ten* kingdoms of the (fourth) World-power, over which Antichrist is to extend his rule (Dan. vii. 24; ch. xvii. 12, 13). Ebrard sees in the 7000 inhabitants of each of the *ten* kingdoms an antichristian imitation of the Church of God,—for *seven* is God's sacred number.

Mede identifies the events of this verse with what is described under the *fifth* Vial, ch. xvi. 10; and understands a great political commotion, when the *entire* City—for Rome Papal is in extent but the *tenth* part of Rome Pagan—is destroyed. Two destructions of Babylon are thus foretold, (1) here, and in ch. xvi. 10, of the City of Rome; (2) in ch. xviii. and ch. xix. of the citizens and Roman state, a catastrophe reserved for the *last* Vial. "It is a great mistake in Mede," notes I. Williams, "to suppose this *fall of the tenth part of the city* to be the same as that described under the fifth Vial: under the Vials there is no repentance: this is corrective.... The *tenth* is but a limited part; and that number (as well as the 7000) has about it secret intimations of good." The symbolism here he considers to be founded upon the account in 2 Kings xxiv. 16 of the leading "*seven thousand* men of might" captives to Babylon with Jehoiakin from Jerusalem, *ten* years before its destruction:—here, therefore, he adds, "the prophetical account of the spiritual Israel is clothed in the history of the national and local;" consequently, this, "*the Second Woe*," can never be the fulness of Woe:—"there is correction, and there is repentance" (p. 206). Ewald also sees in this "*tenth*" part a token of gracious mercy.

Elliott explains the *Chilias* (= 1000) to mean *a province;* and he takes the words to signify "the seven Dutch United Provinces," which during Elizabeth's reign separated from the Papal rule. Mr. Cunninghame explains the

sand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.

14 The second woe is past; *and*, behold, the third woe cometh quickly.

death of the 7000 by the abolition of the Monastic Orders in England; and, like Mr. Faber, he places the full accomplishment of this prophecy in 1688, when England was finally lost to Rome.

and **the rest** *were affrighted,*] The large remnant of the inhabitants of the City, including doubtless many of the heathen, are mercifully led to repentance. For an opposite effect, see ch. ix. 20, 21.

and gave glory] The token of repentance —see ch. xiv. 7; xvi. 9; cf. Josh. vii. 19; Jer. xiii. 16.

to the God of heaven.] A title found, in the New Test., only here and in ch. xvi. 11: in both places it is used in contrast to the gods of the heathen. De Wette notes that the expression is taken from the later books of the Old Test.—Ezra i. 2; Neh. i. 4; Dan. ii. 18.

Todd observes: "No circumstance in the prophecy appears to have created more difficulty to the historical commentators than this that the remnant who had escaped the earthquake 'gave glory to the God of heaven.' Bishop Newton considers it unfulfilled. Mr. Faber thinks that they who gave glory to God were the Protestants; Mr. Cunninghame, the Papists."—p. 190. Elliott explains that "the *remnant*, or Papists, whether in England, Holland, or Germany, were affrighted; and the Witnesses *gave glory to the God of heaven.*"

The interpretation given by Godet rests on his belief that Antichrist will return from Rome, which he has destroyed (see on ch. xvii. 16), and will fix his residence at Jerusalem: "The remnant of the people [of Israel restored by Antichrist to their own land], and in particular they who have been specially reserved [see on ch. vii. 4] for these supreme moments, give glory to God, and are converted to Him. Thus we shall find in ch. xiv. the 144,000 surrounding the Lamb, between the moment of the coming of Antichrist, and that of his destruction" (*l.c.*, p. 357). It is thus assumed that a *double Israel*, carnal and spiritual, is to be re-established as a Nation; with "*the Great City*" (ver. 8), Jerusalem, as its capital. Bisping understands some future judgment which is to fall on Jerusalem; and terrify to repentance the greater part of unbelieving Israel.

According to Mr. Maurice, "when Vespasian ascended the throne, the world did again accept a righteous and orderly government; ... did homage 'to the God of heaven" (p. 201). "The very restoration of order in Rome was the signal for the doom of Jerusalem." This is what St. John means when he says "The Second Woe is past—the Third Woe cometh quickly" (p. 281).

14. *The second Woe is past:*] The respite promised in ch. x. 6, 7, is about to end. Ebrard (see the remarks introductory to ch. x.) considers the earthquake of ver. 13—a judgment which the event only will explain —to be the "*Second Woe*," and to be the second merciful trial given to bring men to repentance: this feature of the present episode he sees in the symbolism, which leads us back to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; and this, as the penalty for rejecting Messiah, forms a parallel to the judgment of ver. 13 (which repeats Matt. xxviii. 2–4) for rejecting and slaying Christ's "*Witnesses.*" Bisping also places the judgment on unbelieving Israel, under the "*Second Woe*" described in ver. 13; and he places the Last Judgment on the whole Antichristian world, under the seventh Trumpet, or "*Third Woe*"—*i.e.*, during the 42 months of ver. 2 or the *second* half of Daniel's last Week (Dan. ix. 27). See on ver. 2, the interpretation of Burger.

Bengel (see on ch. ix. 12—15) makes this Second Woe to begin A.D. 634; to end A.D. 847; and to consist of the havoc produced by the rise of the Saracenic power. Elliott (see on ch. ix. 12), who makes the "*Second Woe*" to be the Turkman power, considers that that power passed away in the wars of 1769–1774, and 1787, against Russia and Austria; and that Turkey ceased to be a Woe to Christendom, A.D. 1790, in the peace then concluded. Mr. Birks lays down, as the interpretation of the most learned and able commentators, that the two Woes relate to the Saracens and the Turks.

The Third Woe.

behold, the third Woe cometh quickly.] (Omit "*and*"). Burger notes that according to the oath of the Angel, ch. x. 6, 7, the seventh Trumpet which brings on the end, follows the sixth Trumpet without delay.

Although some refer to ch. xii. 12, no further mention is made of this Woe:—it might fall under the *sixth*, or the *seventh* Trumpet. It may, with some, be considered as including the Vials in which "**is finished** *the wrath of God*" (ch. xv. 1, 7)—so Stern. Mede places it under the *seventh* Trumpet. If it fall under the *sixth*, we may compare Matt. xxiv. 21; Rev. iii. 10; vii. 14. According to Hengst., the *seventh* Trumpet or "*Third* Woe" is included in *vv.* 15–19:—in ch. viii.

15 And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become *the kingdoms* of our Lord,

5, lightnings and an earthquake symbolically announced that the world's judgment is approaching; now, in ver. 19, this symbolical announcement is fulfilled. Since great events, writes Ewald, are not fulfilled as speedily as hope may picture, new Visions are interposed before the end predicted in ch. x. 7:—thus the end of this "*Third Woe*," announced once more in ch. xii. 12, comes later; and this also in a *threefold* form, see ch. xviii. 10, 16, 19.

On the "Historical" scheme, Bengel makes a pause of a hundred years to intervene between the "*Second Woe*" and the "*Third*" which, therefore, begins A.D. 947—see on ch. xii. 12. Mr. Faber, who makes the Second Woe to end in 1697 (see on ch. ix. 12, and note A at the end of ch. ix.), places 92 years between the end of the "*Second*" and the beginning of the "*Third Woe*," because the word "*quickly*" describes any space of time not exceeding a century (*l.c.*, vol. iii. p. 225—355): he thus makes the "*Third Woe*" begin in 1789—with the French Revolution—when "*the anger of the nations*" (ver. 18) began. Since 1789 men have lived in the times of the "*Third Woe.*" This is to continue until "*the destruction of them that destroy the earth*" (ver. 18) at the battle of Ar-Mageddon (ch. xvi. 16) in the year 1865—"the exhaustion of the seventh Apocalyptic Vial"—"the commencement of St. John's 1000 years (Rev. xx. 2, 3)."

On the "Futurist" scheme—The subject of the "*Third Woe*," writes De Burgh, is intimated in the words of ver. 15: "Here we turn over a new page of this prophetic history. All that we have considered of it, with the exception of the general signs of the Lord's Coming given in the first six Seals, treats of God's judicial dealing with the *Jewish nation*: but from this place we have the judgment of the Gentiles"—p. 221 [see Vitringa's remark quoted in note A on ver. 1]. Todd considers the "*Third Woe*" to be the Second Advent of Christ, and the establishment of His kingdom, in accordance with Matt. xxiv. 30, "*Then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn.*"

THE SEVENTH TRUMPET.

15. *And the seventh angel sounded;*] Ch. ix. 13–21 is continued here. A new series of Visions is interposed, as after the opening of the seventh Seal. The Third Woe which "*cometh quickly*" is deferred for a short time until all is ready for the final consummation—the last conflict with Antichrist. No circumstantial narrative is given as to what now takes place:—see on ch. x. 4. Ebrard restricts the seventh Trumpet to *vv.* 15–18, which form, he considers, the complete close of the "second Vision" of the Apocalypse:—see on ver. 18. De Wette also makes the Trumpet-Visions close at ver. 18. Lücke regards *vv.* 15–17 as satisfying the longing for the future consummation; and *vv.* 18, 19 (see ch. x. 11) as leading on to further revelations of the future. Several writers, observes De Burgh (p. 437), contend that the seventh Trumpet was fulfilled by the Reformation; others by the French Revolution; "strange to say, by only a few is it referred to that with which it is so manifestly identical—the 'LAST Trumpet' mentioned, 1 Cor. xv. 52." Todd sees here "the final triumph and complete establishment of Christ's kingdom,"—p. 220; and at p. 213 he sums up the opinion of "the ancients," who, "reasoning from Dan. xii. 11, 12, supposed that the interval between the destruction of Antichrist and the general judgment (foretold by the seventh Trumpet) would be 45 days only. This opinion supposes the three prophetic periods of 1260, 1290, and 1335 days to have the same beginning. The witnesses are slain at the end of the 1260 days [*vv.* 3, 7], but 'the abomination that maketh desolate,' *i.e.*, Antichrist, continues for 30 days [Dan. xii. 7, 11] after they *are slain*, and consequently for $26\frac{1}{2}$ days after they *have risen* from the dead. Then Antichrist is slain at the end of the 1290 days; but the conflict between the Church and her enemies is not finally determined in favour of the former for 45 days more" [$26\frac{1}{2}+3\frac{1}{2}=30$; and $1290+45=1335$],—Dan. xii. 12; see St. Jerome *in loc.*

Bisping thus introduces this section: "Second Act:—The *second* half of the last *World-week*, ch. xi. 15—xx. 10. . . . By way of introduction this Vision represents how that which the seventh Trumpet is to bring on the world is prepared in heaven."

That the fall of the Temple follows immediately the blast of the seventh Trumpet, Mr. Maurice infers from the words of ver. 19 (*l.c.*, p. 241):—"*i.e.*, 1260 days, or about *four* years between the commencement of the Jewish rebellion, and the termination of the war by Titus."

and there **followed** *great voices in heaven,*] The voices here, and the song of the Elders (*vv.* 16–18) may be contrasted with the "*silence*" at the opening of the last Seal. What we hear is not *on earth*, but *in heaven*, as at the opening of the seventh Seal (ch. viii. 1), and at the pouring out of the seventh Vial (ch. xvi. 17):—under the last Seal, too, and under the last Vial (ch. viii. 5; ch. xvi 18) we have "*the lightnings and voices*," &c. as in ver. 19. In ver. 18 we are told that the

and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever.

16 And the four and twenty elders, which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God,

17 Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned.

18 And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be

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judgment of the dead is come; in ch. xvi. 17 the voice announces from the throne "*It is done;*" and from ch. vi. 17 we learn that the end follows the sixth Seal. Here we have an illustration of the principle of "Recapitulation" (see the remarks introductory to ch. viii.): "The three Visions," as Alf. notes, "are not continuous, but resumptive: not, indeed, going over the same ground with one another, either of time or of occurrence, but each evolving something which was not in the former, and putting the course of God's providence in a different light." It is to be observed that the Four Living Beings (ch. iv. 6) do not appear in the seventh Trumpet as here described: they appear again, in ch. xiv. 3; xv. 7; xix. 4. The "*great voices*" are thought by some to proceed from them, as the four and twenty Elders (ch. iv. 4) are mentioned in ver. 16: so Ewald—but see on ver. 18. De Wette ascribes the "*voices*" to the Angels;—Bengel to the dwellers in heaven, Angels and men;—Hengst. to the innumerable multitude of ch. vii. 9;—but to this Düsterd. objects, because in ch. vii. that multitude is seen in heaven by anticipation; it does not actually appear in heaven until ch. xv. 2, and ch. xix. 1: the course of the Vision here has not yet attained so far.

The speakers, however, seem to be left undetermined (cf. ch. xii. 10–12; xiv. 2)—whether we regard the participle which follows to be masc. (with A, B), or fem. (with ℵ, C, P).

saying,] If the participle be masc., this is a case of irregular apposition, as in ch. iv. 1; or we may render "*in heaven,* **and they said,**"]

The kingdom of the world] See *vv. ll.* Cf. ch. i. 6; xii. 10. The *gen.* of the *object* (cf. the *gen.* with ἐπί in ch. xvii. 18)—the royal dominion (note the *sing.*) over the world.

is become [**the kingdom**] *of our Lord and of his Christ:*] The government of the world is become His, as King: hitherto "the Prince of this world" has ruled; see Psal. ii. 2. Züllig, referring to ch. xii. 10, renders: "The World-kingdom of our Lord, and of His Anointed hath appeared."

The last Trumpet has sounded; and the voices celebrate, by anticipation, what is referred to in ch. x. 7; ch. xix. 1. The result of the enmity to God is told in ch. xix. 20.

and he shall reign for ever and ever.] "He" denotes either God, as ver. 17; or Christ, "Whose kingdom shall have no end."—*Nicene Creed.*

16. *And the four and twenty elders,*] (See *vv. ll.*). Representing the Church in heaven:—see on ch. iv. 4.

which sit before God upon their thrones,] Cf. ch. iv. 4;—the Elders who offer to God the prayers of the saints (ch. v. 8). For the word "*thrones,*" see on ch. ii. 13.

fell upon their faces,] Cf. ch. iv. 10; v. 14. In ch. vii. 11 the Angels similarly fall prostrate.

17. *Saying, We give thee thanks,*] This verb, of very frequent occurrence in the New Test., is found only here in the Apocalypse; and, in St. John's other writings, only in John vi. 11, 23; xi. 41.

O Lord God, **the** *Almighty,*] Cf. ch. i. 8; iv. 8. God is also addressed by this title in ch. xv. 3; xvi. 7, 14; xix. 6, 15; xxi. 22.

which art and which wast;] Omit "*and art to come*"—see *vv. ll.*, and the note on ch. i. 4: cf. also ch. xvi. 5.

At this stage of the prophecy God is no longer "*He who is to come,*" as in Matt. vi. 10. His *coming* is *now* past and over.

and because *thou hast taken* **thy great power,**] See *vv. ll.* (Omit "*to thee*" which is not in the Greek). The *perfect* with *aorists*—see on ch. v. 7.

God has *now* assumed the "*power*" which He was "*worthy*" to take (ch. iv. 11); and of which the Trumpet judgments, in answer to the prayers of the saints (ch. vi. 10; viii. 3–6), are the manifestation:—see ch. xix. 6.

and didst reign.] (The *aorist,* following the *perfect*). God had never ceased to rule over the world:—He always possessed the "*power,*" but hitherto had not exercised it. As in Ps. xcix. 1 (LXX.), the Lord's reigning, and the wrath of the nations (see next verse), are connected with each other.

18. *And the nations were* **wroth,**] See Ps. xcix. 1 (LXX.) as in verse 17. The Elders now describe the character of the seventh

judged, and that thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great; and shouldest destroy them which [1]destroy the earth.

[1] Or, *corrupt.*

19 And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen

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Trumpet. The wrath of the nations is called forth by the progress of the hated kingdom of God, as it began to take place after the Word was made flesh (Hengst.). How that wrath was instigated we are told in ch. xii. 17.

and thy wrath **came**,] See ch. vi. 16, where we are brought to the eve of the great catastrophe which, in ch. x. 7, is placed under this Trumpet. The omission of the Four Living Beings also points (see on ver. 15) to the dissolution of Creation. They reappear in the Vision which introduces the Vials (ch. xv. 7), and before the Last Judgment (ch. xix. 4—cf. ch. xiv. 3). Neither the description of the throne, in ch. iv., nor the other Visions of the blessed—except at the end of ch. xx.—seems final like this, which is all anticipatory.

and the time of the dead **to be judged**,] Said by anticipation, and actually occurring at ch. xx. 11–15. Vitringa understands by the *judgment* of the dead, the *vindication* of the cause of the martyrs by God (see ch. vi. 9–11), as in Ps. lxxii. 4; so also Stuart, who refers to Hebr. x. 30.

and [**the time**] **to give their reward to** *thy servants the prophets*,] See ch. xviii. 20; cf. Matt v. 12; x. 41.

and to the saints, and **to** *them that fear thy name*, **the** *small and* **the** *great*;] See *vv. ll.*; cf. ch. xiii. 16; xix. 5, 18; xx. 12. "**The** *small and* **the** *great*" are in the *accus.*, while the previous nouns are in the *dative*,—a fact which sets aside the distinction into *two* classes by Hengst., viz. (1) the servants of God, comprising the prophets and saints; (2) those that fear His name, comprising "**the** *small and* **the** *great*" (Ps. cxv. 13).

and to destroy *them which destroy the earth.*] Gr. "*which* **corrupt** *the earth*" (τ. διαφθείροντας), as in ch. xix. 2; Jer. li. 25 (LXX.):—cf. Isai. xiv. 20. We have here, *wrath, judgment, destruction*, and at the same time distribution of rewards: but it is the execution of judgment which brings redemption; and the reward of the faithful consists in this that the earth is freed from its oppressors (Hengst.). The Elders' song, writes Todd, sums up the events connected with the Second Advent—chiefly the Millennial Reign (ch. xx. 6), the wrath of the nations (ch. xx.8), the wrath of God (ch. xx. 10), the judgment of the dead (ch. xx. 12), the reward of the faithful (ch. xxi.; xxii.). Elliott observes that before what is here described by anticipation comes to pass, the Seer answers the questions, "Who are the corruptors of the earth?"—"What is the history of the Beast?"—"Is he identical with Antichrist?" In answer to them a new parenthetic series of Visions begins; and ver. 19 serves as a sign of connexion to show where the seventh Trumpet-Vision is resumed, viz. at ch. xv. 1.

According to the scheme of Ebrard the second Vision of the Apocalypse, which began at ch. iv. 1, ends here:—the third Vision extends from ch. xi. 19 to ch. xiv. 20, and is introduced by the same natural phenomena as the second in ch. iv. 5. In the first Vision St. John beheld the Son of Man in His judicial relation to the Churches;—in the second, which now ends, Almighty God in his judicial relation to the godless world;—in the third Vision, beginning with ver. 19, the relation of the ungodly subjects of the Prince of this world to the Church of God (s. 419).

Burger makes the seventh Trumpet to end here; and all that follows to belong to events which mark the last conflict.

19. *And the temple of God*, **that is in heaven, was opened**;] (See *vv. ll.*). The Sanctuary, *Naos*,—cf. ver. 1. We now see "the pattern" of that earthly Sanctuary which supplied the symbolism in ver. 1 (Ex. xxv. 8, 9, 40; Heb. viii. 5). The Sanctuary lies open (ch. xiv. 15, 17; xv. 5–8; xvi. 1, 17) until "*The Word of God*" comes to judge (ch. xix. 13), and the accomplishment is fully seen in ch. xxi. 22.

and there was seen in his temple the ark of his **covenant**;] This verse is parallel to ch. iv. 1; xv. 5: like them, in anticipation of what is still future, it introduces a new Vision. The pause at this point before the new series of Visions is accompanied by the usual tokens.

The Ark of the Covenant is now introduced for the last time in Scripture. In this Stern sees a symbolical allusion to the fulfilment of God's dealings with Israel converted by the preaching of the "*Witnesses*"—see Rom. ix. 25–33. Ewald and Bleek refer here to "the hidden manna" (ch. ii. 17), which, having been lost with the Ark of the Covenant, when the Temple was destroyed by the Chaldeans (2 Kings xxv. 9), was wanting in the second Temple. According to Jewish tradition, Jeremiah had taken the Ark and all that the Most Holy place contained, and concealed them before the destruction of the Temple in a cave at Mount Sinai, whence they are to be restored to the Temple in the days

in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail.

of Messiah (2 Macc. ii. 4–7): see also Wetstein *in loc.* Hengst. seems to indicate the true meaning of the symbol:—The Ark of the Covenant is made visible in order to signify that the Covenant has received its most signal accomplishment. God has now "remembered his Holy Covenant," and his people may now "serve Him without fear"—Luke i. 72–74.

and there **followed** *lightnings, and voices, and* **thunders,**] Which are the only physical phenomena seen in ch. iv. 5.

and an earthquake,] The earthquake is also specified in ch. viii. 5; xvi. 18.

and great hail.] Which is again introduced in ch. xvi. 21:—hail is also mentioned under the *first* Trumpet (ch. viii. 7). The judgment-hour indicated by the symbolism of ver. 1 has now arrived; and from the Sanctuary where God is enthroned the judgments proceed—see ch. xiv. 15, 17; xv. 5; xvi. 17.

This description of the sounding of the seventh Trumpet (*vv.* 15–19) runs strictly parallel to what we have read as to the opening of the seventh Seal (ch. viii. 1–5). Parallel to the "*silence in heaven*" (ch. viii. 1) we have here the "*great voices in heaven*," and the Elders' hymn of thanksgiving (*vv.* 15, 17, 18);—parallel to the offering of incense and prayer at the Altar (ch. viii. 3–5) we have here the worship of the Elders (ver. 16), and the opened Temple, and the sight of the Ark of the Covenant;—the same natural phenomena too (here increased in intensity) which announce coming judgments are manifested in both Visions (ch. viii. 5; xi. 19). These various details the Seer, instead of giving a continuous narrative, "Recapitulates." As the series of the Trumpets starts from the same point as the series of the Seals, and ends with the same consummation,—so now, beginning with ch. xii., we have once more a new "Recapitulation" of God's dealings with the Church and with the world, during the same period. The description is now coloured by symbolism of a different character from what has hitherto been employed:—see the remarks introductory to this chapter. This verse, therefore, may be regarded as the preparation for the final judgment, but it does not describe the final judgment itself.

Here the Third Division of the Revelation proper comes to an end.

With other writers the connexion is different. Hengst. regards this verse as describing the last judgment; and he considers ch. xvi. 18–21 to be simply an extension of what is here revealed;—According to Lücke (s. 355) the chief series of Visions ends here. Such a close both satisfies the longing expressed in *vv.* 15–17, and points to a further disclosure of the future, as suggested in ch. x. 11; it thus forms a prelude to the Visions which follow, and which constitute the contents of the last Trumpet;—I. Williams considers that "the whole arrangement of the Seals and the Trumpets seems to cease with this chapter; and it is better to consider the subsequent prophecies as supplemental and independent, without any reference to the previous division: all that follows might be considered as the '*Little Book*'" (p. 209);—Burger makes this verse to be the transition between the seventh Trumpet, which came to an end in ver. 18, and the Visions that follow;—Stuart, following Eichhorn and Heinrichs, makes the seventh Trumpet to signify "the triumph of Christianity over opposing and embittered Judaism:" even the Most Holy place is thrown open, "another symbol expressing that Judaism is now at its close;"—Grotius refers the passage to the Jews in the days of Barchocab (ver. 13); adding on this verse: "Per hoc jubentur Christiani qui in Judæa erant animos ad cœlum attollere, ubi Deus habitat, ubi arca fœderis servatur;"—De Lyra refers all this passage to the victory of Narses (A.D. 553) over the Arian Goths, the Angel of the seventh Trumpet being the Emperor Justin II.;—Elliott (see on ver. 14) enumerates a series of natural convulsions at the end of Cent. xviii.—such as the reopening the fires of Vesuvius and the eruption of Shaptaa Jokul in Iceland; the earthquake in Calabria protracted from 1783 to 1786; the hailstorm in France in 1788, followed within a month by the convocation of the States-General, which was the signal for the [First] French Revolution, May 5, 1789: see on ch. xv. 1.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. XI.

NOTE A ON VER. 2—THE MEASURING THE TEMPLE.

The following illustrations of the meanings assigned to this passage may be added.

I (a) *Ordinary "Preterists":*—

STUART, following EICHHORN and LANGE, considers that "the symbolic transaction" described in *vv.* 1, 2, prefigures "*the pre-*

servation of all which was fundamental and essential in the ancient religion, notwithstanding the destruction of all that was external in respect to the Temple, the City, and the ancient people of God" (*l.c.*, p. 214). "Nothing can be more certain than that the *destruction* of the City and Temple of Jerusalem is threatened, and not merely *profanation* by the presence of the heathen" (p. 218).

(b) *Rationalistic* "*Preterists*" also refer this symbolism to the literal Temple, and the literal Jerusalem. The Holy City is Jerusalem not yet laid in ruins by the Roman army; and this result is taken to prove that the Apocalypse was written before the capture of the City, and the destruction of the Temple by Titus. This opinion has been already referred to in the Introduction (see § 4, b., i.), and is also considered in the note on the present verse. The Judaizing tendencies alleged by Rationalists to characterize the writings of St. John, as opposed to St. Paul, have likewise been shewn (see Note A on ch. iii. 19) to have no existence. The notion, therefore, of the school of Tübingen that the present passage expresses nothing more than the sentiments of a fervid Jewish patriot who could not bear to contemplate the destruction of the Temple, is a mere fiction of the imagination:—see Baur, *Die kanon. Evang.*, s. 605.

II. "*Futurists*" look forward to a restored Jerusalem, and to a Temple rebuilt in the Last Times:—

DE BURGH: The natural inference here is "that this commission concerns the Jewish nation" (*l.c.*, p. 205). "No doubt should remain that this commission and prophecy refer to the City Jerusalem, and the Jewish people. Notwithstanding this the chapter has been allegorized; and so allegorized by some of the most eminent expositors as to exclude all reference or allusion to either the Jewish City or people! Thus, according to Mede, whose authority ranks perhaps highest," &c., &c. And Dr. De Burgh understands here by the "*Gentiles*" the nations which shall hereafter be leagued with the Beast from the Abyss (ver. 7) who is described in ch. xiii., and who will realize the description of 2 Thess. ii. 4, in "the time of the Lord's last great controversy with the [Jewish] nation" (*l.c.*, pp. 206–210).

With reference to the principle on which the "Futurist" system of interpretation is founded, it is well to bear in mind the words of Vitringa on Rev. vii. 1–8 (*l.c.*, p. 303):—

"I would particularly draw attention to this, that throughout the whole of the Revelation no separate mention is made of the Jewish as distinguished from the Gentile Christians; and this on the clear and obvious ground that, under the new economy, all distinction of nations in the matter of religion is abolished. 'There is neither Jew nor Greek' writes the Apostle (Gal. iii. 28); and he adds: 'If ye be Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed' (*ib.* ver. 29). Nowhere, therefore, in the whole Apocalypse do prophecies occur with respect to the Jews, in so far as they are contradistinguished from the Gentiles in the matter of religion." So, also, Stern, who belongs to a very different school, writes on ch. xii. 1: "Es ist kein Unterschied, wie überhaupt in der ganzen Apokalypse nicht, zwischen Juden- und Heidenchristen erkennbar gemacht" (s. 301).

NOTE B ON VER. 2—THE FORTY AND TWO MONTHS.

The "*Forty and two Months*," the "1260 days" (ver. 3), the "*Three and a half* years,"—otherwise the "*Time, and times, and half a time*" (ch. xii. 14),—assuming these three designations of time to denote the same length of duration, have been interpreted Spiritually, Chronologically, and Literally.

I. The SPIRITUAL interpretation is thus defined by Auberlen (see on ver. 2):—

The three periods are identical, and have an accurate chronological meaning which however we cannot at present arrive at. We know the meaning of the 3½ years from Daniel (vii. 25; xii. 6, 7; ix. 27). It is the time of the World-power in which the earthly Kingdoms rule over the heavenly (Rev. xi. 2, 3)—*i.e.*, the time from the Roman destruction of Jerusalem to the Second Coming of Christ (cf. Luke xxi. 24 with Rev. xi. 2). According to Luke xxi. 24 the treading down of the Holy City is to last till "*the times of the Gentiles*;" or, according to Rev. xi. 2, till 42 months (1260 days = 3½ years) are fulfilled. Add to this that in Rev. xiii. 5 the 42 months designate the period of the Beast—*i.e.*, the World-power (*l.c.*, p. 252).

BOSSUET regards the "*Forty two months*" as mystical; and as denoting that the persecutions of the Church have a fixed and limited period in the Divine counsels.

II. The CHRONOLOGICAL (or "Year-day") interpretation (see Introd. § 11, (b), II.):—

MEDE, resting on the distinction already noted between "the inner" and "the outer court" of the Temple, assumes as the continuance of the pure state of the Church, which is denoted by the "inner court," the period of 365, or 393, or 430, or 455 years;[1]—the beginning being counted from Christ's birth, or

[1] "It is demonstrated by Villalpandus out of Ezekiel's measure, that the largeness of the *outer court* was such that it contained the *inner court* three times and a half in quantity." Now as the time allotted to the *outer court* is xlii months, the time allotted to the *inner court*, or pure state of the church, is xii months, or 360 *days*, + 5 (added by "Chaldæan count")—*i.e.*, 365 prophetic *years*.

Passion (A.D. 33), or from the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), or from the reception of the Vision by St. John under Domitian (A.D. 95). To the dates (365, 455) he adds 1260, counting "days" as "years," and thus obtains for the continuance of the corrupt state of the Church, or "the outer Court," the periods down to A.D. 1625, or A.D. 1715 (pp. 588, 600).

CALOVIUS (1637) reckons from the time of Pope Leo the Great (A.D. 440) until A.D. 1700, when "a great event, leading to the fall of the degenerate Roman Church, must take place."

COCCEIUS, arguing that the duration "of the antichristian power" terminated at the date of the "Pacification of Passau," *i.e.*, A.D. 1552, by subtracting from this date 1260 years, obtained A.D. 292—or the year in which "Constantius Chlorus Cæsaream dignitatem et patrocinium Christianorum suscepit"—as the "terminus *a quo*" whence to count the duration of the 42 months.

VITRINGA: The "terminus *a quo*" may be placed in the *twelfth* century (p. 465):—he counts this *beginning* from the date of the rise of the "Waldenses, Lugdunenses, and Albigenses." The whole period however of the 1260 years has not as yet expired ("hactenus non exiit, latetque in arcanis Dei consiliis"—p. 463). Vitringa, at the same time, looks with favour on an interpretation suggested by Scaliger, viz. that a "*time*" denotes in Scripture 100 years; and, therefore, that the 3½ "*times*" of the prophecy signify 350 common years. At all events counting from the persecution *of the Albigenses* we obtain exactly 350 years down to the preaching of Luther (see Introd. § 11, (b), III.).

ROBERT FLEMING:[1] His *Discourses* were published in 1701, and announced that in the years 1794 and 1848 certain Apocalyptic predictions were to be fulfilled. The historical coincidences are remarkable; and as the "Year-day" theory receives more justice at Fleming's hands than at the hands of writers who, either before or since his time, have taken "*days*" to denote "*years*," it is desirable to give a brief account of his system.

Fleming sets forth "Two preliminary considerations:"—(1) "That the three grand Apocalyptical numbers of 1260 days, 42 months, and 'a Time, Times, and an half,' are not only Synchronical, but must be interpreted Prophetically, so as Years must be understood by Days;"—(2) "That in order to understand the Prophetical years aright, we must reduce them to Julian years, or such as are in use with us now in Europe" (pp. 19–24). The synchronism of the three periods determines that a month = 30 days; and that 12 such months = a year. Accordingly '*a year*' = 360 *days*, "without the additional five days and odd hours and minutes that are added, in the calculation of the Julian year:" and thus three and a half (prophetical) *years* = 1260 (prophetical) *days;* and three and a half Julian years = 1278 (common) days:—"Now, if according to this computation, we subtract 1260 Apocalyptical years from 1278 Julian or Gregorian ones (I call them so *ore rotundo*, overlooking the smaller measures of time), there remain 18 years to be cut off." . . . . "If we may suppose that Antichrist began his reign in the year 606 [see Note D on ch. xiii.], the additional 1260 years of his duration, were they Julian or ordinary years, would lead us down to the year 1866, as the last period of the Seven-headed Monster [Rev. xiii. 1]. But seeing they are prophetical years only, we must cast away 18 years in order to bring them to the exact measure of the time. And thus the final period of Papal Usurpations (supposing that he did indeed rise in the year 606) must conclude with the year 1848" (p. 27). Again: Fleming places the "Donation of Pipin," "in or about the year 758, about the time that Pope Paul the First began to build the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul. Now if we make this the Æra of the Papal Kingdom, the 1260 years will not run out before the year 2018, according to the computation of Julian years; but reducing these to Prophetical ones, the expiration of the Papal Kingdom ends exactly in the year 2000 according to our vulgar reckoning" (p. 34).

To complete this calculation the Vial-Visions must be included:—The fourth Vial (Rev. xvi. 8), Fleming believes, "is poured out upon '*the sun*' of the Papal Kingdom," and "must denote the humiliation of some eminent potentates of the Romish interest:" . . . "these, therefore, must be principally understood of the houses of Austria and Bourbon" (p. 65). As to the part of this Vial not fulfilled when Fleming wrote, he supposes "that it will come to its highest pitch in 1717, and that it will run out in 1794. In A.D. 475 the Western Roman power was destroyed, and the power of the Papal Kingdom was increased." Now 475 + 1260 = 1735; and, as before, subtracting 18, we get 1717. Again:—Justinian, on his conquest of Italy, A.D. 551, "left it in a great measure to the Pope's management:"—but 551 + 1260 "reaches down to the year 1811; which, according to prophetical account; is the year 1794. And then I do suppose the fourth Vial will end" (p. 69). The fifth Vial (Rev. xvi. 10) "will probably begin about the year 1794, and expire about A.D. 1848" (p. 77); which is the date given above as to the weakening of the Papacy, counting from A.D. 606. "The sixth

[1] *Discourses on the Rise and Fall of the Papacy*, 1701.

Vial (Rev. xvi. 12) will be poured out on the Mahometan Antichrist;" and the Eastern Kings and Kingdoms are now to renounce their heathenish and Mahometan errors. The sixth Vial runs into the seventh (Rev. xvi. 7);—"only you may observe that the first of these will probably take up most of the time between the year 1848 and the year 2000; because such long messages and intrigues (besides the time spent before in destroying the Turkish Empire) . . . . must needs take up a great many years" (p. 79). "Supposing, then, that the Turkish Monarchy should be totally destroyed between 1848 and 1900, we may justly assign 70 or 80 years longer to the end of the sixth Vial, and but twenty or thirty at most to the last."

Fleming (p. 98) computes the date of the Millennium:—Relying on Dan. viii. 7, 11, he fixes the year 135 as the epoch from which to count—that is to say, the date of the second or final destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian. Now 135 + 1290 (Dan. xii. 11) = 1425, "which in prophetical reckoning is the year 1407"—the date of the Hussites, Albigenses, Wicklifites, Waldenses, &c. But 1407 + 1335 (Dan. xii. 12) = 2742, "*i.e.*, 2722 of prophetical reckoning: which, therefore, includes the begun downfall of the Papacy under the Seven Vials, and the final accomplishment thereof afterwards, together with the greatest part of the Millennium. And perhaps the begun apostasy of Jewish and Gentile Christians which is to issue in an universal war against the Saints (upon the expiration of the Millennium) may be begun about the year 2722."

ELLIOTT, like Fleming, introduces here the interpretation of the Vials. The solution of the great question, "When do the 1260 years of ch. xi. come to an end?" is involved, he thinks, in the meaning of the *fifth* Vial:—see Note A on ch. xvi.

BENGEL assumed that the 42 months denote the 666 *years* of the Beast (ch. xiii. 18):—for his chronological system see Introd. § 11, (b), IV.

III. The LITERAL interpretation:—

BRIGHTMAN would understand the 3½ years during which the Council of Trent was engaged in silencing the Old and New Testaments—the "*Two Witnesses*" of ver. 3 (p. 296).

Two opposite schools of expositors—the "*Preterists*" and the *Futurists*"—also take the 1260 *days*, the 42 *months*, the 3½ *years*, to be literal days, months, years.

1. (a) *Ordinary "Preterists:"*—

GROTIUS and HAMMOND count the 42 "months" as 1260 literal "days," from A.D. 50 to A.D. 54—"ex quo strui cœpit Templum Jovis Capitolini ad motum usque Judaicum duce Barchocheba."

STUART lays down that, 3½ being one half of the sacred number *Seven*, "this is a convenient designation of a moderate length of time, whether the designation is quite exact or falls a little short of exactness, or exceeds it in a small measure" (Exc. v., ii., p. 465). As to Rev. xi. 2, Vespasian attacked Palestine in the spring of A.D. 67. On the 10th of August, A.D. 70, Jerusalem was taken by Titus: "There can scarcely be a doubt, therefore," that the 42 months, as well as the 1260 days of ver. 3, mark the time during which the conquest of Palestine was going on (p. 468).

(b) *Rationalistic "Preterists."*

REUSS ("*Theol. in the Apost. Age*") explains that, terrified by the Pagan persecution in Asia Minor, St. John now declares that the End of all things is at hand (ch. ii. 5; xi. 14; &c.). The Seer even "ventures to limit the delay by figures borrowed from the revelation of Daniel:" "In three years and a half, from the moment at which the author wrote, all would be accomplished." During this period of three years and a half the Pagans will remain masters of Jerusalem, a place of safety being provided for the elect within the precincts of the Temple (pp. 373–376).

Renan, also identifying the three periods, accepts the common interpretation of 3½ *years* as the explanation of the 3½ "*times*." This is "a demi-*schemitta* or week of years,"—"a *schemitta* or period of seven years is often taken for a unit of time, the Jubilee period being composed of seven *schemitta;* see Neubauer, *Journal asiatique*, Dec. 1869." "This mysterious cipher borrowed from the Book of Daniel is the space of time which still remains for the world to live" (*l.c.*, p. 401). And Renan describes the Apocalypse as "un écrit de circonstance qui borne lui-même son horizon à trois ans et demi, le secret de l'avenir entier de l'humanité" (p. 462).

2. "*Futurists:*"—

De Burgh: The Jewish people and their City shall be given up to "*the Beast*" (ver. 7) for the period of 42 months, that is, 1260 days, or three years and a half, in which three different ways this same period is named in prophecy" (p. 210). He takes Dan. ix. 27 as referring to the time of Antichrist; and the duration of Antichrist's power being seven years, he divides these seven years into two periods of 3½ years, or 1260 days, each. During the former half Antichrist is in covenant with the Jews (Dan. xi. 23, 32), and during the latter half turns against them. De Burgh, accordingly, doubts whether the 42 months and 1260 days in Rev. xi. "be not different from the 42 months or 1260 days of the great power of the Beast in ch xiii., the former being the first, and the latter the second half of the week (p. 440): cf. the opinions of Bisping and Burger quoted above on ver. 3. De Burgh seems to differ here from Todd—see on ch. ix. 13, 15, § (6).

TODD having expounded in a similar manner the measuring of the Temple as denoting "its restoration, after which the Holy City shall be encompassed with armies and trodden under foot of the Gentiles 42 months;" adds: "The remainder of the prophecy goes on to describe the events which shall take place in the Holy City during the 1260 days of its profanation by the Gentiles" (p. 171):—see on ch. ix. 13, 15.

See Note D on ch. xiii. 5.

NOTE C ON VER. 7—THE "FOURTH" BEAST.

Mention of "*the Beast that cometh up out of the Abyss*" is made only here and in ch. xvii. 8. The reading of Codex A, τὸ τέταρτον θηρίον,[1] is adduced by Züllig in proof that the Beast from "*the Abyss*" is the *fourth* instance of this symbol in the Apocalypse, the other *three* being (1) the Dragon, ch. xii. 3;—(2) the Beast "*out of the Sea*," ch. xiii. 1;—(3) the Beast "*out of the Earth*," ch. xiii. 11. These *four* are, (i.) the anti-Jehovah, Satan, who rules in the air, or in the heavenly regions;—(ii.) the Beast who rules over the Sea, the symbol of the peoples of the Earth, by the anti-Messias, Balaam (see Note E on ch. xiii. 18);—(iii.) the Beast who rules over the firm earth, the "*False-Prophet*;"—(iv.) an apparition from the Abyss, false-Judaism, and especially its last ruler (ch. xvii.) spoken of in Dan. vii. 7, 19; viii. 10. St. John does not copy Daniel carefully, for he makes *three* of the Beasts to have "*Seven Heads*" and "*Ten Horns*," and all are powerful; the third, or "*False Prophet*," however, has not strength, but prevails by the seduction of his tongue. Owing to the *three* having each "*Seven Heads*" and "*Ten Horns*," they have been often identified with one another: but this is an error. The *first* has upon his "Seven Heads" *seven* diadems (ch. xii. 3);—the *second* upon his "Ten Horns," *ten* diadems (ch. xiii. 1);—the *fourth* has no diadem either on "*Heads*" or "*Horns*" (ss. 156, 191, 192).

Ebrard argues to the same effect:—(1) In ch. xiv. 8 the Beast of ch. xiii. 1 is styled Babylon; but in ch. xvii. the Harlot, or Babylon, is distinguished from the Beast;—(2) The Beast in ch. xvii. 3 has no diadems;—(3) In ch. xvii. 3 the *colour* of the Beast is mentioned, not his form as in ch. xiii. 2;—(4) In ch. xvii. 3, 8 (cf. ch. xi. 7) this Beast from the Abyss is full of "*names of blasphemy*," while in ch. xiii. 1 the names are only on the Heads of the Beast (s. 455). On this subject cf. the note on ch. xvii. 3.

Düsterdieck points out the following differences:—(1) The conception of the Head "smitten unto death" and then "healed" (ch. xiii. 3) is not found in the description of the Dragon in ch. xii.;—(2) In ch. xvii. 11 an "*eighth*" Head is mentioned, which is not spoken of in ch. xii. or ch. xiii.;—(3) The "*Ten Horns*" in ch. xvii. differ in many ways from the Horns indicated in ch. xii. and ch. xiii.;—(4) The Head "smitten" and "healed" (ch. xiii.) is not referred to *directly* in ch. xvii. To these one may add, as above, (5) the position of the diadems on the "*Heads*" in ch. xii.; on the "*Horns*" in ch. xiii.; and the absence of any mention of them in ch. xvii.

Common, however, to all three chapters, are the two leading features of the "*Seven Heads*" and the "*Ten Horns*," borrowed from the symbolism of Daniel and indicating the identity of the Beast from the *Abyss*, and the Beast from the *Sea*—*one* Beast—who is the reflexion and the instrument of the Dragon.

NOTE D ON VER. 12—THE TWO WITNESSES.

Until the rise of the school of "Historical" interpreters in Cent. xiv., the belief as to the signification of the "*Two Witnesses*"—a belief which is now known as that of the "Futurists"—was almost universal in the ancient Church: viz. 'The "*Two Witnesses*" are to be two Prophets, who shall appear hereafter in the time of Antichrist for the confirmation and support of the persecuted Church;—they shall suffer martyrdom;—their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the literal Jerusalem for three literal days and a half (or for three years and a half, see below);—and their ascension to heaven shall be at once followed by the Second Coming of the Lord.' On the further question "Who the two Prophets are to be," opinions were somewhat divided:—

I. That one of the Witnesses is to be Elijah[1] (cf. 2 Kings ii. 11; Mal. iv. 5; Matt. xvii. 4, 11) all early writers were agreed; but there was not the same agreement as to the second Witness.

II. By far the greater number of the Fathers considered that Enoch (Gen. v. 22, 24; Heb. xi. 5; Ecclus. xliv. 16; xlix. 14) is to

[1] In place of the τὸ τέταρτον of A, Grotius suggests that we should read τὸ τερδστιον,—*prodigiosa, strange, monstrous*,—adding: "Nisi forte prima fera est Draco, altera ex mari, tertia ex terra orta, hæc vero quarta."

א reads τότε ἀναβαῖνον.

[1] E. g. Justin. M. (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 49); Origen (*In Joann.*, t. iv. p. 92); Lactantius (*Institt.* vii. 15, 16); Theodor. Mopsuest. (*ap.* Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Coll.*, t. vi. pp. 278–298); Sibyll. Orac. (B. ii., 187); Commodian. (*Carm. Apol.*, 832, *ap.* Spicil. Solesm. i. p. 44):—cf. also Chrysost., *Hom. lvii. in Matt. xvii.*

be the second. Enoch and Elijah alone of mankind had not tasted death; and so St. Jerome writes in answer to a question respecting those "who shall be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air" (1 Thess. iv. 17): "Visque nosse, utrum sic occurrant in corporibus et non ante moriantur; cum et Dominus noster et Enoch atque Elias secundum Apocalypsim Joannis morituri esse dicantur: ne scilicet ullus sit, qui non gustaverit mortem" (*Epist.* 59, *ad Marcellam*, t. i. p. 326). And to the same effect St. Augustine: "Quid enim dicunt? Si peccati est mors, quare non mortui sunt Enoch et Elias? . . , Et si non fallitur quædam ex Scriptura Dei conjectura fidei, morituri sunt. Commemorat Apocalypsis quosdam duos mirabiles prophetas, eosdemque morituros, et in conspectu hominum resurrecturos, et ascensuros ad Dominum: et intelliguntur ipsi Enoch et Elias; quamvis illic nomina eorum taceantur" (*Serm.* 299, *c. Pelag. hær.*, Opp., ed. Migne, t. v. 1376[1]). The reason here assigned for understanding Enoch and Elijah is most weighty.

St. Hilary Pictav. mentions Enoch with doubt (see under III. below). Andreas writes: τούτους τοὺς δύο μάρτυρας Ἐνὼχ καὶ Ἠλίαν πολλοὶ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐνόησαν κ. τ. λ. (*l. c.*; p. 58):—Arethas indeed states that this was the unanimous conclusion of the early writers. Cf. Irenæus (*Hær.* v. 5); Tertull. (*De Anima*, 50); Hippolytus (*De Antichr.* 43); Ephræm. Syrus (*Orati in adv. Dom.*; Opp. t. iii. p. 141); *Chron. Pasch.* (vol. i. p. 36); Damascenus (*De Orth. Fide*, iv. 26). See also the elaborate list of writers given by Stern (*in loc.*), who quotes Cassiodor. (*Complex in Apoc.*, in c. x. 1); Ambrosiaster (*Comm. ad 1 Cor.*); Alcuin. (*Comm. in Apoc.* v.); Aquinas (*De adventu Antichr.*, Romæ, 1840, p. 41).

Bellarmine brings the charge of heresy against any who deny that the "*Witnesses*" are to be Enoch and Elijah.[2]

III. There were some, however, among the most eminent of the Fathers who felt that the reasons are strong for regarding Moses (see Matt. xvii. 3) as the second of the "*Witnesses*"—for Moses, too, it was argued, like Enoch and Elijah, did not pass through death, see Deut. xxxiv. 6; Jude 9; and so Victorinus notes: "Many suppose that Elijah and Elisha, or Elijah and Moses, are the *Two Witnesses*" (*l. c.*, p. 59). St. Hilary Pictav., having distinctly specified "Moses and Elijah," adds: "Hos quidem prophetas duos prævenientes adventum Ejus esse intelligimus, quos Apocalypsis Joannis ab Antichristo perimendos esse dicit (*Comm. in. Matt.* c. xx. 10, ed. Ben., t. i. p. 769); and in this same work (c. xxvi. 5) St. Hilary, having expressed his doubt as to Enoch, again decides for Moses." Compare St. Ambrose (*De Cain et Abel*, i. 2, t. i. p. 186).

IV. To Enoch and Elijah, the Apostle John himself (John xxi. 22) is added by Methodius (*ap.* Suicer. *Thesaur.* i. 393); see also "*Append. ad Opp. Hippolyti*" (ed. Fabric. xxi. p. 14); Ephræm. Antioch. (*ap.* Photium, *Cod.* 229).

V. To Elijah some added the prophet Jeremiah. Thus Victorinus, in continuation of the words already quoted (see under III.), proceeds to say that Jeremiah is to be joined with Elijah, for it was predicted that he should be "a prophet unto the nations" (Jer. i. 5); and in order that he should fulfil this prophecy, which was not fulfilled during his former life, he must rise from the dead, must be a precursor of Messiah, and preach hereafter to many nations. St. Hilary, to the same effect, adds to the words quoted above under III.: "Licet variæ vel de Enoch, vel de Jeremia, plurimorum exstiterint opiniones, quod alterum eorum sicut Eliam mori oporteat."

VI. Nor was the figurative interpretation omitted by the early writers:—e.g. [Tichonius], Primasius, Beda understood by the "Two Witnesses," the "Two Testaments preached by the Christian Church to the world."

Coming to more modern times, C. à Lapide classified the opinions under three heads:—

i. "Qui per hos duos testes non *duos singulares vivos*, sed *duo genera testium* accipiunt:"—E.g. Pannonius understood the Doctors of the Church who preach the Old and the New Test.;—Arias Montanus took them to be the Law and the Prophets;—the Calvinists understand the Old and the New Test., or the Scriptures and the whole body of the faithful;—Alcasar the wisdom and sanctity of the primitive Church; Moses and Elijah being also prefigured. [Still more recently Bishop Andrews (*Contra Bellarmin.*, c. 11), and Bishop Wordsworth take the "*Witnesses*" to be the Old and the New Testaments].

ii. "Qui hæc de *temporibus non futuris*, sed jam *præteritis* exponunt:"—E.g. Ubertinus and Eitsinger take the "*Witnesses*" to be Christ and John the Baptist; and Ubertinus thinks that the prophecy may also apply to St. Dominic and St. Francis;—P. Aureolus,

[1] On this discourse the editor notes: "Ex vetere libro Corbeiensi nunc primum prodit. Excerpta ex hoc sermone tria dedit Beda nondum vulgatus in Pauli Epistolas. Unum . . ad 2 Cor. v.; duo ad 2 Tim. iv."

[2] Bellarmine pronounces "[sententiam] contrariam vel esse hæresim, vel errorem hæresi proximum."—*De Rom. Pont.*, iii. 6.

De Lyra,[1] Antoninus suppose them to be Pope Sylverius and the Patriarch Mennas, the great opponents of the Eutychian heresy.

iii. "Communis sententia aliorum est, hæc ad *ultima* mundi et *Antichristi tempora* pertinere;" and C. à Lapide names, as the companion of Elijah—Enoch, or Moses, or Elisha, or Jeremiah.

Coming to yet later times:—"We can understand no others," writes Stern, "than Enoch and Elijah." Heinrichs, Züllig, Bleek, repeat the reference to Moses and Elijah, while Ewald hesitates between Moses and Enoch. De Burgh concludes that "God will raise up *two*, of whom Joshua and Zerubbabel were but faint types" (p. 213); and Todd considers "that in the latter times *two* prophets will be raised up in the Jewish Church with miraculous powers similar to those once possessed by Moses and Elijah" (p. 194).

Among "*Preterists*":—Grotius refers Rev. xi. to the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian; and he takes the "*Two Witnesses*" to be "duo conventus Christianorum"—a Hebrew-speaking and a Greek-speaking church at Jerusalem; "*The Beast*" of ver. 7 being Barchochab, the destruction of whose party *within the city* is described in ver. 13, and whose destruction *outside the city* is referred to in ver. 15. With Herder, Eichhorn, and others, the "*Witnesses*" are the two High Priests Ananus and Jesus, who were put to death by the Zealots in Jerusalem (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 2, &c.). Bossuet thinks that the "*Two Witnesses*" were meant to signify that in the early heathen persecutions martyrs would be taken from the clergy, represented by Joshua, son of Josedech, in Zech. iii. 1; and from the laity, represented by Zerubbabel;—the words "when they shall have finished their witness" (ver. 7), indicating the persecution of Diocletian, the last effort of Paganism to destroy the Church. Stuart (*l.c.*, p. 226) takes the meaning to be that a *competent* number of faithful Christian witnesses should bear testimony against the corrupt Jews during the last days of their commonwealth. Following the same line Volkmar is quite certain that they can only be James "the greater" (Acts xii. 2) who was beheaded A.D. 44; and James "the less" who was stoned A.D. 61. Renan describes the "deux témoins comme deux personnages importants de l'Eglise de Jérusalem, deux .... comme Elie et Jésus;" and it is not impossible that they may be the two Jameses (see Volkmar above);—"peut-être aussi l'un de ces prédicateurs de pénitence est-il Jean-Baptiste, l'autre Jésus (Matt. xvii. 9–13)."—p. 405. On the other hand, Reuss decides: "Ces deux prophètes sont, à n'en pas douter, Moïse et Elie" (*in loc.*, p. 92).

[1] On this opinion of De Lyra, Düsterdieck asks, "How can Sylverius and Mennas be more justly held to be 'testes veritatis,' than the Waldenses, whose testimony (as Vitringa and others maintain), delivered by John Huss and Jerome of Prague, came to life again in Luther and Melanchthon?" Bishop Newton arrives at the same result as Vitringa, with a slight variation,—viz., the Waldenses and Albigenses; Huss and Jerome of Prague; Luther and Calvin; Cranmer and Ridley, and their followers. According to Mr. Cunninghame, the "*Witnesses*" are Luther and his followers; and according to Mr. Faber the "Vallenses and Albigenses" who, he maintains, were the only two churches of the West which were "exempt from apostate idolatry during the whole term of the latter 'three times and a half.'" Vitringa, however, candidly admits: "Inter Albigenses ... fuerunt zelotæ ... qui liberi non fuerunt ab erroribus Manichæismi."—*l. c.*, p. 466; see above on ver. 6.

CHAPTER XII.

1 *A woman clothed with the sun travaileth.* 4 *The great red dragon standeth before her, ready to devour her child:* 6 *when she was delivered she fleeth into the wilderness.* 7 *Michael and his angels fight with the dragon, and prevail.* 13 *The dragon being cast down into the earth, persecuteth the woman.*

AND there appeared a gr

[Ver. 2 καὶ κράζει. Ver. 5 ἅρσεν.—πρὸς τὸν θρ. Ver. 6 ἔχει ἐκεῖ.—τρέφωσιν. Ver. 7 τοῦ πολεμῆσαι μετά. Ver. 8 οὐδέ. Ver. 10 ἐν τῷ οὐρ. λέγουσαν.—ἐβλήθη. Ver. 12 *om.* 1st οἱ.—*om.* τοῖς κατοικοῦσι. Ver. 13 ἅρσενα. Ver. 14 αἱ δύο. Ver. 15 ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ before ὀπίσω τῆς γυν.—αὐτήν. Ver. 17 τὴν μαρτ. Ἰησοῦ.—*om.* Χριστοῦ. Ver. 18 καὶ ἐστάθη.]

THE WOMAN AND HER THREE ENEMIES (ch. xii. 1—xiii. 18).

The Fourth chief Vision of the Revelation Proper now opens:—see Introd. §. 12.

The Seer now beholds "*the Woman*" by whom the Church of God is symbolized (ver. 1), and also her Three Enemies—the *Dragon* of ver. 3, and the two *Beasts* of ch. xiii. 1, 11. The *Dragon* (Satan) had from the beginning proved himself to be the enemy of Christ, and had endeavoured to destroy Him at His Incarnation (ver. 4)—doubtless by the instrumentality of Herod. Not succeeding in this (ver. 5), Satan seeks to destroy the Church (*vv.* 13–17); and for this purpose, he employs two instruments—the two *Beasts*

10r, *sign.* 1 wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:

of ch. xiii. In the present chapter we are given the first of the pictures which represent the hostility of the Church's three Enemies. Most writers are agreed that we are now referred back to the origin of the Christian dispensation—in other words that St. John now "recapitulates." Hitherto, in the Apocalypse, "they that dwell on the earth" have been Christ's foes; henceforward Satan and his instruments appear in active hostility.

Auberlen divides this chapter into three parts:—the first two parts describe the condition, in St. John's time, (1) of the Church or Kingdom of God (*vv.* 1–6), and (2) of the kingdom of darkness (7–12). We are then shown (3) the relation of the two kingdoms from that time onwards (*vv.* 13–17)—p. 260.

There is, as usual, much diversity of opinion as to the details. Lücke (s. 355) regards ch. xii. 1–xxii. 5, as forming the second chief series of Apocalyptic Visions—the Seer now returning to the past, and taking his stand in the drama of the world's history. De Wette regards ch. xii.–xiv. as forming a new episode like ch. x.–xi. 13, and as introducing a new scene. Hengst. also connects as a distinct group chapters xii., xiii. and xiv.—ch. xiv. consoling the faithful oppressed by the Three great Enemies of God. Todd, in like manner, combines the same group of chapters:—these chapters contain, as he interprets, the first of the Visions "supplemental" to the Seals and Trumpets;—they "fill up the outline which had been before revealed" (p. 226).

Döllinger (*The first age of the Church*, Engl. tr., vol. i. p. 173) considers that the Seer reverts to the birth of Christ—the Child born of "*The Woman*" (*i.e.*, the Church in its earlier Jewish and present Christian form)—Whom Satan waits to devour through his instrument Herod (Matt. ii.). Wordsworth understands a retrospect to the first age of Christianity; he sees here a prophetic view of the future history of the Church; but still, he adds, "not in her universality but in her relation to a particular power—the power of Rome." Elliott makes the *fourth* and supplemental part of the Apoc. which treats of the "Beast from the Abyss," or Popedom, to begin here: it extends from ch. xii. 1 to ch. xiv. 8, and was written "*on the back*" of the Roll, and forms a chronological retrogression (see on ch. v. 1);—a persecuting Beast had been spoken of in ch. xi. 7; and, as it was necessary to give the history of his rise and reign, hence this episode. On opposite principles Stuart takes ch. xii.–xix. to describe the "Second Catastrophe," or destruction of the *Roman* persecuting power; as ch. vi.–xi. describes the "First Catastrophe," or destruction of the *Jewish* persecuting power:—Satan had done his utmost to destroy the Church in Judæa, before he began to stir up active persecution abroad. Auberlen, developing his parallel between the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse, observes that "Woman and Beast" form the same contrast here as in Daniel "the Son of Man and the four beasts:" the Son of Man in Dan. vii. 13 is seen to come from heaven;—here (ver. 1) the Woman is seen in heaven. The beasts rise from the sea in Dan. vii. 3;—and so in Rev. xiii. 1 the Beast. In both the *human* is opposed to the *bestial;* only with Daniel in male, with John in female shape. Herein the contrast between the kingdom of God and that of the world is symbolized. Daniel beholds the Man, the Bridegroom, the Messiah;—John beholds the Woman, the Bride, the Church of God in the world.—*l.c.*, p. 240. See below on ver. 1.

As a "Futurist" Bisping thus explains:—Ch. xii. 1–17 sets forth the state of things at the close of the first half of the last World-week, when the Jews shall have, almost all of them, embraced Christianity (ch. xi. 13); when the Church of Christ shall have awakened to new life; when Christ shall have been, as it were, born anew within her. On this awakening of the Church, the rage of Satan is inflamed against her, and she must withdraw, in the face of persecution, from the world into concealment. But her triumph over all her foes has been already secured in heaven (s. 187).

CHAP. XII.—THE WOMAN (1–17).

1. *And* **a great sign**] See ch. xv. 1. "**A sign**"—cf. "he *signified*," ch. i. 1. The Vision is thus declared to be figurative; it exhibits two tokens of a revelation—the *Woman*, and the *Dragon*. The figurative character of this Vision, being more remote from things *actual* than were the *objects* seen in the preceding Visions, suggests this term.

was seen] Compare ch. xi. 19.

in heaven;] Where the Seer beholds what is revealed, and whence the "*Dragon*" is cast out, compare *vv.* 3, 7, 9, and the words "*the sign* of the Son of Man in heaven," Matt. xxiv. 30: see also Luke ii. 34, "*a sign* which shall be spoken against." Bengel explains: "The Woman, the Church, though on earth, is, nevertheless by virtue of her union with Christ, in heaven,"—see Eph. ii. 6; Phil. iii.

20. According to Hengst., St. John is "in the Spirit;" and to be "in the Spirit and to be in heaven are the same,"—see Ezek. i. 1; and cf. Rev. iv. 1, 2; x. 1.

a woman] Scripture continually represents the relation of God to His Church as that of a husband to his wife:—Isai. liv. 5; John iii. 29; 2 Cor. xi. 2; Eph. v. 25, 32.

See Note A at the end of this chapter.

clothed with the sun,] We have here an ideal picture of the Church of God, the true Israel, the Bride, the spiritual mother of Jesus Christ. As such she wears the crown of "*Twelve Stars.*" Düsterdieck thus sums up the import of this figurative description: "The '*Woman*' who gives birth to the Messiah (ver. 5), and has yet other '*seed*' (ver. 17), can only be the Old Testament Church of God, the true Israel. John had already been taught by the representations of the ancient prophets to ascribe '*seed*' to this Church, and to regard her as Mother of her children, the faithful and godly (cf. Isai. liv. 1, 13; lxvi. 8): the description, moreover, of *vv.* 2, 5, has not arisen without a reminiscence of Micah v. 1–3"—(s. 420). St. John, in fact, definitely represents the Gentile Church ("the rest of her seed," ver. 17) as belonging to the "seed of the woman" (see John iv. 22; Gal. iii. 7, 16), and, so far forth, as brethren of the Messiah. Compare Micah v. 3,—"The remnant of his brethren,"—on which Dr. Pusey notes: "'His brethren' are plainly the brethren of the Christ; either because Jesus vouchsafed to be born 'of the seed of David' (Rom. i. 3); ... or as such as He makes and accounts and 'is not ashamed to call, brethren' (Heb. ii. 11), being sons of God by grace, as He is the Son of God by nature.... In the first sense, Micah foretells the continual inflow of the Jews to that true Israel who should first be called.... But ... there is no reason to take the name 'brethren' here in a narrower sense than so to comprehend all 'the remnant whom the Lord shall call' (Joel ii. 32), whether Jews or Gentiles."—*The Minor Prophets*, p. 334. Hengst. expresses the same result: The "*Woman*" is not the community of Israel in contradistinction to the Christian Church (see *vv.* 6, 14-17); nor, on the other hand, the Christian Church in contradistinction to Israel; but "*the Woman*," or Zion (cf. Micah iv. 10), is properly the one indivisible community of the Old and New Covenant—the Israel perpetuated in the Christian Church out of which the false seed has been cast by its unbelief. Auberlen observes that the reference of the "*Twelve Stars*" to both the Twelve Tribes, and the Twelve Apostles (see Note A at the end of this chapter), implies that "*the Woman*" represents not only the ancient Jewish Church, but likewise the Church of God in its New Testament form:—after the Ascension Israel ceased to be the congregation of God (Dan. ix.); and yet in Rev. xii. 6, 13, "*the Woman*" is spoken of after the Ascension (ver. 5). The reference of this symbol to the Church cannot therefore be limited to any particular period or epoch (p. 247).

On the other hand, Ebrard excludes the Christian Church. After Hofmann, he refers to Isai. vii. 14; Micah iv. 10: and understands here the daughter of Zion, Israel—"*qua* receiver of the promises" (Rom. ix. 3–5). "Hæc mulier," wrote St. Augustine, "antiqua est Civitas Dei .... Utque de nato quodam in Zion psalmus dicit. (Ps. lxxxvii. 3, 5) .... et illa mulier, Civitas Dei, ejus luce protegebatur, cujus carne gravidabatur" (*Enarr. in Psalm.* cxlii., *Opp.*, iv. p. 2264).

On the "Futurist" scheme, Stern, after St. Hippolytus (*De Antichr.*, c. 61), considers that the 1260 days (ver. 6) do not allow us to mistake the time of Antichrist; and hence "*the Woman*" denotes "the Church-teaching of the Last Time." To the same effect De Burgh relies on Isai. lxvi. 5–9; he considers that "*the Woman*" is not an emblem of the Christian Church at all; and he can "find no accurate correspondence to the emblem except in the Jewish nation .... pregnant with the expectation of the Coming of the Lord" (pp. 228–235); and so Todd: "The Woman .... is the nation of Israel at the period of her future promised glory" (p. 243).

In direct contrast to such interpretations is that, whether ancient or modern, which explains (as Words.): "The Woman in this Vision is the *Christian* Church."

As a "Preterist" Bossuet (and so Elliott who takes "*heaven*" to mean "the heaven of the political world") interprets this prophecy of the persecutions of the Church under Diocletian, Galerius, and Licinius, from A.D. 303 to A.D. 323. This opinion rests upon the three periods in the hostility of "*the Dragon:*" (1) before he is cast out of heaven (ver. 9); (2) after he is cast out (ver. 13); (3) the attack after the Woman's flight (ver. 15).

So early as Cent. iii., Methodius (*ap.* Cramer, *Catena*, p. 352), as subsequently Andreas (*l.c.*, p. 62), rejected the opinion that the Woman was the Virgin Mary. St. Bernard, however, did not think the application to the Blessed Virgin unsuitable ("Putasne ipsa [Maria] est sole amicta mulier? Esto siquidem, ut de præsenti Ecclesia id intelligendum propheticæ Visionis series ipsa demonstret; sed id plane *non inconvenienter* Mariæ videtur attribuendum."—*Sermo de XII. prærog. B. V. Mariæ*, § 3. The statement of C. à Lapide and others that St. Augustine made this application, is unfounded:—the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine's works point out that the sermons "De Symbolo, ad

2 And she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.

3 And there appeared another [1]wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads

[1] Or, *sign*

Catechumenos," in which this opinion appears, are spurious (*ap.* S. August. *Opp.*, t. vi., p. 965; see Todd, p. 234). Hengst., nevertheless, writes: "That the Church here was seen in the type of the Virgin Mary, or that the Seer perceived in the Virgin Mary an image of the Church, is rendered probable by ver. 4" (see also below on ver. 6). Stern (s. 303) altogether rejects this interpretation.

To apply the symbolism here exclusively to either the Jewish or the Christian Church fails to meet the requirements of the language used. Burger tries to meet this difficulty by understanding "*the Woman*" to be the Church of Christ in her final condition, and including converted Israel (Rom. ix. 27).

and the moon under her feet,] See Cant. vi. 10. She appears in the glory of all the luminaries which adorn the heavens. The old writers understand by this description that the sun rules the day of the Gospel (Isai. lxi.). "The moon under her feet" signifies what the Law, the Legal Israel, became to the Christian Church—not a yoke or a bondage, but a foundation.

and **on** *her head a crown of twelve stars;*] Bengel notes that the Stars are not "stars *of heaven*" (ver. 4). On the word "*crown*," see on ch. ii. 10. The number of Stars in this place—the sacred number of the Tribes of Israel—represents, according to Victorinus, the Twelve Patriarchs—"the Fathers, of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came." The "*crown of twelve Stars*," notes Reuss, "recalls the ideal totality of the true Israel." This number, now represented by the Twelve Apostles, has become a crown of Stars:—cf. ch. xxi. 12, 14. Ewald (see Note C on ver. 3) states that (the Arabic) Hippolytus understands by the *Woman*, the Church;—by the *sun* which radiated around her, the Messiah;—by the *Moon* under her feet, John the Baptist;—and by the *crown* of Stars, the Twelve Apostles.

"Twelve," observes Stern, "being the signature of perfection, all Saints are symbolized here." Many refer to Gen. xxxvii. 9 as the source of the symbolism;—there, however, we read of but *eleven* stars.

"The old world has often been called a *male* world," writes Mr. Maurice (pp. 208-212): "The reverence for women was indeed cultivated in the Jew by all his institutions; but the dread lest some other than a male standard of worth should creep in to the state, was a chief reason why the elder Romans dreaded the incursion of the art and learning of Greece." In Greece Pallas and Aphrodite had disputed the supremacy with Apollo; and upon this subject of the *male* and *female* ideals the present Vision may throw a light. The "*wonder*" which the Apostle saw—the mother and the child—is "the wonder which has accompanied Christendom through all the different stages of its life and growth." It has "been present to all who have tried to satisfy themselves what the human is, and how it is related to the Divine." The description of the *Woman* "here is a very striking symbol of humanity. . . . But though more perfect than anything that the world had yet seen, it is still imperfect. Something is needed to connect this *female* ideal with the *male* ideal of the former ages. *That* must be expanded as well as *this*. There must be a man-child."

2. **and she was with child:**] Gr. "**and being with child**"—these words are in concord with "*a Woman*."

and she crieth out, *travailing in birth,*] (See *vv. ll.*). For the application to the former Church of God, see Isai. lxvi. 7, 8, and the notes *in loc.* So likewise in a later age our Lord speaks of His Church in her early trials—see John xvi. 21.

and in pain *to be delivered.*] (On the constr. of the infin. see Winer, § 44, s. 291 ff.). "In this world the Church, like Eve, brings forth children in sorrow" (Words.). Ewald notes that the old prophets described under this image the "Woes of Messiah" (e.g. Isai. xxvi. 17; Hos. xiii. 13); and so Christ Himself, Matt. xxiv. 8. "What more appropriate symbol," writes Auberlen, "of the Old Test. Church?" . . . "The most ardent longing of the ancient Patriarchs . . . was nothing else but what Isaiah expressed: 'Unto us a Child is born,' &c.—Isai. ix. 6" (p. 244).

THE GREAT RED DRAGON (3-17).

3. *And there* **was seen** *another* **sign** *in heaven;*] In addition to "the sign" of ver. 1 there is here another figurative description—not the description of a *person*, but the symbol of Satan as representative and author of all that is evil on earth and opposed to God and Christ: see Ebrard, quoted on ch. ix. 2. "*In heaven*," notes Words., because the Church, "the kingdom of heaven" is assailed.

and behold, a great red dragon,] The word "*red*" (see ch. vi. 4) denotes either "flame-coloured" as the type of destruction (ch. ix. 17); or "blood-red" the type of murder,

and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads.

4 And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was

John viii. 44—cf. ch. xvii. 6. With this description compare that of ch. xvii. 3.

The word "*Dragon*" in the N. Test. appears only in this Book: the term is that employed in the LXX. to render the *tannin* of Ex. vii. 9 ("*a serpent*"), and of Jer. li. 34 ("*a dragon*"—see the note *in loc.*). It is also used for the *leviathan* of Job xli. 1:—see the note on Isai. xxvii. 1, and also Note B at the end of this chapter. In *vv.* 9, 13–16 we find the names *Satan* and *Devil*, the Hebrew and Greek names; also *Serpent* and *Dragon*—the names *Serpent* and *Dragon* being interchanged in *vv.* 13, 15. We are thus referred to Gen. iii. 1. Isai. xxvii. 1 supplies the source, and explains the appropriateness of this symbol; for "Leviathan" ("the Dragon" in the LXX) is there the symbol of Babylon, the power hostile to the people of God. So in Ezek. xxix. 3, the "Dragon" (LXX.; Heb., *tannim*, or *tannin*) is the emblem of Pharaoh, King of Egypt (doubtless the *crocodile* is referred to—see the note on Ezek. xxix. 3); and Egypt was ever the bitter enemy of the elder Church. This reference to Pharaoh illustrates that title of Satan which is found only in St. John, "Prince of this world" (John xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11). Observe, "*the Dragon*" is not the emblem of Satan generally, but of Satan in the particular relation of "Prince of this world."

Mr. Maurice notes: During the 1260 days—the three or four years at the end of which Jerusalem fell—Rome was passing through a death-struggle: and this crisis signified the struggle "whether humanity shall have its true and righteous King, or whether another power shall rule over it, and receive its homage. That power is represented as a bloody Dragon" (p. 213).

seven heads and ten horns,] On the numbers *seven* and *ten*, see on ch. xiii. 1. As to the import of this symbolism we must compare ch. xiii., and ch. xvii. The questions, as to how the "*Ten Horns*" are to be divided among the "*Seven Heads*"—each of which bears a royal Diadem (see Note D on ch. ii. 10), and what the proper meaning or reference of these *Heads*, *Horns*, and *Diadems* is, are not to be answered from ch. xii. alone. Satan, as the source of universal hostility to God, now appears in a form similar to that of the Beast—the Antichrist of the Christian era (see ch. xiii. 1; xvii. 3). Of this St. John gives the explanation in ch. xvii. 9–12. The "*Ten Horns*" are taken from the description of the fourth beast of Daniel (vii. 7, 20). De Wette suggests that the "*Seven Heads*" are a symbol of wisdom, and the "*Ten Horns*" a symbol of power,—the numbers *seven* and *ten* being the well-known symbolic numbers, and having here no more definite meaning than the number "one-third" in ver. 4. Similarly Stern (s. 305) regards the "*Seven Heads*" as types of the wisdom of the idolatrous powers of the world. Without any definite reference Beda explains: "Diabolus potentia terreni regni armatur. In septem capitibus omnes reges suos, et in decem cornibus omne regnum dicit."

The "*Seven Heads*," writes Auberlen, are a caricature of the Seven Spirits of God (ch. i. 4; iii. 1; iv. 5; v. 6); while the "*Ten Horns*" represent the World-element (p. 267). See Introd. § 11, (a).

and upon his heads seven diadems.] The "*diadem*" (a word found in the N. T. only here, in ch. xiii. 1, and in ch. xix. 12) is the symbol of royalty—see, above, the title "Prince of this world." In accordance with this title the "*Seven Heads*," with their diadems, signify universality of earthly dominion.

The Dragon has *Seven diadems* on his *Heads*; the Beast in ch. xiii. 1 has Ten diadems on his *Horns*, and in ch. xvii. 3 has no diadems. There is no ground in the text for any opinion as to the relation of the "*Ten Horns*" to the "*Seven Heads*": and in a symbolical description of this nature it is generally as profitless to attempt an explanation in words, as it is tasteless to represent pictorially (as Alcasar, Bengel, Züllig, Elliott, and others have done) the form of the Apocalyptic emblems. In the present case, however, the whole question of interpretation is involved. Thus Vitringa (p. 523), distinguishing the symbolism here from that in ch. xiii. 1, and understanding by "*the Dragon*" the persecuting Roman Empire on the eve of the accession of Constantine,—under the sway of Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, Constantius Chlorus, Maximin, Severus, and Maxentius,—argues that the *middle* and greatest Head (viz. Diocletian) bears the "*Ten Horns*," *i.e.*, rules over ten provinces. Bengel, Hengst., Ebrard, &c. infer (see on ch. xiii. 1) that the "*Ten Horns*" are borne by the *seventh* Head;—De Wette and Züllig, think that four of the Heads have each *one* Horn, and each of the remaining three *two* Horns;—while Düsterd. concludes that, if St. John had any definite intuition here, he may have given *one* Horn to each Head, and placed the remaining *three* Horns between the fifth and sixth Heads: see on ch. xvii. 10.

Ebrard notes that because "*the Dragon*" is

ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.

5 And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations

"the Prince of this world," he bears as his Heads and Horns the *Seven* successive World-monarchies, and the last *Ten* contemporary kingdoms; while according to Renan we here regard "Satan under the features of the most powerful of his incarnations, the Roman Empire" (p. 407). Mede also regards "*the Dragon*" as the symbol of the heathen Roman Empire. Perhaps the earliest attempt to explain the "*Seven Heads*" as symbolizing the Seven World-kingdoms is that of St. Hippolytus in his commentary on the Apocalypse, some portions of which have been recovered in an Arabic manuscript described by Ewald. Of this some account is given in Note C at the end of this chapter.

The *Horns* are the symbols of power (see on ch. v. 6); and the numbers *seven* and *ten* signify completeness and extensive authority. See on ch. xiii. 1 as to the characteristics here described, which, as belonging to his chief representative and instrument, Satan now assumes; and compare Note C on ch. xi. 7.

4. draweth *the third part of the stars of heaven,*] The *present* tense here points to the work which the spirit of evil is always doing in the Church. "*The Dragon*" like the "*Woman*" is in heaven, but the "stars *of heaven*" here are not those of her crown. I. Williams observes that as this particular is mentioned before the persecution of the "*Man Child,*" it must contain some earlier reference; and he suggests (as Andr., Arethas, Victorinus, &c., had done) that the reference may be to the angels (see Jude 6) whom Satan drew down with himself to perdition. To the same effect Burger;—who explains that "*the Dragon*" has subjected to himself, by means of these fallen spirits, this world and its kingdoms, and is thus able to use the words of Luke iv. 6. De Wette, Ewald, Bleek, understand some violence exercised on God's kingdom of light.

The "*third part*" seems to have the same meaning as under the Trumpets—see on ch. viii. 7. Mede accordingly explains these words to signify that the Roman Empire (see on ver. 3) has reduced to subjection "*the third part*" of the princes and dynasties of the world (p. 459).

On a different principle Elliott concludes that by the edict of Milan, A.D. 313, the Church gained toleration in Europe and Africa: in Asia, however, she was still persecuted—the *Pagan* Roman power being now reduced to *one-third* of its former extent. And thus the Dragon's tail drew down only a third part of the stars of the political heaven.

Vitringa, Bengel, and others understand here the persecution of the pastors of the Church;—Hengst. the overthrow of earthly rulers, as in Dan. viii. 10;—Stern the seduction by Satan of professing Christians who had once held high place in the Church.

Reuss notes that the Dragon's tail quenching the lights of heaven is the symbolical form of expressing the notion of the Prince of darkness.

and did cast them to the earth:] The symbolism here is plainly taken from Dan. viii. 10; as the "*Ten Horns*" are borrowed from Dan. vii. 7. Alf. sees in this description an emblem of "the magnitude and fury of the Dragon;"—Stuart merely a token of his power;—Ebrard notes that "*the Dragon*" is a power in heaven and on earth; this, he adds, agrees with his seduction of the angels.

and the dragon stood before the woman] Or, **standeth**, Pliny (*H. N.*, viii. 3) states that unlike other serpents, the dragon "celsus et erectus in medio incedit."

which was about *to be delivered,* **that when she was delivered, he might devour her child.**] Words. notes: "His design is like those of his . . . instruments, Pharaoh in Egypt, and Herod in Jewry; the former against the *male children* of Israel who were to be cast into the river Nile (Ex. i. 22), the other seeking to destroy *the Man Child,* Christ Jesus" (Matt. ii. 13).

5. And she was delivered of a son, *a man child,*] (See *vv. ll.*). Gr. "**a son, a male**" (τέκνον being understood)—if indeed we should not read here, in place of the *neuter,* the *masculine* (ἄρσεν) as in ver. 13. Düsterd. refers to Jer. xx. 15 (Hebr.), and explains the form by the design of the Seer to draw attention to the sex of the Child. Beda thought that the design was to designate the Child as conqueror of "*the Dragon*" ("victorem diaboli qui fœminam vicerat"). Bengel, Hengst., and others, adducing Isai. lxvi. 7, see a reference, in the emphasis thus given, to the words which immediately follow. Bisping compares Gen. iv. 1, where Eve, when she "bare Cain," supposed that she "had gotten *a man* [אִישׁ] from the Lord"—"*a Man Child*" who was to bruise the Serpent's head.

who is to rule] Gr. "**to tend as a shepherd.**" See Ps. ii. 9 (LXX.), and the note on ch. ii. 27.

all the nations *with a rod of iron:*] The reference to Christ, in ch. xix. 15, of these words from the Messianic Psalm, proves that what in Isai. lxvi. 7 was, primarily, but a personification has at length found its pro-

with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and *to* his throne.

6 And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should

found realization in "the man Christ Jesus," in and by Whom alone can the Church bring forth her children. As in Gen. iii. the Seed of the woman and the seed of the Serpent, so in the Apoc. the Son of Man and the Beast are parallel antitheses. "At first sight," notes Words., "these words appear applicable only to Christ;" but what is true primarily of Him is transferred to the members of His body. What St. Paul says of himself (Gal. iv. 19) is true of the Church which 'travails in birth again until Christ be formed' in her children. What Ps. ii. 9 foretells of Christ, He himself applies to his faithful ones in ch. ii. 26, 27. And thus Christ Himself has interpreted the present Vision:—"The *rod of iron*, is the Holy Scripture, and by it the *male children*, the masculine spirits of Christ's Church rule the Nations, and overcome the World"—see ch. iii. 21. In opposition to this view, Alf., following Düsterd., writes: "The Man Child is the Lord Jesus Christ, *and none other*." Alf. rejects one half of the interpretation; while Ribera and Stern (s. 307), with equal certainty, reject the other half: "Chapter xii. 5, cannot be referred to Christ" ("nicht auf Christum bezogen werden dürfe"), because, after His Ascension he needed no more to be rescued from Satan whom He has conquered by his death and Cross; and Stern refers the whole passage to the *newly* converted, to those who are "born again" in the persecution of Antichrist:—so Bisping also, as quoted above. According to Renan the "*Woman*" is Israel, and the "*Man Child*" the Messianic ideal (Micah iv. 10). For Auberlen's explanation see Note A at the end of this chapter.

and her child was caught up] Because this phrase "**caught up**" is not used elsewhere of the Ascension, Burger refuses to see in this passage a reference to "the birth of the Lord in Bethlehem." In ch. vii. 9–14, he adds, the conquerors of "*the Dragon*" stand before the throne; and so here "*the Woman*" —the Church of Christ—is not destroyed, but her "men children" the conquerors of "*the Dragon*" are removed from the evil of earth by death, and "*caught up*" to the throne of God, and to the Lamb.

According to Sir I. Newton, after Constantine's victory over Maxentius (A.D. 312) the Church brought forth "*a Man Child*"—a Christian Empire, which (A.D. 323) by the victory over Licinius was "*caught up unto God*" (*l. c.*, p. 466).

unto God, and **unto** *his throne.*] (See *vv. ll.*). As in ch. xi. 12, where the Ascension is referred to, so here the primary sense is the session of Christ at the right hand of God: "Christ our King and Priest 'has made us Kings and Priests to God.' By His Ascension into heaven we are even made 'to sit together *with Him* in heavenly places' (Eph. i. 20; ii. 6), and our 'citizenship is in heaven'—Phil. iii. 20" (Words.). The interpretation that from the first the Church, always in pain, is bringing forth Christ in His members, while "*the Dragon*" is always seeking to devour the new birth—Alford does not notice. He merely opposes to his own literal application to our Lord (and he pronounces every interpretation which oversteps this measure to be "convicted of error") the opinion of Elliott that the words are fulfilled by the "mighty issue of the consummated birth of a son of the Church, a baptized Emperor, to political supremacy in the Roman Empire, . . . united with the solemn public profession of the divinity of the Son of Man" (vol. iii. p. 24). Elliott indeed, merely follows Mede, who sees in the words a prediction of the triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire; not only its spiritual triumph, but also the victories of Constantine and Theodosius over the enemies of the Church: and so, for the most part, Brightman, Vitr., Bishop Newton, &c. According to De Burgh the words are "simply intended to convey the entire failure of Satan to prevent the kingdom of Christ;" though that kingdom be delayed during the Woman's flight to the wilderness (p. 236). "The prophecy," writes Todd, "presents difficulties which I know not how to solve" (p. 243).

6. *And the woman fled*] It is generally allowed that this verse is interposed here in anticipation of ver. 14. The further hostility of "*the Dragon*" to the "*Child*" (ver. 7, &c.) cannot be detailed until the fate of the "*Woman*" has been recorded. Her flight (ver. 14) follows the victory of the Archangel, when "*the Dragon*," discomfited in his attack upon Christ, turns against her (ver. 13). In ch. xiii. are set forth the means which he employs for the purpose of uprooting the Christian faith.

Hengst. and Auberlen regard the flight of the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus through the wilderness to Egypt (Matt. ii. 13) as a type of the flight of the ideal mother of Jesus here and in ver. 14.

into the wilderness,] *I.e.*, to the scene of her temptation, as it was of Christ's;—to the place of her conflict "*prepared of God*," and "*where she is nourished*" (ver. 14). The

feed her there a thousand two hundred *and* threescore days.

7 And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against

"*Woman*" has no city on earth, because she seeks the City which is to come (Heb. xiii. 14)—she has only a place in the wilderness. See Deut. viii. 2–5; Hos. ii. 14—texts which recall the flight of the ancient Church when persecuted by "*the Dragon*" through Pharaoh.

Döllinger refers to the days of Antiochus when the faithful fled from Jerusalem, 1 Macc. ii. 29.

where she hath a place prepared of God,] (See *vv. ll.*). Gr. "**where she hath there;**" the "relative adverb" (ἐκεῖ) is redundant, as occurs in relative sentences: see the note on ch. vi. 4, and cf. below ver. 14. On the prep. (ἀπό) see ch. ix. 18.

The Harlot is afterwards found in a wilderness (ch. xvii. 3), but not in "*a place prepared of God.*"

The "*place prepared of God*" in "*the wilderness*" corresponds, according to Bürger, to the land of Canaan; and to this land of its fathers converted Israel is to return shortly before the great ascendancy of Antichrist:—see on ch. xi. 2.

that there they may nourish her] (א and C read the *indic.* after ἵνα). The subject of the verb is indefinite; the *passive* is used in ver. 14:—see Auberlen's remark on the third person plural, quoted on ch. x. 11.

Compare Mark i. 13—"The Angels ministered unto Him."

a thousand two hundred and threescore days.] See ver. 14, and the remarks on ch. xi. 2, 3 where the same, or an equivalent space of time, is referred to; see also Note B on ch. xi. 2. This period of the woman's sojourn in "*the wilderness*" (1260 days = the 3½ years or "*times*" of ver. 14) represents in the Apoc., according to Daniel's predictions, the duration of the conflict between the world and the Church,—"the time of the World-power, in which the earthly kingdoms rule over the heavenly" (Auberlen, p. 252),—the broken week of Dan. ix. 27. This period, we have seen, is described symbolically in ch. xi. 2, as that during which "*the Holy City*" is trodden down by the Gentiles. The "*wilderness*" is in prophetic language the type of Israel's exile (see Isai. xli. 17–19; Jer. ii. 2; Ezek. xx. 13; Hos. ii. 14–15). The Child being "*caught up unto God*" and the flight of the Woman—the Ascension of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus—are parallel events; and this period of 1260 days embraces the whole duration of the Church's exile, from the date of that destruction to the End of all things. Ebrard understands here (see on ver. 1) that the "*Woman,*" being the representative of Israel "*qua* the object of the promises," must be preserved; and accordingly that Israel is not extirpated by the fourth World-power, the Roman Empire, but preserved by God in its national separation from other peoples (s. 363). Bisping, as above, refers to converted Israel, but "during the last anti-Christian persecution, . . . during the whole of the last world-week" (see on ch. ix. 12; xi. 2).

Cocceius, Vitr., Bengel understand by *the flight* the passage of Christianity from the Jews to the Gentiles; and so Auberlen (p. 247),—"Whither does the Woman fly after Christ's Ascension? Undoubtedly from the Jews to the heathen." Hence it is said in ver. 5 of "*the Man Child*" that He is to rule the heathen with an iron sceptre. "*The wilderness*" and the land of the heathen mean the same thing: there the demons, rulers and princes of the heathen world, dwell (Isai. xxxiv. 14; Matt. xii. 43; Mark i. 13). See especially Isai. xxi. 1–10, "The burden of the desert of the sea,"—the burden of Babylon,—of which passage ver. 9 is quoted in Rev. xiv. 8; and in Rev. xviii. 2. The flight of the "*Woman*" into "*the wilderness*" is thus the passage of the Gospel to the Gentiles, as announced in Matt. viii. 11, 12; xxi. 43; Acts xiii. 46, 47; xxviii. 28.

According to Sir I. Newton (*ibid.*) the "*Woman,*" by the division of the Roman Empire into the Greek and Latin Empires, fled from the "First Temple" (see on ch. xi. 2) into "*the wilderness,*" or spiritually barren Empire of the Latins, where she is found afterwards sitting upon the Beast (ch. xvii.).

Züllig, arguing that all here is historical (which he infers from the use of the *present* in ver. 14), refers to the early persecutions such as that of Saul (Acts viii. 3), and the escape of the Christians to Lydian Asia;—Herder and Ewald refer to the flight of the Christians from Jerusalem to Pella;—Renan, too, on the theory that the Apoc. was written at the end of A.D. 68, or beginning of A.D. 69, considers that *vv.* 6, 13–17, prove decisively ("ce qui est décisif") that the flight to Pella (Matt. xxiv. 15; Eus. iii. 5; Epiphan. *De Mens. et Pond.*, 15) had already taken place, and therefore must have occurred in the early part of A.D. 68 (*l.c.*, p. 296).

The War in Heaven (7–12).

7. *And there was war in heaven:*] The description here is in the strictest sense symbolical; the imagery and action being founded on other statements of Scripture. The primary

the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels,

8 And prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven.

object of the present Vision is to foreshadow the conflict and the triumph of the Christian Church: and, in order to indicate at the same time how the Church of the elder and the Church of the later Covenant are but one, the description is founded on the historical events of the past, and is expressed in the language of earlier prophecy. St. John, as Bishop Wordsworth notes, "now *reverts* to an earlier period, in order to recite the *antecedent* history of the Dragon, and to explain the circumstances under which he was led on to persecute the Woman; and he traces that history till it is brought down, in ver. 14, to the same point as in ver. 6, namely, to the escape of the Woman in the wilderness." The old conflict of Satan with the powers of heaven was renewed at the Incarnation, and with the same result; and now, in language reflecting the past, the victory of the Cross is the theme. "The passage Rev. xii. 7–11 is referred," writes Archbishop Trench (*Studies in the Gospels*, p. 229), "by all good expositors to that destroying of the works of the devil which was the consequence of the triumphant life, and death, and Ascension of the Son of God. *There* is described in its full consummation that which the Lord, (St. Luke x. 18) with prophetic eye, has already beheld." To these words of the Lord, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," may be added John xii. 31: "Now shall the Prince of this world be cast out." Here (as in ver. 3), "*the Dragon*" is seen in heaven; and we read to the same effect in Job i., ii.; Zech. iii. That Satan and his angels are now represented as being "*in heaven*," Stuart explains by the notion of the Jews that *evil* spirits inhabit the air,—Eph. ii. 2; vi. 12. "The dominion of Satan," writes Godet (*l. c.*, p. 358), "over the mind of the nations by the fascination of idolatry is a phenomenon which results from the elevated position which still, at the present day, he occupies in the supersensible domain, 'in the heavenly places' (Eph. vi. 12):" and Godet regards St. Luke x. 18 as being "the text of the Vision in ch. xii. of the Apocalypse." Auberlen makes the event here described "the turning-point in the history of the Prince and the Kingdom of darkness":—That history has *four* periods, (1) To the first coming of Christ; (2) From Christ to the beginning of the Millennium; (3) The Millennium itself; (4) Satan is judged. He also sees three stages in the personal conflict of Christ and Satan—(1) The Temptation; (2) The casting out of devils (Luke x. 18); (3) The triumph of the Resurrection and Ascension (cf. Luke xxii. 53)—pp. 253–257.

The "*war in heaven*," with Ebrard, comes *after* the 1260 days of ver. 6:—Satan, permitted to accuse Israel during the 1260 days, is cast out (*vv.* 9, 10); and, for so long, the promises to Israel are not fulfilled: at the end of the days he is conquered by Israel's guardian Angel, Michael (Dan. x. 13, 21; xii. 1), and Israel is by this victory reconciled (Zech. iii.). To the same effect De Burgh ("I take this war in heaven to be literal," p. 236); and so Stern, who sees here a prediction that Satan will once more collect his powers before Christ's Second Advent:—he suggests too that Satan's presence in heaven foreshows a daring attempt to annihilate the Church in glory. Eichhorn, Herder, Stuart, De Wette, in like manner, suggest that "*the Dragon*" had pursued the "*Child*" even to God's throne, and that this was the cause of the war. For these assumptions the context gives no ground.

The war in heaven and the victory signify, notes Mr. Maurice (p. 222), that the "*Man Child*" presented men to God as redeemed and justified.

Michael] On this name see the note on Dan. x. 13. Michael is styled "the Archangel," in Jude 9. He is not to be identified with the "*Child*" (ver. 5), *i.e.*, with Christ, as Vitr. and Hengst. allege, any more than the other chief Angels in this Book. As Gabriel ("the man of God") represents the ministry of Angels towards men (Dan. viii. 16; Luke i. 19, 26), so Michael is the type of their strife with Satan, and especially maintains the cause of Israel (Dan. x. 13, 21; xii. 1; Jude 9)—as of old the cause of Israel after the flesh, so now of the true Israel, the Church.

Words. compares the meaning of the word Michael ("Who is like unto God?") with the words "Who is like unto the Beast?" ch. xiii. 4.

and his angels [**going forth**] **to war with** *the dragon;*] See *vv. ll.*—a constr. which is without a parallel in the New Test. or the LXX., no verb expressing a design preceding the *infin.* Words. supplies "**go forth**," that is, "to fight with;"—I. Williams translates "**were to fight with;**"—Alf., in his commentary, simply "**to fight with**," and, in his revised translation, "**fighting with.**" De Wette adheres to the *Textus Receptus*:—see Note D at the end of this chapter.

and the dragon **warred,** *and his angels;*] I. Williams explains *vv.* 7–12 as a parenthetic introduction,—"as the Epinikion or victorious Hymn of the Martyrs,"—as opening the eyes to the mountain filled with the armies of

9 And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.

10 And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come salvation,

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heaven (2 Kings vi. 17): "As the foregoing account had gone back to the Incarnation, and took the analogy from the earlier fall of Satan, so is this expressed in words that might relate to the same" (p. 226).

Elliott sees here the conflict between paganism and Christianity in "the heaven" to which the Christian body politic is exalted:—a war between "the Captain of the Lord's host" and the apostate Emperor Licinius. Sir I. Newton's conclusion is to the same effect.

The comment of Réville (*l. c.*, p. 87) is, "The Devil, before being conquered in our world, must first be conquered in the heavenly world. Singular parallel to the Platonic theory of ideas!"

8. *And* **they** *prevailed not:*] See Jude 6, where we find another reference to the facts on which the symbolism here is founded.

not even *was their place found any more in heaven.*] See *vv. ll.*,—the true reading (οὐδέ), "**not even**," presents a climax: "The Dragon and his angels not only failed to conquer, but they could not even maintain their place in heaven." The power of Satan is now broken, and ver. 11 tells by what means. Hofmann, Auberlen, Ebrard interpret that "until the Ascension of Christ, the demons were in heaven like the other Angels." This notion is based on the words "*any more*" in this verse; and reference is also made to Job i. 6; ii. 1; while both in 1 Kings xxii. 19–22, and Zech. iii. 1, 2, Satan is represented, as in ver. 10, as "*the Accuser.*" Ebrard further holds that Satan remains "*in heaven*" even after the Ascension, until the end of the 1260 days—*i.e.*, until the end of the world.

Burger rejects all reference to the past—either to the fall of the Angels, or to what is meant in John xii. 31; Luke x. 18: Satan's enmity to Israel is intended, which comes to an end when Israel is hereafter converted, and Michael, Israel's guardian Angel, has overcome its Accuser.

Paganism, notes Elliott, met with its third and final defeat A.D. 324.

9. *And the great dragon was* **cast down,**] Compare ch. xx. 2; and also the reference to this passage by Papias, quoted in Introd., § 2, No. (3). Bishop Lightfoot points out that Arethas and Anastasius of Sinai illustrate the fact here referred to by Ezek. xxviii. 16,—*Contemp. Rev.*, Oct. 1875, p. 845.

the *old serpent,*] Cf. Gen. iii.; 2 Cor. xi. 3; and the words "from the beginning," John viii. 44.

he that is *called the Devil*] See on ch. ii. 10; and cf. ch. xx. 2, 10, for the *absence* and for the *presence* of the article which is absent here.

and Satan,] See ch. ii. 9; John xiii. 27—in Hebræo-Aramaic, "the Adversary:" it is usually rendered by the LXX. "the Devil," e.g. Job i. 6; to which titles is further added here—

the deceiver of the whole world;] Cf. ch. xx. 3, 8, 10. The Dragon appears now as the animating principle of the ungodly power of the world.

he was cast down] Cf. Isai. xiv. 12; Luke x. 17, 18—Babylon, the symbol of the evil World-power, being the subject of the former text, and the victory of Christ's ministers over the power of spiritual malignity being the subject of the latter.

to *the earth, and his angels were cast* **down** *with him.*] The being cast down from heaven to earth naturally denotes, under the figure of his original expulsion from heaven, the downfall of Satan's power:—see John xii. 31; 1 John iii. 8. The words of St. Paul in Col. ii. 15 are the key to the meaning of this verse.

The *sea*, Auberlen observes (p. 245), "is the mighty, troubled ocean of nations (ch. xvii. 15)." "The *earth* means the consolidated, ordered world of nations; with their civilization and learning; they produce the False Prophet" (ch. xiii. 11). *Sea* and *Earth* both stand opposed to heaven (ver. 12).

Elliott quotes the words of Constantine saying that he regarded Licinius as "*the Dragon*" deposed by God (*Vita Constant.*, ii. 46; iii. 3).

10. *And I heard* **a great voice in heaven saying,**] See *vv. ll.*; cf. ch. xi. 12, 15. The heavenly host celebrate the triumph of the Cross (see on ver. 17):—the speaker, as elsewhere (cf. ch. x. 4), is not specified. The voice describes the import of what the Seer has just written—the victory of believers over the enemies of Christ's kingdom (*vv.* 10, 11); and denounces woe to *the earth* and *the sea.*

The "*great voice*," notes Reuss, according to the usage of this Book, signifies the voice of Angels; who now call men persecuted by Satan "*brethren*," and thus add to the consolation proclaimed in this heavenly song. The voice proceeds, notes Ewald, neither from the Angels, nor from the Twenty-four Elders (ch. xi. 16), but, as the term "*brethren*" proves,

and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night.

11 And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.

12 Therefore rejoice, *ye* heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabiters of the earth and of the

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from the glorified Martyrs of ch. vi. 9–11; xix. 1–3. As the song here harmonizes with, and, as it were, completes that in ch. xi. 16–18, Hengst. refers the voice to "the saints of the Old Test." Ebrard considers it to come from all the Israelites converted down to the end of the 1260 days; or else those converted from all nations, as in ch. vii. 9.

Now is come] Or, **Now is the salvation ... become our God's,**] The verb in the aorist is joined to a particle of present time:—in English this is represented by the perfect.

the *salvation*, **and the power,** *and the kingdom of our God, and the* **authority** *of His Christ:*] "*The Dragon*" having been cast down, "the salvation of God" (in the specifically Christian sense, Luke iii. 6), His power, &c., have come. De Wette, combining what is said in ch. vii. 10, and in ch. xix. 1, explains, "now it is seen that salvation is of God."

for the accuser] See Note E on the form, "*Katēgōr*," given in the Cod. Alex. Cf. the titles "Satan," "the Devil," "Serpent," "the Deceiver" (ver. 9; ch. xx. 2, 3).

is cast down,] See *vv. ll.*:—the verb is the same as in ver. 9.

which accuseth them] The *present* expresses the habitual character. Auberlen (pp. 255–257) takes the participle here to be an *imperfect*—**which accused them**; and he explains that Satan can no longer accuse men *before God*, because men are brethren of Christ, and, in Him, of the Angels. Christ, our "Advocate" in heaven, overcomes our "accuser."

According to Burger, Satan continues to the end "*the accuser*" of the apostate and perverse, although he can do no more to injure converted Israel: he is not cast out of God's Creation until ch. xx. 10.

11. *overcame him*] See on ch. ii. 7 for this verb; and as to this expression of *victory* (the verb having *an object*) cf. 1 John ii. 13, 14. The victory is celebrated as past and over, the speaker being transported, as it were, to the End of all things—hence the aorist twice in this verse: see on ver. 17. The victors are, not the combatants of ver. 7, but the accused of ver. 10. Note here, in the middle of the Book, the mention once more of those who "*overcome*:" the verb occurs again in ch. xxi. 7.

because of *the blood of the Lamb,*] Not as the *means*, but as the *ground* or *cause*. As to the *prep.* (διά) with the *accus.*, cf. ch. i. 9; vi. 9; John vi. 57; and see on ch. iv. 11. Winer however prefers the former sense, referring to ch. vii. 14 (s. 356).

and because of *the word of their testimony;*] *I.e.*, because they have borne faithful testimony—see on ch. i. 9; vi. 9; their "*word*," like "*the blood of the Lamb*," being the *objective* ground of their victory.

and they loved not their **life even unto death.**] *I.e.*, disregarded their life (ψυχήν). The rendering of A.V., "*unto the death*,"—there being no art. in the Greek,—has come down to us from Tyndale, 1534: in Acts xxii. 4 this phrase has come down to us from Wiclif, 1380: see Bishop Chas. Wordsworth, *Shakspeare and the Bible*, p. 10 (cf. ch. ii. 10). In John xii. 25 the verb (φιλέω) denotes *the love* springing from natural inclination (cf. John xxi. 17); the verb used here (ἀγαπάω), rather signifies love as the direction of *the will*, in the sense of John iii. 19; xii. 43—a sense predominant with "the disciple whom Jesus *loved*" (John xiii. 23; see also 1 John ii. 15).

This verse, as the conclusion of ver. 10, commemorates by anticipation the victory of believers, throughout successive generations, over "*the Dragon*"—a victory founded on the heavenly triumph over him: see ver. 12.

12. *Therefore rejoice,* **O heavens,**] See *vv. ll.*

and ye that dwell in them.] Gr. "**have your tabernacle** *in them:*"—see ch. xiii. 6, where this phrase is repeated; cf. also ch. vii. 15; xxi. 3. (The reference to "*the inhabiters of the earth*"—see below, and on ch. iii. 10; vi. 10—is to be omitted). These words refer to those whose actual abode is *in heaven*, and who there enjoy a rest troubled by neither "*woe*" nor conflict; but Hengst. refers them to the members of the Church *on earth* who, as the Old Test. expresses it, dwell spiritually in God's *tabernacle*. Auberlen also refers the words to the members of Christ on earth, as included among the inhabitants of heaven,—1 Cor. xv. 48; Phil. iii. 20.

Woe for the earth and for the sea:] Omit "*to the inhabiters of*"—see *vv. ll.* (For the constr. cf. ch. viii. 13). In *vv.* 1–5 Satan has attempted in "*heaven*" to frustrate Christ by opposing his Incarnation; he now transfers

sea! for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.

13 And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man *child*.

14 And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she

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his opposition to "*the earth and the sea;*" and, these three regions being exhausted, the fourth, *the Abyss*, alone remains—ch. xvii. 8; see on ch. xi. 7. Hengstenberg understands by "*the sea*," the restless world (see ch. xvii. 15). Vitr. interprets "*the earth*" to mean the Roman Empire; "*the sea*" the barbarous nations. Auberlen explains, "Woe to them who still belong to the world, and trust to its power and culture"—see on ver. 9.

Many expositors look upon these words as the infliction of the "*Third Woe*," ch. xi. 14, —e.g. Bengel, who makes "*the earth and the sea*" to signify Asia and Europe.

because *the devil* **is gone down** *unto you,*] Not the *passive*, "was cast down" (ver. 9), denoting an involuntary fall; but the *active*, denoting the voluntary efforts of Satan.

having great wrath,] Kindled anew as the consequence of ver. 8: see 1 Pet. v. 8. He is still, writes Auberlen, as he was before, god of this world (2 Cor. iv. 4);—cf. Matt. xiii. 25, 39; Eph. vi. 11.

knowing *that he hath but a short time*] Not the word rendered by A. V. "*season*" (*chronos*) in ch. xx. 3, but *kairos*:—see on ch. i. 3, and cf. ch. xvii. 10. Wordsworth aptly quotes Matt. viii. 29. Ebrard refers to ch. xi. 11, identifying the "*short time*" here with the $3\frac{1}{2}$ *days* of Antichrist after the close of the 1260 days of ver. 6,—*i.e.*, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ *years* or *times* of ver. 14. Bengel assumes that the "*short time*" is not much longer than the "*time, times, and half a time*" of ver. 14, and therefore = four times "*a time*" (or $4 \times 222\frac{2}{9}$ years), and therefore = $888\frac{8}{9}$ years; thus making the duration of the "*Third Woe*" (see above) extend from A.D. 947 to A.D. 1836, or the date of the Millennium: see on ch. xi. 14; and Introd., § 11 (b), IV. Bengel regards this casting down to the earth as the *second* stage in Satan's punishment (see for the *third* and *fourth*, ch. xx. 2, 10); in the *first* stage Satan had lost his principality:—cf. John xii. 31.

The just inference surely is that the shortness of the "*time*" allowed for Satan's Antichristian work is founded simply on the principle which pervades the Apocalypse, that "*the time is at hand*"—that the Lord "*cometh quickly*" (ch. i. 3; xxii. 20).

THE FLIGHT OF THE WOMAN (13–16).

13. The narrative of *vv.* 4–6 is now resumed. The reason of the Woman's flight is here told, and the manner of her flight is described in ver. 14.

that he was cast **down to** *the earth,*] The meaning is—'The "*Dragon*" seeing that he was without power to injure the "*Child*" now proceeds to persecute the "*Woman*."

which brought forth the man [*child*].] See ver. 5. Note the use of the *relative*, as in ch. ii. 24; ix. 4; xix. 2; xx. 4.

Elliott explains that Christianity was now assailed by Arianism and the temptations to superstition. Ebrard (s. 405) considers that the "*Dragon*" makes *two* attacks upon the "*Woman*" or converted Israel,—here, and in ver. 15. This, the first attack, he holds to be "relatively identical with the *fifth* Trumpet," see on ch. ix. 2. At the end of the *five* mystical months (ch. ix. 5)—*i.e.* the beginning of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days of Antichrist—Satan finds Israel converted (ch. xii. 7–11), and then turns against her the plague hitherto directed against "the unsealed" (ch. ix. 4): but now Israel is sealed, see ver. 14.

14. *And to the woman were given*] Given by God, and for the purpose specified.

the *two wings*] See *vv. ll.*

of the *great eagle,*] This symbol, expressive of the flight of the Church, is taken from the language applied to the flight of Israel from Egypt (Ex. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11, 12), and hence the definite article—"*the* great Eagle:" cf. Isai. xl. 31.

Hengst., after Züllig, presses the language of Ex. xix. 4, and concludes that the Lord Himself is meant, "I (Jehovah) bare you on Eagles' wings" (and so Words., who quotes Mal. iv. 2,—"the 'Wings of Christ.'") Ebrard explains the article by referring to the Eagle of ch. viii. 13 which announced the "Woes;" thus fixing the flight in the time preceding the *fifth* and *sixth* Trumpets. The flight here is not, Ebrard argues, that which is described in ver. 6, and which was from the "*Dragon*" who persecuted the "*Woman*" *in heaven;* here she flies from the "*Dragon*" who persecutes her *on earth*. In order to draw this inference, Ebrard is compelled to understand the word *heaven* typically—the Woman's flight to the wilderness in *heaven* being a figure to express the dispersion of Israel on *earth*—and the *earth* literally (s. 369).

Bishop Wordsworth takes "*the two wings*" to be emblems of the Two Testaments;—St. Hippolytus ("Ancolitus," *ap.* Lagarde, *l.c.*, p. 25) interprets the "*wings*" to be Hope (or

might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.

15 And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood.

Prayer) and Love, see Note C on ver. 3;—Ribera notes that the Church receives not "the wings of a dove" (Ps. lv. 6), but of an "*Eagle*," because she flies not out of fear, but out of love to God, in order to soar to the Divine Sun;—Stuart sees here merely an image of rapid flight, St. John thus expressing what the Lord had said in Matt. xxiv. 16, &c.

Mede (followed by Bengel and Auberlen) understands by the "*wings*" the two divisions of the Roman Empire, and the protection which the Eastern and Western Cæsars afforded to the Church; and Auberlen refers to the "great Eagle" of Ezek. xvii. 3, 7 where the Kings of Babylon and Egypt are thus designated, of whom the former again appears in Dan. vii. 4 with "Eagle's wings" (p. 260). Elliott points to the union of the "*two wings*" of the Roman Empire under Theodosius, and the help given to the Church during the eighteen years of his reign.

As a "Futurist" De Burgh, who explains that the "*Woman*" is an *emblem*, interprets the wilderness *literally* as in Ezek. xx. 35–38—a passage which intimates that the former discipline of Israel in the wilderness "will be reacted precisely" (p. 242).

into her place,] See ver. 6—the "*place prepared of God.*" "Futurists" understand by this the place of refuge of converted Israel during the persecution of the second half of the last World-week.

where she is nourished] Gr. "**nourished there**:"—on the redundant "*there*," see ver. 6, and cf. ch. xvii. 9. We have here another feature of Israel's history—see Deut. viii. 3, 16.

for a time, and times, and half a time,] For the word rendered "*time*," as in ver. 12, see on ch. i. 3. This designation of the period known already as 1260 days, or 42 months (see ch. xi. 2, 3, and ch. xii. 6; see also Note B at the end of ch. xi.) is taken from Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7. This verse proves the identity of the 3½ years, or mystic "half-week" of Dan. ix. 27, with the 1260 days of ver. 6:—we may compare too the allusion to this mystic "half-week" by our Lord in Matt. xxiv. 15. There is no *dual* number in the Greek of the New Test., nor, regularly, in the Chaldee; and hence, both here and in Daniel (vii. 25; xii. 7, LXX.), "two times" or "two years" is expressed simply by "*times*:"—see Winer, s. 160. For Bengel's calculation see Note A at the end of this chapter. Ebrard here also refuses to identify ver. 6 and ver. 14: he denies that a "*time*" = a *year*, no definite measure of duration being expressed. He sees here merely 3½ mystic periods which, like the 3½ *days* of ch. xi. 9, 11, denote a period of duration different from the 1260 days or 42 months—the half week of *years*; with him the 3½ *years* symbolize the interval between the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and the rise of Antichrist; and the 3½ *days*, or 3½ "*times*," express the duration of the rule of Antichrist;—he refers in proof to Dan. vii. 25. Ebrard seems to stand alone in this opinion. Bleek regards the 3½ "*times*" to mean the same amount of duration as that spoken of in ch. xi. 2, 3; but he places the 3½ "*times*" immediately after the Ascension, already past; while he refers ch. xi. 2, 3, to the days before our Lord's future Coming.

On the rationalistic theory that a prophet can only describe *past* events, Krenkel suggests the notion that "*a time*" signifies *ten years*:—he thus gets 35 years from the date of the Crucifixion, and consequently the year 68, or the year in which he places the composition of the Apocalypse.—*l.c.*, s. 42.

from the face of the serpent.] A Hebrew idiom, cf. Judg. ix. 21 (LXX.): "*nourished... from*,"—*i.e.*, "*safe from*," "**far from.**" The prep. is not to be joined to the remote verb, "*might fly.*"

Here and in ver. 15 "*the Dragon*" seems not to have the special form as described in ver. 3, but his original form of Serpent. In ver. 16 he appears again as "*the Dragon.*"

15. *cast out of his mouth* **after the woman**] See *vv. ll.* The "*Serpent*" having failed to reach the "*Woman*," employs other means for her destruction.

water as a river, *that he might cause her to be carried away* **by the stream.**] St. John here uses the imagery of the Old Test., where imminent danger is expressed by the figure of a water-flood—cf. Ps. xviii. 4, 16; xxxii. 6; Isai. viii. 7; Jer. xlvii. 2; Dan. ix. 26; xi. 22. Hengst. takes the words to mean "the hostile overflowing of the Church, the beginning of which gave rise to this Book,—the Roman persecution."

Understanding "the river" here, and the "*many waters*" in ch. xvii. 1, to be explained by ch. xvii. 15, many see in these words "the deluge of barbarous nations, the Goths and Huns,"—so Wordsworth; and Auberlen notes: "The streams of the migrations of nations. The Germanic tribes were to destroy the Roman Empire, and thereby, according to

16 And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth.

17 And the dragon was wroth with

Satan's plans, Christianity also" (p. 261). More specially still:—Wetstein, as a "Preterist," applies the words to the armies of Cestius and Vespasian; and Mr. Maurice understands by the waters cast after the Woman, the sects or heresies of which Jerusalem had been a hotbed. As to the "Historical" interpreters, Calovius sees here the Arian heretics;—Vitringa, the Saracens;—Cocceius, the hosts of Licinius and Maxentius at war with Constantine;—Bengel, the Turks checked in the Asiatic "*earth*" by the Crusades, and checked still further from 1725 to 1836;—Alford is disposed to see in "the *stream*" "the irruption of the Mohammedan armies." On the "Futurist" theory, De Burgh (again allegorizing) writes: "Probably an host of armies, just as Pharaoh sent forth his armies and pursued the Israelites, which armies God destroyed by bringing the waters to the help of his people" (p. 243);—C. à Lapide explains: 'The hosts of Antichrist';—Stern: 'A deluge of godless peoples, and infernal spirits, as Satan's instruments.' This verse Ebrard (see on ver. 13) regards as describing the second attempt of the "*Dragon*" against converted Israel. This attempt he connects with the *sixth* Trumpet, or (for he identifies them) the *sixth* Vial; and he makes it to follow the 3½ days of Antichrist:—see on ch. xix. 19. Bisping also understands a vain attempt of Satan hereafter to destroy the Church, the nature of which assault the fulfilment of this prediction alone can explain.

16. *And the earth helped the woman,*] "'*The earth*,' when it occurs in this manner, is ever used in a bad sense. . . . The stream which the Dragon sends after her is evidently that of the early persecutions; the earth helping her is the world becoming Christian; thence Antichrist arises [see ch. xiii. 11], and this is the ensuing history."—I. Williams (p. 231).

The imagery of this verse Burger regards as borrowed from the deliverance of Israel from Egypt through the Red Sea; and he relies on the language of Ex. xv. 12. Similarly, Bleek (after Ewald) sees a reference to the deliverance of Israel through the Red Sea.

opened her mouth, and swallowed up the **river**] As, in the history of Israel, Korah's company perished (Num. xvi. 30–33). So Hippolytus ("Ancolitus," *l.c.*), who however prefers the sense that the agents of the Dragon wandered to and fro on the earth in despair. Hengstenberg notes: Another earthly power rises against those who persecuted the Church; as the kingdom of the Medes and Persians brought that of Babylon to an end, so (as we read in ch. xvii.) Rome was to be destroyed by the "*Ten Kings*." Auberlen understands that "the cultured Roman world received the wild Germanic masses, and reconciled them to Christianity":—Rome is thus regarded "as a power of civilization," and he quotes Lange: "The earth, *i.e.*, consolidated ecclesiastical and political order, devoured the stream [of the German nations], and amalgamated with itself the wild tribes" (p. 261).

Mede sees here the triumph of the orthodox faith, in the early Councils, over heresy. "Multitudo Christianorum in Conciliis orthodoxa fide prævalentium inundationem Diabolicam exhausit, quemadmodum Terra aquam solet, cum siccitate prævaluerit" (p. 498).

Sir I. Newton understands the "*flood*" to be the *Latin*, and the "*earth*" the *Greek* Empire.

Renan (p. 297) considers it likely that we have here described an attempt of the zealots, or *sicarii* of Jerusalem, to drown in the Jordan the holy band ("la troupe sainte") of Christians flying from the siege to Pella.

which the dragon cast out of his mouth.] The Æthiopic version adds here: "and knew not that Wings had been given to her."

The narrative given in *vv.* 6, 13–16, now comes to an end; ver. 17 taking up the narrative at the end of ver. 5.

17. *And the dragon* **waxed** *wroth with the woman,*] It is important to fix the connexion of this verse with what precedes. Verses 1–5 tell us of the "*Woman*" and the "*Dragon*"; of the Dragon's hostility to her; and of her "*Man Child*," Christ, being caught up unto God. Verse 6 (anticipating ver. 14) tells of the flight of the "*Woman*," now become the Church of Christ, to the wilderness where she is preserved till the End. In *vv.* 7–9 is given the previous history of the "*Dragon*," which is brought down to the victory over him by the Cross of Christ (Col. ii. 15; 1 John iii. 8; Jude 6). The result is expressed in the hymn of triumph (*vv.* 10–12) which celebrates, as if the conflict were past and over, the successive victories, until the End of all things, of the Church of the Redeemed. Verses 13–16 resume and describe more fully what was told in ver. 6,—ver. 15 recording the never-ceasing efforts of Satan during the "*time, times, and half a time*;" and ver. 16 recording their failure. The course of the narrative ends here. Verse 17 now reverts once more to the point where the "*Man Child*" had been "*caught up unto God*," and proceeds in continuation of ver. 5—*vv.* 6–16 forming, as it were, an

the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.

episode. "*The Woman*," in ver. 5, was still the Church of the Elder Covenant; but after the Ascension she has become the Church of the New—which is now represented as "*the* **rest** *of her seed*" (see on ver. 1). With the Christian Church, therefore, the "*Dragon*," baffled in his attempt to destroy Christ, turns to make war; and in ch. xiii. we have an account of the agents by whose intervention he carries on the warfare.

The "*Dragon*," writes Sir I. Newton, was wroth with the "*Woman*" under the Emperor Julian. Such a result as this illustrates the defects of the "Historical" school. However true this *application* may be, it clearly does not exhaust the meaning of the prophecy.

and **went away** *to make war with* **the rest** *of her seed*,] (Cf. ch. xi. 7). *I.e.*, the "*Dragon*," after his fruitless effort to "*devour her Child*," went away to assail "*the* **rest** *of her seed*"—the "brethren" of Christ (see on ver. 1; Micah v. 3; Heb. ii. 11)—the Church of God. The assault is described in ch. xiii. 7. This war with the "*Dragon*" is the same as that in which the faithful are ever, in the end, victorious (see ver. 11), and also the same as that described in *vv.* 15, 16,—the repetition of the fact being a warning that the Church is never, while in "*the wilderness*," to enjoy external peace.

The words, "*the* **rest** *of her seed*" have been variously interpreted. Mede understands, "Those to whom the Woman was to give birth in the wilderness";—Hengst., "Those who survived the hostile overflowing in ver. 15, or were not affected by it";—I. Williams, "The Dragon makes war,—not with the Woman, who had fled in retirement of spirit to be with God, nor with the Man Child of her first born, but with her seed *that remained in the world*, and this by raising up Antichrist." On the other hand, Auberlen: "Having failed to destroy Christianity, the true Christians are always the objects of the Dragon's enmity, John xv. 18";—Ebrard and Bisping explain the "*Woman*" in *vv.* 1–6, as Israel destined to be converted, and after ver. 7 as actually converted; "*the* **rest** *of her seed*" are the Gentile Christians (Rom. iv. 12; Gal. iii. 7);—With De Wette and Bleek, the "*Woman*" is the whole Church; "**the rest**" are the individual members (so Burger, who refers to Rom. ix. 6);—Brightman: "*The* **rest** *of her seed*" are the Eastern Church;—Vitr.: They are the Western Church, viz. the Waldenses, Wiclyfites, &c.;—Elliott, They are the faithful witnesses, Vigilantius, Augustine, &c.;—Stuart: Christians had for some thirty years after the Ascension been persecuted in Judæa, and then Nero's persecution broke out elsewhere against them, under Satan's instigation.

De Burgh, who sees in the "*Woman*" only the Jewish Church (see on ver. 1), understands here the 'third left in the land' (Zech. xiii. 8, 9), exclusive of the general restoration of Israel: "This remnant is none other than the 144,000 sealed:"—see ch. xiv. 1 (p. 245).

Renan regards "*the* **rest** *of her seed*" as the churches of the Dispersion "which keep the commandments of God,"—a feature added in order to exclude the churches founded by St. Paul, which "selon les judéo-chrétiens, manquaient aux préceptes noachiques et aux conventions de Jérusalem."—p. 410.

and have the testimony of Jesus:] (Omit "*Christ*"—see *vv. ll.*). Or **hold**:—cf. ch. xix. 10; 1 John v. 10; and see on ch. i. 2, 9.

18. [xiii. 1]. **and he stood** *upon the sand of the sea.*] See *vv. ll.*; and for the verb cf. ch. viii. 3.

The "*Dragon*" now takes his stand amid the scene described in Dan. vii.—a chapter which supplies the imagery that follows—where "the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea." It is "*from the sea*" the Beast comes up in ch. xiii. 1. "*The sea*" is the symbol of hordes of peoples—see ch. xvii. 15; xx. 8; and, in accordance with this idea, the Beast—the emblem of the World-power symbolized in the Book of Daniel by *four* beasts—rises from "*the sea*."

Düsterd. understands the *literal* sea;—Volkmar and others, the sea which covers the Abyss, *i.e.*, Hell (cf. ch. xi. 7; xvii. 8);—others, the sea "at Cæsarea" (see H. Gebhardt, *l.c.*, s. 237);—and Rationalists generally explain: 'The Roman "*Dragon*" has persecuted the true Church which has escaped through the desert beyond Jordan to Pella where she is to be preserved for three and a half years until Messiah comes. The "*Dragon*," enraged at her escape, turns to persecute the other Christians who do not dwell in Jerusalem. But even before this, the Beast with the "*Seven Heads*" and the "*Ten Horns*" has placed himself on the coast of Palestine,—the Roman army standing not far from the Holy City' (see Schenkel's 'Bibel-Lexicon,' s. 158).

Elliott expounds: The flood of invading Goths is now absorbed in the Roman Empire. The Pagan Roman rule ("He who now letteth," 2 Thess. ii. 7) has to give place to Papal Rome. Out of this flood of Gothic nations rises the Beast of ch. xiii. 1, the substitute and successor of the "*Dragon*."

The reading of the *Textus Receptus*, "*I stood*," and the joining on of this verse to ch. xiii., render the description far less effective.

As thus read, moreover, the opening of the new Vision in ch. xiii. is out of all analogy with the usual manner of the Seer who begins his new scenes simply with the words "*I saw*,"—cf. ch. iv. 1; v. 1; vi. 1; vii. 1; viii. 2; x. 1.

Hengst., adopting the usual reading, renders "I was placed:"—"John did not take up his own position, but he was set there," cf. ch. xvii. 3; iv. 1; and so he would render ch. viii. 3. Vitringa says: "An Draco spectator esset notabilis hujus eventus; num potius Joannes? . . . Joannes spectator fuit . . . ex cœlo subito veluti delatus in terram" (p. 567).

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. XII.

NOTE A ON VER. 1—THE STAR-CROWNED WOMAN.

That "*the Woman*" signifies the Church, Jewish or Christian, is the opinion of the ancient interpreters:—

ST. IRENÆUS in his interpretation of ch. xvii. 12 seems to identify the "*Woman*" with the Christian Church. Antichrist and the Ten Kings, he writes, "effugabunt Ecclesiam" —*Cont. Haer.* x. 26, p. 323:—see ver. 14.

St. HIPPOLYTUS in his treatise *De Antichristo* (*l. c.*, p. 30) repeats the interpretation already quoted (see on ver. 1) from the Arabic version of his lost work on the Apoc. (see below, Note C). "The Church," he adds, "will never cease bringing forth, from her heart, the Word, which, when it is in the world, is persecuted . . . that male and perfect offspring Christ." The Child being caught up to God (ver. 5), denotes that He is no earthly king, as David wrote in Ps. cx. 1. The 1260 days of the "*Woman's*" flight (ver. 6) are the half-week of Antichrist (ver. 14); and the "*Two Wings*" of the Eagle which shelter her denote the faith of Jesus Christ.

VICTORINUS combines the two conceptions:—"Mulier antiqua Ecclesia est patrum et prophetarum et sanctorum Apostolorum, quæ gemitus et tormenta habuit desiderii sui, usque quo fructum ex plebe sua secundum carnem olim promissum sibi videret Christum ex ipsa gente corpus sumpsisse" (*in loc.*). And so Methodius, Primasius, Andreas, Beda. Beda writes: "Semper Ecclesia, Dracone licet adversante, Christum parit. Masculum autem dicit, victorem diaboli qui fœminam (Evam) vicerat. . . . Nam et Ecclesia quotidiè gignit Ecclesiam mundum in Christo vincentem" (*in loc.*).

Turning to more modern comments:—

According to MEDE:—"The "*Woman*" is the primitive Church, clothed with the faith of Christ "the *Sun* of Righteousness;"—the "*Moon*" denotes the Jewish Law and ritual of Moses which she treads beneath her feet;—she suffers the pangs of labour in bringing forth her children, owing to the persecution of the Pagan Roman Empire which worships the "*Dragon*";—the "*Man Child*" is Christ formed in His members;—and the "*Child*" caught up to the throne of God means the elevation of Constantine to the throne of the Cæsars. As Israel wandered in the wilderness during forty-two *journeys* (Num. xxxiii.), so the Church, having passed from heathen persecution, wanders in the wilderness of the world until the second Coming of Christ, and this during "forty-two *months*." "*The Great Eagle*" is the Roman Empire; and "*the Two Wings*" are the Emperors of the East and West, by whose aid the Church, like Israel (Ex. xix. 4), has reached the wilderness ("in Eremeticum statum concessit"). The "*flood*" from the Dragon's mouth signifies the Arian heresy, and the "*earth*" the Councils of the Church by which heresy was suppressed. The "*Dragon*" thus defeated, proceeds to set up a vicarious kingdom—the secular and the ecclesiastical, in his stead (ch. xiii. 1, 11).

VITRINGA writes: "Visum hoc *signum in cælo* tum quia ad Religionem pertinet, cujus *objectum* est in Cælo; tum præcipuè quia *subjectum* hujus Visi, Ecclesia Novi Fœderis est in cælo (Eph. ii. 6) . . . . "In emblemate nihil obscurum . . . . Est augustum repræsentamen Ecclesiæ Novi Fœderis . . . . quod miror . . . . non vidisse Launæum et Cocceium, qui in hac Muliere vident imaginem Ecclesiæ fidelium Veteris Testamenti, quæ erat in spe parturiendi Christum." The "*Woman*" is clothed with the "*Sun*," "for she has Christ, the Sun of righteousness" (Mal. iv. 2) as her teacher; the "*Moon*" is beneath her feet, for, what is changeable in religion being now abolished, she has "a kingdom which cannot be moved" (Heb. xii. 28). [The interpretation which makes the "*Moon*" the emblem of change, seems to have been suggested by Gregory the Great (who also takes the "*Woman*" to be "the Holy Church," "quia superni luminis splendore protegitur"):—"In *luna*, quæ menstruis supplet ionibus deficit, mutabilitas temporalitatis accipitur."—*Moral. in Job.*, xxxiv. 7].

BENGEL sees in the "*Woman*" the Church of God, at first of Israel, now of the Gentiles;—in the "*Sun*" the Christian Empire;—in the "*Moon*" the Mohammedan power of which the emblem is the Crescent;—in the "*Twelve Stars*" the Tribes of Israel. The "*Man Child*"

is Christ's kingly dominion, and His being caught up unto God implies that this dominion, under the seventh Trumpet, is at present hidden from the world. The 1260 prophetic days of ver. 6 = 677 common years (Introd. § 11, (b), IV. note [3])—viz. from the introduction of vital Christianity into Bohemia by Boleslaus, A.D. 940, to its extinction there, at the era of the Reformation, A.D. 1617. From 940 to 1058 "*the Woman*" was most helpless. She was nourished there, however, for 3½ "times"=777⅓ common years, and this again gives us from A.D. 1058, to A.D. 1836. On ver. 16 Bengel notes that the Turkish power is now checked in the Asiatic "*earth*" by the Crusades and subsequent events; and it is further checked between 1725 and 1836. The naming the "*Two Wings*" of the "*Eagle*" imports that the Woman's flight was to happen while the Eastern Roman Empire still existed.

BISHOP NEWTON takes the travail of "*the Woman*" to denote the early trials of the Church, "until she brought forth a *Man Child*," *i.e.*, Constantine, as her deliverer. The "*Dragon*," *i.e.*, the Roman Empire, from the first was jealous of the Church; and Galerius especially laid snares for the life of Constantine, who, nevertheless, was "*caught up*" to the Imperial throne (ver. 5). The "*war in heaven*" (ver. 7) signifies the struggle of the heathen against a Christian ruler,—a war which ended in the destruction of paganism, or the "*casting out*" of ver. 9. Then follow the Arian persecutions, and the hostility of Julian. The "*flood*" from the Serpent's mouth (ver. 15) denotes the Barbarian invasion; and the "*flood*" swallowed up denotes the conversion of the Barbarians to Christianity. "*The* rest *of her seed*" (ver. 17), signifies that there shall then be left only *a remnant* of worshippers in the Church.

CUNNINGHAME, however, considers that the "*Man Child*" is Christ, formed mystically in His members; and he regards the prophecy as fulfilled by the Empire becoming Christian. The "*Man Child*" caught up to God signifies the preservation of the Church in every age. The "*Dragon*," "*Satan*," acts through the instrumentality of the Roman Empire. The "*Woman's*" flight denotes the corruptions of the Church; and she has dwelt in "*the wilderness*" since Justinian acknowledged the Pope to be her head. As to the rest, Cunninghame agrees with Bishop Newton.

G. S. FABER: "*Heaven*" is the visible Western Church, limited to the Roman Empire; and the "*Woman*" is a portion of that Church, namely the faithful worshippers: the "*Dragon*" represents the unfaithful worshippers, or secular powers of the Western Empire. The third part of the "*Stars*" (ver. 4) signifies the clergy of the West, who were caused to apostatize about A.D. 604. The birth of the "*Man Child*" denotes the separation of the "Vallensico-Albigensic Church:" the "*Man Child*" is therefore identical with the "*Two Witnesses*" (see Note D on ch. xi. 12—the last note [1]) and his being caught up to God denotes the protection of the Waldenses from their enemies. "*The Wilderness*" is the "*heaven*," or visible Western Church transformed by apostasy. The "*War in heaven*" (ver. 7) is a struggle between a faithful and an apostate priesthood;—*i.e.*, it means the persecution of the Albigenses and other reputed heretics down to the English Revolution of 1688. After the Devil is cast out (ver. 9) he persecutes the "*Woman*" no longer by accusing her of heresy, but by the principles of infidelity in Cent. xviii., and by the French Revolution which is the "*flood*" from the Serpent's mouth. The "*earth*," or Roman Empire, helps the "*Woman*"; *i.e.*, resists the spread of atheism; and the war with "*the* rest *of her seed*" is still going on, and will continue till the end of the 1260 days, *i.e.*, until A.D. 1864 [604+1260].—*Sacr. Calend.*, vol. iii. p. 111, &c.

Auberlen considers that the Apoc. sums up in the one word "*Woman*" the *usus loquendi* of the Old and New Testaments, whereby the apostasy of Israel from God to idols is represented as *fornication*—an expression which, together with the *jealousy* ascribed to God, is founded on the idea of the marriage relation between God and Israel (Ex. xxxiv. 14, 15; Lev. xx. 5, 6; Deut. xxxi. 16; xxxii. 16, 21; Isai. i. 21; l. 1; Jer. iii. 1; Ezek. xvi.; xxiii.; Hos. i.; &c.). In the New Test. the figurative use of "the Bridegroom," "the Bride," "the Virgin," is frequent,—e.g. Matt. ix. 15; xxii.; xxv.; John iii. 29; 2 Cor. xi. 2; Eph. v. 23–32. *Humanity*, in so far as it belongs to God, is "*the Woman*;" therefore it is said emphatically of Christ—the Son of the Woman (ver. 5)—that He is a "*Man Child*," a Son. He is the true result of the Old Test. Church (Gal. iv. 4), but, as Son of God, His relation to the Church is that of husband to wife (1 Cor. xi. 7). The emblems connected with "*the Woman*" recall the Old Test. Church:—She is clothed with the "*Sun*" as bearer of divine light in the world; and she has under her feet the false religion of the world represented by the "*Moon*," which is an earthly light, not capable of overcoming the darkness, but shining through it. The "Twelve *Stars*" are the Twelve Tribes of Israel, with which the Apostles, who form the foundation of the New Test. Church, are placed in connexion by Christ (Matt. xix. 28; cf. Rev. xxi. 12, 14). And thus "*the Woman*" here signifies the same as the New Jerusalem, which is also a Woman (ch. xxi. 2, 9, 10), the latter being the Church exalted, the former the Church mili-

tant. In ch. xi. 8 Jerusalem is called Egypt; and now there is once more the flight of the true Church from Egypt to "*the Wilderness*" as Israel fled of old:—and Auberlen regards the flight of Mary and the Child Jesus into Egypt (Matt. ii. 13) as a type of the Church's "*flight*"; while the giving her "*the Two Wings of the great Eagle*" (ver. 14) refers to the delivery of Israel from Egypt, in accordance with Ex. xix. 1–4. Thus the Apocalypse gives an outline of the history of the Prince and Kingdom of darkness—(1) To the first coming of Christ, when Satan, whose power is not yet broken, is still in heaven (see on ver. 7);—(2) From Christ to the beginning of the Millennium: then Satan is cast out from heaven to earth, and this is the period which this chapter records;—(3) The Millennium, when Satan is bound (ch. xx. 1–3);—(4) Having been let loose, he is judged and cast into the lake of fire (ch. xx. 7–10):—*l.c.*, pp. 240–257.

NOTE B ON VER. 3—THE DRAGON.

On the words translated "Dragon," δράκων, Gesenius notes thus:—

On תנין, *tannin*:—"(1) *bellua marina, piscis ingens*, Gr. κῆτος, Gen. i. 21; Job. vii. 12; Isai. xxvii. 1. (2) *serpens* Ex. vii. 9, *seqq.*, Deut. xxxii. 33; Ps. xci. 13;—*draco*, Jer. li. 34;—*crocodilus*, Ezek. xxix. 3 (ubi תנים pro תנין), qui Ægypti imaginem refert. Isai. li. 9 (Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14)." And on לויתן, *leviathan*:—"pr. (animal) *flexum, in spiras convolutum*, (1) *serpens*, isque major, Job. iii. 8 [κῆτος]; Isai. xxvii. 1 (ubi Babyloniæ regni hostilis symbolum est);—(2) spec. *crocodilus*, Job. xl. 25 [LXX., ver. 20, δράκων];—(3) quævis *bellua magna aquatilis*, Ps. civ. 26, eaque pro hoste atroce, Ps. lxxiv. 14."

NOTE C ON VER. 3—THE LOST COMMENTARY OF ST. HIPPOLYTUS ON THE APOCALYPSE.

When examining, in the year 1829, the Oriental MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris, Ewald discovered an Arabic commentary on the Apocalypse, of which he has given some account in his "Abhandlungen zur orientalischen u. biblischen Literatur" (Göttingen, 1832). Lagarde has printed the Arabic text in an Appendix to his "Analecta Syriaca" (Leipzig, 1858); and he places the date of this Arabic manuscript in the fourteenth century. The title of the commentary is given by Ewald as follows: "Book of the Apocalypse and its interpretation: that is, the Vision beheld by John, son of Zebedee, one of the Twelve, the Evangelist, the chaste (der Keusche), according to the interpretation of the holy Hippolytus, Pope of Rome, and the holy Paulus Albuschi (or Elbuschi), bishop of Oschmunain (in Upper Egypt)."[1] The author, according to Ewald, is not a mere copyist from Hippolytus and the later Coptic theologian, for he often opposes the interpretation of the former. The author's date may also be inferred from his own words, at Rev. xi. 2; xvii. 9, as well as from his references to the Chronicle of Said Ebn-Batrich (*Annales Eutychii*).[2] Ewald concludes that this commentary "was written in the year 1271 of the Incarnation."

The interpretation of St. Hippolytus, however, is all that we are concerned with here: and that Hippolytus wrote on the Apocalypse we learn from the list of his works inscribed on his statue[3] which was dis-

[1] On the back, written in a different hand, occur the words,—"Explained by the holy John Chrysostom." This title Ewald at once rejects, and proves not to be genuine. In the genuine title the name Hippolytus is presented by the scribe under the forms *Aholitas*, or *Ihobitus*, or *Ebolitus*—which occur five times; or as *Ancolitus*—which occurs fifteen times. Ewald merely mentions this fact which does not cause him to doubt that Hippolytus is intended. Indeed we have here rather a confirmation that *Hippolytus* is meant; for Döllinger (*Hippolytus und Kallistus*, 1853, s. 41) tells us that the name was written correctly only by those who spoke Greek; and among the forms used by the common Romans he gives, what is substantially one of those found in the Arabic MS., *Epolitus*, or sometimes *Poltus*.

The title "Pope of Rome" puzzled Ewald:—"Mit welchem Recht hier Hippolytus römischer Pabst genannt wird, mag ich nicht entscheiden." Here again Döllinger comes to our aid:—In MS. 128 in the Nani collection at Venice is found a λόγος τοῦ Ἱππολύτου πάπα Ῥώμης (*l. c.*, s. 93); nay, in the Coptic (Monophysite) Martyrology, translated from the Arabic by Assemani, at "February 5," we read: "Requies S. Patris Hippolyti *Papæ Romæ*;" and at "February 6": "Manifestatio corporis S. Hippolyti *Papæ Romæ*" (s. 94). For the frequent references to St. Hippolytus as "bishop of Rome," bishop of "Portus Romanus," &c., see the well-known controversy between Bunsen, Döllinger, Bishop Wordsworth, and others.

Papa was originally a special title of all bishops (Tertull. *De Pudic.* 13; Gregor. Thaum. *Ep. Canon.* 1): it appears to have been applied for the first time to mark out a bishop of Rome in the Roman Synod under Symmachus (A.D. 502), and then by Ennodius, bishop of Ticinum (A.D. 510):—see Gieseler, *l.c.*, i. ss. 297, 670.

[2] "Eutychius Ægyptius, Arabice Said Ebn-Batrich, Patriarcha Alexandrinus. Ecclesiæ suæ origines. Ex ejd. Arabico typis edidit ac versione auxit Joannes Seldenus," Lond. 1642; "Contextio gemmarum, sive Annales, Interprete Edwardio Pocockio," Oxon. 1658.

[3] Winckelmann (quoted by Döllinger, s. 25) says that this statue is without doubt the oldest marble statue of Christian times. Its date, as Dr. Salmon (*Hermathena*, 1873, p. 83) proves, "cannot be much later than A.D. 235."

covered at Rome in 1551—[T]A ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΙωΑΝΗΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕωC; and also from the testimony of Andreas—see Introd. § 2, (a), No. (1).[1]

The most important interpretations of Hippolytus, as given in the Arabic account of his commentary, will be found quoted under their respective texts: the following properly come here:—

Rev. xii. 3 (*ap.* Lagarde, *l. c.*, p. 25):—"Ebolitus, understanding by the Heads of this Dragon, kings, adherents, and servants of Satan, interprets the Seven Heads to mean Seven Kings: (1) Bochtnasser [Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 604] of Chaldæa;—(2) Tadâr-yush-el-Mahi [Darius the Mede, Dan. v. 31; ix. 1; xi. 1];[2]—(3) Darius the Persian;[3]—(4) Alexander of Greece;—(5) he also counted the four lieutenants of Alexander as one kingdom;—(6) the Empire of Rome;—(7) and the kingdom of Dajjāl [Antichrist]; and he interpreted the Ten Horns thus, that they were Ten Kings who will perish with Dajjāl [Antichrist]. As for the Diadems he did not explain in detail the meaning of them."

Ch. xvii. 8–10 (see Lagarde, *l. c.*, p. 27) is expounded on a similar principle:—"Ancolitus" takes the Beast to be the same as that first seen by the prophet upon the sand of the sea, rising from the depths (ch. xiii. 1); and "Ancolitus" is of the opinion that this Beast is a symbol of the worship of idols." His five Heads which "*are fallen*" (ver. 10) are the same as the first five in the interpretation of ch. xii. 3, with this exception that for "Darius the Mede" we find "Corsch al Maǵh," *i. e.*, "Cyrus the Mede." This variation does not seem to be noticed by the Arabic commentator; but may, perhaps, be accounted for by the fact that in Dan. xi. 1 the LXX. and also Theodotion read "Cyrus" (ἐν ἔτει πρώτῳ Κύρου,—cf. Dan. x. 1). The Arabic text proceeds: "And indeed these kings perished; but as to the one (6) which is found [ὁ εἷς ἐστιν—"*the one is*"—Ewald explains, "das jetzt seiende Haupt"], it is the Roman Empire;—(7) as to the last one, it never came. Therefore by general consent it is Dajjāl [Antichrist]: but this passage is the most difficult in the Vision."

NOTE D ON VER. 7.—THE READING τοῦ πολεμῆσαι μετά.

"A. Buttman (p. 231)," notes Professor Moulton (*l. c.*, p. 412), "takes τοῦ πολ. as depending upon ἐγένετο, κ. τ. λ., the subject of this infin. being ὁ Μιχ. κ. οἱ ἄγγ. αὐτ.: the use of the nominative for the accus. he regards as a *constructio ad synesin*, the infin. clause being equivalent to a subordinate sentence with a finite verb."

Alf. observes that the construction "may easily be explained as one compounded of [τοῦ] τὸν Μ. καὶ τοὺς ἀγγ. αὐτοῦ πολεμῆσαι (in which case the τοῦ depends on the ἐγένετο, as in Acts x. 25), and ὁ Μ. καὶ οἱ ἀγγ. αὐτοῦ ἐπολέμησαν. In the next clause it passes into this latter." To this statement that Acts x. 25 (ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον) is parallel, Winer demurs—for we should have here, in order to render the words parallel, ἐγένετο τοῦ πολεμῆσαι. He also objects to the explanation of Ewald and Züllig that the idiom is an imitation of the (later) Hebr. form לְהִלָּחֵם, *pugnandum eis erat*), for the LXX. nowhere give such a translation. Winer (so also Lücke) is unable to explain the constr. (see § 44, s. 293); and he pronounces Fritzsche's suggestion "artificial" [viz. "that ὁ Μιχ. κ. οἱ ἄγγ. αὐτ. form a parenthesis (the subject to a verb ἐπολέμησαν mentally supplied), so that τοῦ πολ. is the gen. after ὁ πολ. understood"—see Moulton's ed., p. 411]. Bleek takes up the opinion of Ewald, and regards the idiom as a Hebraism; the "Hebrew gerund" without היה often standing for the finite verb:—"(*sie waren*) zu kämpfen" = "hatten zu (oder mussten) kämpfen." Heinrichs supplies ἦσαν, rendering "intenti erânt in pugnam." Stuart suggests the supplying ἄφθη, "on the introduction of a third party," as in ver. 1. Conjectural emendations of the text need not be referred to—e.g. that of Düsterd., who conjectures that the words πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ were a marginal note originally intended to call attention to the passage, but subsequently inserted in the text: the constr. would then be as in Acts x. 25,—the final "infinitive-genitive" (cf. Acts iii. 2, 12) depending regularly on the conception of *motion* latent in the ἐγένετο—cf. John vi. 19, 25.

[1] My attention was called to this Arabic account of the commentary of St. Hippolytus by Dr. Salmon, who also kindly placed in my hands some materials respecting it which he had collected. Mir Aulad Ali, Professor of Arabic in the University of Dublin, has been so good as to supply the translation of the Arabic text printed by Lagarde.

[2] See the Excursus on Dan. v. 31. "Darius the Mede" was made King of Babylon by Cyrus (Dan. vi. 28), where he reigned from B.C. 538 to B.C. 536 (Dan. xi. 1).

[3] If the "Darius king of Persia" of Ezra (iv. 5) is signified, we are to understand Darius Hystaspis, B.C. 521, the father of Xerxes;—if the Darius of Nehemiah (xii. 22), "modern commentators are generally agreed that Darius Codomannus, the antagonist of Alexander the Great, is intended. This prince ascended the throne B.C. 336"—see the note *in loc.* On the other hand, Keil makes the Darius of Nehemiah to be Darius Nothus, the second Persian monarch of that name, B.C. 425,—see *in loc.*

NOTE E ON VER. 10.—THE FORM *κατήγωρ*.

The Codex Alex. (A) gives, in place of *κατήγορος*, the Rabbinical form *κατήγωρ* = קטיגור—a form analogous to the Rabbinical description of Michael, as the *συνήγωρ* = סניגור, *i. e*, *συνήγορος*, or "advocate" of the godly:—Schöttgen (i. 119) gives references. We find in later Greek the similar form *διάκων* for *διάκονος*—see Wetstein *in loc.*

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *A beast riseth out of the sea with seven heads and ten horns, to whom the dragon giveth his power.* 11 *Another beast cometh up out of the earth:* 14 *causeth an image to be made of the former beast,* 15 *and that men should worship it,* 16 *and receive his mark.*

[Ver. 1. *κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφ. ἑπτά.—ὀνόματα.* Ver. 3. *om. εἶδον.—ἐκ τῶν κεφ.—ἐθαύμασεν.—om. ἐν.—λη ἡ ὀγῆ.* Ver. 4. [1 omits *καὶ προσεκύν.* down to *λέγοντες*, and Er. supplied the omitted words after the Vulg.]. *τῷ δράκ. ὅτι ἔδωκε τὴν ἐξ.—προσεκύν. τῷ θηρ.—καὶ τίς δύν.* Ver. 5. [1 reads merely *καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία*, and Er. supplied the omitted words from the Vulg.].—[ℵ reads *ποιῆσαι ὃ θέλει*]. Ver. 6. *βλασφημίας.—om. καί* bef. *τούς.* Ver. 7. [A, C, P *om. καὶ ἐδόθη . . . . νικῆσαι αὐτούς*, by *Homœotel.*].—*φυλὴν καὶ λαόν.* Ver. 8. *αὐτόν.—οὗ οὐ.—τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.—τοῦ ἐσφαγ.* Ver. 10. *εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει* [ℵ,C,B,P, *om.* the 2nd *εἰς αἰχμαλ.*]. Ver. 14. *ὃς ἔχει.* Ver. 15. [A,C,P read *αὐτῇ*].—[ℵ reads *ποιήσει*].—*ἵνα ὅσοι.—om. ἵνα* bef. *ἀπυκτ.* Ver. 16. *δῶσιν.—τὸ μέτωπον.* Ver. 17. *om. καί.—om.* 2nd *ἤ.* Ver. 18. *om.* 1st *τόν.*—[A reads *ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἕξ*,—ℵ reads *ἑξακόσιαι ἑξήκ. ἕξ*,—P, Andreas read *ἑξακόσια ἑξήκ. ἕξ*,—B, 1 read *χξ*ς,—C reads *ἑξακόσιαι δέκα ἕξ*,—see Note G at the end of this chapter.]

CHAP. XIII.—THE TWO BEASTS.

The theme of ch. xii. was the enmity of the Dragon to the Woman. In ch. xii. 17, the wrath of the Dragon, and his resolve to make war against "*the* **rest** *of her seed*," *i.e.*, the Church of Christ, are described; and verse 18 (or ch. xiii. 1) represents the Dragon placing himself for this purpose "*upon the sand of the sea*"—in other words, beside the confused mass and turmoil of the nations. St. John next proceeds to foreshow the history of the Church in the world. In ch. xii. 12 is contained the denunciation of "Woe for the earth and for the sea"; and now two Beasts "come up,"—the one from "*the sea*" (ver. 1), and the other from "*the earth*" (ver. 11),—representing the instruments by which the Dragon carries on his work.

The symbolic image, or the "Seven-Headed Beast," which the Seer now beholds is the chief point of connexion between the Apocalypse and the Book of Daniel. Here the Beast "comes up" from "*the sea*," as do the four beasts in Dan. vii. 3;—here, the Beast has "*Ten Horns*," like the fourth beast in Dan. vii. 7;—the Beast here is composed of the *leopard*, *bear*, and *lion* (ver. 2), *i.e.*, of the first three beasts in Dan. vii. 4–6, the fourth beast being indicated both now and in Daniel by the "*Ten Horns*." In Daniel, "the Vision represents the development of the World-power generally in *four* successive phases" (see the note on Dan. vii. 17); but here we have a comprehensive representation, under *one* form, of the universal World-power which in Daniel is symbolized by *four* beasts.

The other chief subject of Daniel's prophecy was the "Little Horn," 'little' in its beginning but soon increasing in power (see the note on Dan. vii. 8; and cf. Dan. viii. 9, 10), which had "eyes like the eyes of a man"—symbolizing craft, knowledge, intellectual culture, unceasing activity (see on ch. iv. 6, 8, and cf. Ezek. i. 18; x. 12), and which is usually taken to refer primarily to Antiochus Epiphanes, the Old Test. type of Antichrist. Corresponding to this symbol in Daniel's Vision is the second Beast of this chapter, the Beast from "*the earth*" (ver. 11) or "*False Prophet*" (for this title see ch. xvi. 13; xx. 10: cf. ch. xix. 20 with ch. xiii. 13, 14). The first Beast is a material, political, World-power; the second Beast is a spiritual World-power—the power of learning and knowledge, of ideas, of intellectual cultivation. Both are from below, both are *beasts*, and therefore they are in close alliance. The worldly antichristian wisdom stands in the service of the worldly antichristian power.

As to the Beast of *vv.* 1–8, the following are the chief interpretations:—

I. This Beast is a symbol of Rome, either (*a*) The Roman Empire, Pagan—so Victorinus, Bossuet, Hammond, Ewald, De Wette, Stuart, Lücke, Bleek, &c.; or (*b*) The Roman Empire, Papal—so Mede, Vitringa, Bengel, Elliott, &c.

Many Protestant commentators see in this whole chapter Rome Papal under two aspects—the Beast of *vv.* 1–8 signifying the political,

AND I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up

and the Beast of ver. 11 the ecclesiastical character of the Papacy. Thus, the early Reformers usually understood by the new form of the Roman World-power (or Babylon), which they held to be described in this chapter, a prophecy of that visible rule which the Roman See exercised over men in the Middle Ages, after the old form of the Roman World-power had revived as "the Holy Roman Empire." Later writers of this school introduce a distinction at this point. The Papal power, they observe, which is here symbolized, does not yet appear as the Harlot (ch. xvii. 1) or Church become apostate from Christ, but as a "*Beast*" or World-power—not as a *Church* but as a *power* ruling over the Church, seemingly in Christ's name; in fact, as being purely "of the earth, earthy," and at first exhibiting its action not as a corrupt Church, or Harlot, but as a false Mediator, and false theocracy (the Pseudo-Lamb of ver. 11). Not until ch. xvii., they add, does Babylon acquire the character, and present the "signature," of the Apostate Church. See Herzog's *Real Encycl.*, art. *Apokalypse.*

II. The Beast denotes the God-opposing power of this world. Of this power, with some writers (e.g. Hengst., Ebrard, Auberlen), (1) Pagan Rome is the emblem: and these writers hold that there is a further reference, by means of one of the "*Seven Heads*," to Rome Papal;—(2) Other interpreters seek to exclude any reference to Rome.

III. These interpretations have been to some extent combined by Gebhardt (*l. c.*, s. 235), who regards the Beast as the symbol of a single World-kingdom combining in itself all former World-kingdoms: and he concludes that the World-kingdom is personified by a single "King," viz. the "Head smitten unto death" of ver. 3,—a result supported by the gender of the pronouns in *vv.* 8, 14. The single World-kingdom Gebhardt identifies with the Roman Empire; and the single "King" with Nero.

IV. According to his system, Ebrard (s. 406) discerns in this chapter an exhibition of the power which is to persecute the Gentile-Christian Church during "the three and a half years" before Israel's conversion.

THE BEAST FROM THE SEA (1–8).

1. *And* **I saw** *a beast*] (In the Greek, and in all Versions except the "Authorized," ch. xiii. begins with these words:—see on ch. xii. 18.) For the word rendered "*beast*" (the term used in Dan. vii., LXX.) see on ch. iv. 6; xi. 7. We have to note in the Apoc. the contrast between "the Lamb of God" (John i. 36) and the 'wild beast,' or chief instrument by which the Dragon works:—the name "*Beast*" of itself has an evil signification, see on ver. 11.

coming up *'out of the sea,*] By the shore of which the Dragon had taken his stand (ch. xii. 18) in order to summon his agent from its depths. The Beast here is the same as that referred to by anticipation in ch. xi. 7, and more fully described in ch. xvii. Ebrard (and likewise Züllig, see Note C on ch. xi. 7) denies this identity, because it is said in ch. xi. 7; xvii. 8, that the Beast comes up out of "the Abyss," whence demons only proceed; while the Beast here is not a demon, but a World-power. De Wette also contrasts "*the sea*" with "the Abyss;" as if *this* Beast were born from the realm of darkness merely, or were one returning from the kingdom of death—*i.e.*, as he explains, Nero—see on ch. xvii. It seems plain, however, even without referring to the relation between the "*sea*" and the "Abyss" (cf. Luke viii. 31; Rom. x. 7), that, as in ver. 11 "*the earth*," so here "*the sea*" belongs to the special imagery employed—imagery, too, which is confessedly taken from Dan. vii. where, at ver. 3, the four beasts "come up from the sea." The identity with Daniel's Vision depends on the similarity of the symbols, as pointed out in the introductory remarks above. In the symbolism of the Apoc. "*the sea*" denotes the troubled ocean of worldly affairs—"peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues" (ch. xvii. 15; cf. Ps. xlvi. 3, 4; lxv. 7; xciii. 3, 4; Isai. viii. 7–9, lvii. 20)—out of which arises this ideal representation of the antichristian World-power.

On the subject of Antichrist see Note A at the end of this chapter.

having **ten horns and seven heads,**] See *vv. ll.*:—note the different order of the "*Heads*" and "*Horns*" in the description of the "*Dragon*" (ch. xii. 3) where Satan assumes a form similar to that of his instrument the Beast in this place. The "*Horns*" here appear first, because the Beast is seen "*coming up*" from the sea;—after he has risen (ch. xvii. 3, 7), the "*Heads*" are mentioned first. The "*Seven Heads*" are those of Daniel's four beasts, the *leopard* having four heads in Dan. vii. 6. As in Dan. vii. 7, 20 the "*Ten Horns*" belong to the *fourth* or *last* beast; so here they seem naturally to belong to the *seventh* or last "*Head.*"

and **on** *his horns ten* **diadems,**] Not now on the "*Heads*" as in ch. xii. 3. Stern, understanding the "*Ten Horns*" to be the lesser powers which will hereafter unite with Antichrist for "the ruin of the *seventh* New Test. World-power" (ch. xvii. 12, 13), concludes

out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the ‖name of blasphemy. ‖Or, *names.*

that, because Antichrist will then for the first time *personally* reveal his own authority, —having until then resisted Christianity by means of his demonic influence,—he wears the "diadems" on his *Horns* not, like Satan in ch. xii. 3, on his *Heads* (s. 321). And Words. similarly concludes:—The "diadems" are not now on the Heads, the Beast acting not *directly* as the Dragon but *mediately* by other potentates (ch. xvii. 12). Ebrard explains:—Because the Beast here represents both the Roman Empire and the Ten kingdoms (ch. xvii. 12) which arise out of it. According to Auberlen (p. 268), the fact denotes that both "*Heads*" and "*Horns*" refer to kingdoms; because both are said (ch. xvii. 10, 12) to be "*kings*"—*i.e.* as with Daniel, the *kingdoms* whose personal heads they are. This seems to be the true explanation.

The variations here from ch. xii. 3 are urged by Düsterdieck in proof of his interpretation of the symbolism:—In ch. xii. 3, where the internal and essential relation of the "*Heads*" and "*Horns*" is pointed out, the "*Heads*" are seen before the "*Horns*," and the "*Heads*" bear the "diadems." In ch. xiii. 1, the "*Horns*" appear before the "*Heads*," and the "*Horns*," not the "*Heads*," bear the "diadems." In this way the concrete form of the Roman Empire as it actually existed is presented, and thus the order of appearance is explained: Ten actual Rulers first appear—Ten persons who are symbolized, as the actual possessors of the Empire, by the "*Ten Horns*" each provided with a "diadem":—(1) Augustus, (2) Tiberius, (3) Caligula, (4) Claudius, (5) Nero, (6) Galba, (7) Otho, (8) Vitellius, (9) Vespasian, (10) Titus. The Beast, like the Dragon, has "*Seven Heads*"; and each now bears *one* crowned "*Horn*" (see on ch. xii. 3), because only *seven* of these ten princes had full rule over the Empire—Galba, Otho, and Vitellius being merely usurpers, see Introduction, § 4 (b); and the three crowned "*Horns*" corresponding to them are probably placed between the *fifth* and *sixth* "*Heads*," *i.e.*, on this theory, between Nero and Vespasian. In fact —quite irrespectively of Daniel's having typified a fourth World-empire by a beast with ten horns (Dan. vii. 7)—the Ten crowned "*Horns*" and the Seven "*Heads*" in ch. xiii. 1 serve only for the purpose of designating a special characteristic of the Roman Empire which is symbolized by the form of the Beast regarded as a whole: and Düsterd. takes the ideas represented by the "*leopard*," and "*lion*" and "*bear*," to indicate the savage force of that which the Beast symbolized,—namely, the existing Roman World-Empire (cf. Jer. v. 6; Hos. xiii. 7, 8; Ecclus. xxviii. 23). A conclusion so arbitrary supplies its own refutation.

The military despotism of Rome, writes Mr. Maurice, was established after the battle of Actium, and nearly synchronizes with the birth of Christ. That "despotism, after passing through its different stages of development in Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, was subjected to its great trial-day in the three turbulent reigns that followed, and came forth in its form of consummate brutality in the person of Vitellius: I take this to be the Wild-Beast in which the '*Dragon*' saw his own image reflected" (*l. c.*, p. 233). In common with many others, Mr. Maurice takes the "*Ten Horns*" to be the Legions in the different Provinces.

For the interpretation of the "*Heads*" and "*Horns*" as not denoting *persons*, or personal rulers, but the *kingdoms* over which they rule, see on ch. xvii. 10, 12. For the influence of the word "diadem" on the meaning of the imagery here, proving that, in consequence of its use, Roman Emperors *cannot* be intended, —see Note D on ch. ii. 10, and the notes generally on ch. xvii.

and upon his heads **names** *of blasphemy.*] See *vv. ll.*; and cf. ch. xvii. 3. By this addition of the *names*, Hengst. understands the assumption of the titles of Christ, "*King of kings, and Lord of lords*," ch. xix. 12, 16. De Wette and others (following Beda, "reges enim suos Deos appellant") understand the titles (e.g. "Divus") by which Divine honours were wont to be ascribed to the Emperors: compare 2 Thess. ii. 4; and see below, ver. 4. If we believe Renan (p. 413), 'the name *Sebastos* or Augustus assumed by the Emperors (who are denoted by the "*Seven Heads*") was regarded as blasphemous by the Jews.' The title *Sebastos* is, indeed, used by Festus (Acts xxv. 21, 25); but—in opposition to Renan's remark—it is also used by St. Luke in Acts xxvii. 1. (Were we to read the *singular*, "*a name*," the sense would be that each "*Head*" bore this name; and then Bengel, with others, would give as the "*name*" the *Pope*, *Papa*).

The correct interpretation of this symbolism depends on the signification of the "*Heads*"; and for an account of the interpretations of the "*Ten Horns*" and "*Seven Heads*," see the notes on ch. xvii.:—meanwhile it is to be observed that the "*Seven Heads*" do not represent the kingdoms which were to arise out of the *fourth* World-empire; for *that* element of the symbol is represented by the "*Ten Horns*" bearing "diadems" (cf. ch. xvii. 12), and these,

2 And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as *the feet* of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the

according to Dan. (vii. 7, 24), arise out of his *fourth* Monarchy. The symbol "*Head*" itself (explained in ch. xvii. 9 to be a "*mountain*") denotes a World-monarchy:—Babylon is thus spoken of in Jer. li. 25; cf. Isai. xiii. 2; Zech. iv. 7; and Daniel (ii. 38) writes: "Thou" [the personification of all this glory, the mightiest of the monarchs of Babylonia, the Babylonian kingdom itself] "art this *head* of gold,"—see the note on Dan. ii. 38. The "*Horns*" denote "*kings*" or "*kingdoms*," but not "kingdoms in the same extensive sense as the 'beast' symbolizes a 'kingdom,'"—see the note on Dan. vii. 24. The mystic number *Seven* is the signature of what is absolute and complete, as *Ten* is the signature of worldly power—see Introd., § 11 (a): the "*Seven Heads*," accordingly, without any special identification, combined with the "*Ten Horns*," represent, in its different phases, the historical concentration of absolute worldly rule and power; and this is what the Beast is designed to signify.

A more special identification of the "*Heads*" is, however, required by the additional revelation of ch. xvii. 10. As St. John looks farther into the future than Daniel, so he looks farther into the past. He comprehends, in his picture of the conflict between the Kingdom of God and the kingdoms of the world, not merely the period which the words of Daniel (see on ver. 2) embrace, but the earliest time whence the conflict dates (see on ch. xii. 7),—The first World-power in conflict with the Theocracy was Egypt; after Egypt, came Assyria as predecessor of Babylon (Jer. l. 17),—Assyria and Egypt are coupled together in prophecy as pre-eminently God's enemies (e.g. Isai. xxvii. 13; Jer. ii. 18, 36; Zech. x. 10, 11). And thus we get (1) Egypt, (2) Assyria, (3) Babylon, (4) Medo-Persia, (5) Greece, (6) Rome, (7) that aspect of the world which the "*Ten Horns*" symbolize, and under which we live:—so Hengst., Auberlen, Burger represent the "seven successive World-monarchies" (Bisping, see on ver. 12, makes the *seventh* still future). Hofmann, Füller, and Ebrard omit Egypt, and insert in its stead, between Greece and Rome, Syria under Antiochus Epiphanes. According to Words. the "*Seven Heads*" denote, (1) The Seven Hills of Rome (ch. xvii. 9), which in ch. xiii. is the seat of the Beast still in "his Imperial *heathen* form, as the Fourth Great Monarchy of the World;" (2) Seven *successive* powers ending in the Beast (ch. xvii. 7–10). Godet takes the first four Heads to be, (1) Egypt, (2) Assyria (with Babylonia), (3) Persia, (4) Greece (with Antiochus Epiphanes). These *four* World-powers were the persecutors of Israel under the *Old Covenant:* then come *three*—to which is to be added "the *eighth*" of ch. xvii. 11, making *four*—"*Heads*" hostile to God under the *Gentile* period: viz. (5) Israel itself now reckoned among "the nations of the earth," and having "no king but Cæsar" (John xix. 15), (6) Rome, (7) a new Power to last but for "a little while" (ch. xvii. 10), and which is to sweep away like a torrent the European states into which Rome had been divided, —when "*he who now letteth*," or Rome, shall "*be taken out of the way*" (2 Thess. ii. 7). (8) Antichrist, not, as here, the Beast from the *sea*, but the Beast from the *Abyss* (ch. xi. 7); in other words, Israel,—the "*Head*" which had received the "death-stroke" from the Roman sword in the year 70,—which is to return as the *eighth* "*Head*," or entire Beast, as announced in ch. xvii. 11 (p. 366).

For the "*Ten Horns*" which mean "*Ten kings*," or *kingdoms*, see on ch. xvii. 12.

With reference to the following interpretation of the symbolism in the second verse, the authority on which it is founded must be borne in mind. We should have no right to apply Daniel's Vision of the *four* beasts to *four* Empires, or to understand *ten* kings or kingdoms by the *Ten* Horns, had not the Angel—"one of them that stood by" the Ancient of days—supplied the interpretation; see Dan. vii. 16, 17, 23, 24.

2. *a leopard,*] The *third* of the four beasts in Dan. vii. 6, whose "four heads," looking towards the four quarters of the earth, symbolically asserted that the same universal rule as that of the "kingdom of brass" (Dan. ii. 39) was guided by human intelligence. This was the Græco-Macedonian kingdom, "which with the swiftness of a leopard extended its power over those four mighty districts—Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Persia, or under such generals as Ptolemy, Seleucus, Philip, and Antigonus ruled 'over the whole earth:'"—see the note on Dan. vii. 6.

a bear,] The *second* beast in Daniel vii. 5; identified with the symbol of the "inferior" kingdom, of which the "breast and arms" were of silver (Dan. ii. 32, 39), and signifying Medo Persia, which in the history of the world's Empires was "inferior" to Babylonia:—see the note on Dan. vii. 5.

a lion:] The first of the four beasts in Dan. vii. 4; identified with that kingdom which ranked as "golden" (Dan. ii. 32, 38), and which signified the Babylonian kingdom:—see the note on Dan. vii. 4.

dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority.

3 And I saw one of his heads as it were [1]wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beast.

[1] Gr. *slain.*

The *fourth* of Daniel's beasts (see ch. vii. 7) is identified with the "fourth kingdom" in Dan. ii. 40. To this kingdom no form is assigned; it is too terrible; its power is too vast to be represented by any known beast: see Dan. vii. 19, 23—"The fourth beast shall be the fourth *kingdom*" (cf. "*four kings*," ver. 17). St. John does not specify Daniel's *fourth* beast in his description here, but indicates it by introducing its characteristic token, "*Ten Horns*," in ver. 1. As to the import of Daniel's *fourth* Kingdom there are three opinions:—(1) that it symbolizes the Roman Empire; (2) that it is the Kingdom of the successors of Alexander in Syria and Egypt; (3) that the *fourth* Kingdom is yet to come:—see the note on Dan. ii. 40. According to the second interpretation, the "four kingdoms" are Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Macedonia or Greece. In support of the *first*, or, as it is styled the "traditional," interpretation, there is "the sanction of the majority of the Fathers, of the Jonathan-Targum, Josephus, the Talmud, R. Albo, and other Hebrew writers of weight." It is also supported by Wordsworth and Pusey, by Caspari and Keil:—see the "Excursus on the Four Kingdoms" at the end of Dan. vii. Orosius (A.D. 450; *Histor.* lib. ii., c. 1) makes the third Empire to be the Punic instead of the Greek;—the *fourth*, as usual, he makes to be the Roman. The decision, however, as to this controversy does not belong to this place: suffice it to say that the *four* forms of worldly dominion which Daniel had symbolized separately (whether all *four* Kingdoms had passed away, or whether *one* of them, the Roman Empire, still existed when St. John wrote), are here combined into one form representing the universal World-power; and of that one form, as ch. xvii. will show more clearly, the Empire of Pagan Rome, as the Seer beheld it, supplied the outlines.

According to I. Williams, the Beast "*from the sea*" is not the *fourth* beast of Daniel, or the Roman power; "it will rather be found to grow out of that, the last of the four. For it corresponds with the "Little Horn" (Dan. vii. 8), which arises among the ten horns"; and these signify universal dominion: "St. John has a nearer and fuller view of the Little Horn of Daniel, which he sees as this great Beast of universal dominion" (pp. 233–5). According to Bisping, this Beast represents the World-power (the *seventh king* of ch. xvii. 10, still future for St. John) in that last form which Daniel describes, and at the moment in which Antichrist comes forth from it.

and the dragon] He who stood on "*the sand of the sea*," ch. xii. 18 (or ch. xiii. 1), in order thence to summon the Beast.

gave him his power, and **his throne,**] See ch. xvi. 10; and on ch. ii. 13.

and great authority.] And therefore rule as Satan's instrument over the kingdoms of this world—cf. Luke iv. 6: "The world," writes Archbp. Trench, "is not Satan's own; nor his at all except in so far as it has been 'delivered' to him; ... he is now, in Christ's own words, 'the Prince of this world' (John xii. 31); in the words of His Apostle, 'the god of this world,' 2 Cor. iv. 4" (*Studies in the Gospels*, p. 46); and it is thus that the "*Dragon*" is spoken of in this verse. We have here, in this antichristian power, a counterpart to one of the "*Two Witnesses*" for Christ—see on ch. xi. 3.

Elliott interprets that the Dragon who had ruled over Rome Pagan, gave authority to the Beast to rule over Rome Papal.

3. *And* [*I saw*] *one of his heads*] "*I saw*" is omitted (see *vv. ll.*), and is to be supplied from ver. 1:—see below.

In general, ch. xvii. is to be consulted as to the meaning of this passage.

as **though it had been smitten unto** *death;*] Or **as though it had been slain unto death;**] Since he bore the scar of a mortal wound: the words which follow express how he could still exhibit vitality. The "*Head*" of the Beast which was "as though it had been smitten unto death," is placed in significant *contrast* to the "Lamb standing, as though it had been slain" in ch. v. 6: and thus—to apply in a different sense the explanation of Victorinus ("*Christum qualem meruerunt* Judæi")—the Beast becomes an object of worship (*vv.* 4, 12) to the godless world. In the choice of words in this verse Auberlen (p. 297) sees indicated "an *outward resemblance* between the Beast and the Lamb."

Mr. G. S. Faber, following the "Historic" method, concludes that on June 18, 1815, the *seventh* Head received its predicted deadly wound by the sword, when Napoleon's Empire fell (*l. c.*, vol. iii. p. 281).

and his **death-stroke** *was healed:*] Cf. *vv.* 12, 14.

and **the whole earth** *wondered after the beast;*] (See *vv. ll.*). *I.e.*, "wondered *at*, and followed *after*"—cf. John xii. 19. The godless world will wonder and worship (cf. ch. xvii. 8):—Christian faith had seemed to triumph in

the victory of the Cross, but now the world triumphs. The true believer can never cease, on his side, to marvel at this, even as St. John himself marvelled (ch. xvii. 6, 7). The world wondered, notes Hengst., at the revival and continuance of the earthly power of heathendom, the success that attended its persecutions, the prostrate condition of the Church; —and this after the report of Christ's victory, and the consciousness of its truth. The fact is so important that it is twice reverted to, viz. in *vv.* 12, 14: the subject is also resumed at ch. xvii. 8.

The dependence of the first clause of this verse on the verb "*I saw*" imports, notes Hengst., that the "*Head*" had already been restored when it appeared to St. John;—and that St. John did not see first the wounding and then the healing: "What is meant is the stroke of his death, which Michael gave him with his sharp sword (ch. xii. 7);" so also Mede (p. 500). It may perhaps be the blow which was inflicted on Satan by the Cross of Christ (Col. ii. 14, 15), of which this trace is now exhibited by the Beast as Satan's representative. "Dead yet living; the false semblance, says Bede, of Christ and His resurrection" (I. Williams). If this verse be compared with our Lord's words in ch. i. 18, "I am the Living one, and I was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore,"—who can avoid seeing that a contrast is here designed between Antichrist, and Christ? (Bisping). Burger notes that this description points to *a person*, not to an institution, or a kingdom, or a people; he suggests that ch. ix. 1–21 may be connected with the rise of Antichrist; and that Apollyon (ch. ix. 11), the king of the locusts which issue from the Abyss (ch. ix. 2, 3), may be the Beast from the Abyss (ch. xi. 7), or Antichrist as described here. Antichrist Burger makes to be the *last* World-ruler after the previous *seven* have fallen; and to him "*a something*" is to happen which is symbolized by "the stroke of the sword" (ver. 14), his recovery from which coincides with his attaining the height of his authority as the last, or *eighth* World-power (ch. xvii. 11):—and thus is explained the 'wondering of the whole earth.' As to the interpretations:—

i. The revival of the World-power, after a grievous blow has been received, seems to be what is intended by St. John in the present passage;—it is especially noted in ver. 14 that after his wound the Beast still "*lived.*" The deadly wound is always mentioned in connexion with its being healed—the non-existence of the Beast in connexion with its re-appearance: see ch. xvii. 8–11. The difficulty of the passage arises from this reference to *one* "*Head;*" and C. à Lapide suggests that one "*Head*" may embrace all. It seems, indeed, that each "*Head*" designates the entire existence of the Beast at some particular time. Thus it is that here and in *vv.* 12, 14 the wound of *one* "*Head*" is ascribed to the whole Beast; and so too in ch. xvii. 8, 11 the fact that the Beast "*is not,*" is identical with its being "smitten unto death," as stated in this verse. All this appears to be generally admitted,—see on ch. xvii. 8; and cf. Auberlen, *l.c.*, p. 298. It may be that the overthrow of the Beast's power is meant, especially as represented here by Pagan Rome which was equivalent to the whole World-power. So Hengst., who refers to ch. xvii. 10 for proof that the "*Head*" which the Beast bore in the time of St. John, was the *sixth* (see on ver. 2), or the Roman Empire. The victory of Christ was the one event in the world's history by which the *whole* Beast was smitten in the *one* "*Head*"; but yet the earthly power of heathenism continued—"the death-stroke," contrary to Christian hopes, "*was healed,*" as shown, e.g., in the persecution of the Church.

ii. Ebrard does not allow (and Stern in like manner refuses to admit it) that the wound of *one* "*Head*" (the "*sixth,*" or Rome) is here to be ascribed to the *whole* Beast from "*the sea.*" Ebrard also distinguishes this Beast from that of ch. xvii., or the "Beast from the Abyss" (see Note C on ch. xi. 7):—St. John, he argues, here beholds in prophetic symbol this wounding of the *sixth* Head as an event *still future*, and as regarding one form only of the World-power, namely the overthrow of the Roman Empire by the Germanic and Slavonic Tribes:—consequently "the healing of the wound" does not denote the reappearance of the Beast from the Abyss (ch. xvii. 8).

iii. Differently Auberlen:—Comparing the imagery of Daniel (see the note on Dan. vii. 4), he concludes that the Head "smitten unto death" was the *seventh*, or "Germano-Sclavonic" kingdom. The first six World-kingdoms had been heathen; it is only the *seventh* kingdom (or the German Tribes) which became a Christian World-kingdom, and this is meant by the "*deadly wound.*" Christianity, however, has become worldly; a new heathenism breaks in upon the Christian world; and so the Beast's "*wound*" is healed. Mede also (p. 421) understands here the *seventh* or last "*Head,*" to which, he considers, the "*Ten Horns*" belong; and he further considers that ch. xiii. is wholly occupied with that state of the Ten-horned Beast which is represented by the healing of the *seventh* Head (see on *vv.* 14, 15). Elliott's interpretation is that the *seventh* diademed Headship, that of Diocletian, was struck down by Constantine; that the Popes, especially Gregory the Great, began to be a new "*Head*" of Empire to Rome; and that thus the deadly wound of its last Pagan "*Head*" was healed

4 And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast:

iv. According to his system (see on ver. 1), Godet makes the wounded "*Head*," or the *fifth* of the Seven, to be Israel which had received the blow (apparently) mortal from the Roman sword in the year 70, see ver. 14 (p. 367). With this conclusion of Godet, viz. that the wounded Head was the *fifth*—that is to say, on *their* system, Nero,—the rationalistic school is in agreement: see below, and on ch. xvii. 8–10.

v. Alford understands the Roman Pagan Empire, apparently exterminated, but restored in the establishment of the Christian Empire. And Words. notes: "The Beast now appears in *another* stage of his history," the Christian (see on ver. 1):—"The *Imperial* power of Rome was succeeded by the *Papal*;" the wounded Head was the *Imperial* Head of Rome, wounded in A.D. 476, when, on the abdication of Augustulus, the Roman Empire ceased to be. The wound was healed when the Papacy succeeded to the Empire.

Nowhere is it more important for the correct interpretation of the Apocalypse to adhere to historical facts than here. Bishop Wordsworth, with other high authorities, regards the resignation of the purple by Augustulus as the extinction of the Roman Empire. As to this notion, Sir F. Palgrave writes: "Strange that historians should have encouraged each other in the error that the Empire extinguished, as they say, in Augustulus, was now [*i.e.*, under Charles the Great, A.D. 800] restored.—Restored! never had it been suspended, either in principle, maxims, or feelings. The shattered, pillaged, dilapidated Empire was still one state, one community" (*Hist. of Normandy*, i., p. 29). "There was legally no extinction," writes Dr. Bryce, "of the Western Empire at all, but only a reunion of East and West" (*The Holy Roman Empire*, 3rd ed., p. 26). Again: on August 6, 1806, Francis II. resigned to the Emperor Napoleon the imperial dignity: "One thousand and six years after Leo the Pope had crowned the Frankish king,—1858 years after Cæsar had conquered at Pharsalia,—the Holy Roman Empire came to its end" (*Ibid.*, p. 363). See Note B at the end of this chapter.

vi. Dr. Bryce has here justly placed Julius Cæsar—from whom the name of "Cæsar" passed on to his successors—as *first* of the rulers of Imperial Rome. As such Julius is spoken of by Suetonius, by Dion Cassius, by Josephus. This fact—see Introd., § 4, b.—of itself refutes the rationalistic interpretation of this passage. According to the whole school of Rationalists, St. John now repeats the popular fable (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 2; ii. 8) that Nero [the *sixth* of the Cæsars] is really the *fifth*, or the "*Head*" "smitten unto death"; and that, being the *fifth* or last of the *five* "*Kings*" in ch. xvii. 10, he was to be restored to life after his suicide, and to become Antichrist. It was thus the "death-stroke" of the Beast was healed. It is true that even Christian literature refers to "the Nero-fable":—e.g. Sulpitius Severus, A.D. 400 (*Chron.*, ii. c. 29), expressly applies this verse to Nero, with the preface: "Secundum illud quod de eo scriptum est."

In reply to this entire system of interpretation, see Note C at the end of this chapter; and also, the argument founded on the use of the word "diadem," as explained on ch. xvii. 10, and in Note D on ch. ii. 10.

vii. The interpretation of St. Hippolytus ("Ancolitus") is interesting:—The wounded "*Head*" means Antichrist's kingdom, and the "*wound*" signifies the world's contempt for Antichrist when he first appears. The healing of the "*wound*" denotes the return of the world to obedience to Antichrist as soon as he exhibits his deceiving signs, *vv.* 13–15:—see Note C on ch. xii. 3.

If the "*Head*" which received the "*wound*" is the symbol of the Roman Empire, "the stroke of *the sword*" (ver. 14) may signify the blow which the Empire received from "*the sword*" of the Barbarian invaders; while the healing of the "*wound*" may signify the continuance of the Empire, secular and political, in the sense expressed above by Sir F. Palgrave. The Spirit of Prophecy would thus indicate, by the element of evil adhering to every form of World-power, the permanence of the antichristian spirit throughout the future. This consideration supplies an answer to Düsterdieck's objection to the idea of "an abstract World-power" as symbolized by the Beast. In the Beast he sees no more than the *heathen* Empire of Rome, and in the "*Heads*" seven literal Emperors; and he pronounces it "impossible to regard as a Head of the Dragon-Beast an historical development which rests on Christian elements, and which (notwithstanding all un-Christian and anti-Christian degeneracy) has remained Christian, and has brought forth truly good fruits."—s. 435. It is this "degeneracy," however, which manifests the presence of Antichrist.

4. *And they worshipped the dragon,*] (On the text of this verse see *vv. ll.*). Some (e. g. Stuart) compare 1 Cor. x. 20; and also refer to the practice of Emperor-worship:—see below, and cf. Suetonius, *Caligula*, 22, &c.

because he gave his authority *unto the beast;*] See ver. 2; cf. Luke iv. 6: "Men worship Satan on account of the wealth and

and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who *is* like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him?

5 And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; and power was given unto him [1]to continue forty *and* two months.

[1] Or, *to make war.*

6 And he opened his mouth in

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power of the world which he bestows, under this sway of Antichrist" (I. Williams). As the Roman adored his Rome and its World-power, and offered sacrifice to the statues of his Emperors, so will men do at the end of all things in the kingdom of Antichrist (Bisping).

Who is like unto the beast?] Cf. the same form in ch. xviii. 18. See on ch. xii. 7 the reference to the meaning of the name "Michael."

and *who is able* **to war** *with him?*] ("**and**" is added—see *vv. ll.*). Compare ch. xii. 17: these words seem to refer to the great battle for which all things in the Apoc. are preparing—see ver. 7; ch. xix. 19. It is generally noted that this passage presents a blasphemous parody of the praise which is given in Scripture to the Living God:—"Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the gods," Ex. xv. 11; cf. Ps. cxiii. 5; Isai. xl. 18, 25; Micah vii. 18. The sense seems to be that the Devil, cast down from his kingdom in the idolatries of the heathen, still exercises his power revived and restored in Antichrist; that is, "by means of some spiritual idolatry equally extensive but of a more subtle kind, operating universally against Christ, through all time and place unto the end."—I. Williams, p. 241.

Mr. Maurice sees in *vv.* 3, 4, a description of the Empire after the death of Nero. The Beast then seemed to be "*wounded to death*"; but the wound was healed; "the Beast was not really gone, only one of the forms in which its nature had been for a while exhibited"; another more complete incarnation of the devilish was ready to take the place of the old (*l. c.*, p. 237).

5. *And there was given* **to** *him*] *I.e.*, to the Beast, in the form now seen, and by God's permission—cf. ch. vi. 4, 8; vii. 2; ix. 5.

These words, "*there was given*," notes Hengst., are very consolatory; and the phrase occurs in this chapter in *three* pairs, *two* of which belong to the first Beast, *vv.* 5, 7, and *one* pair to the second, *vv.* 14, 15.

a mouth speaking] These words and the words which follow, down to "**given to him**" (before ἐξουσία) are omitted in the codex of Erasmus—see *vv. ll.*

great things and blasphemies;] Cf. the description of the "Little Horn," Dan. vii. 8, 20, 25. The whole description is borrowed from Daniel;—the "*war*" also, ver 7 (see Dan. vii. 21); and the 42 months (Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7). The note of Antichrist, the utterance of "*blasphemies*," is again added here—see ver. 1; ch. xvii. 3.

and **there was given to him authority** *to continue*] For this sense of the verb rendered "*to continue*" (ποιῆσαι), taking as its *object* the following accusative, see Acts xv. 33; 2 Cor. xi. 25; James iv. 13:—or we may render, in contrast to "*speaking*," "**authority to do his work during**" (see Dan. viii. 24; xi. 28, 30, 32, LXX.; A. V. "*to practise*," "*to do*"):—this latter sense is preferred by Vitr., Hengst., Düsterd., De Wette, Words., Alford. Bleek and Züllig take the meaning to be "to carry through his work," *i.e.*, "*to succeed.*" The marginal rendering "**to make war**" rests on insufficient authority. The Cod. Sinaiticus reads "**to do what he willeth**,"—see *vv. ll.*, and cf. *vv.* 1, 2.

forty and two months.] This period, being that of the Woman in the Wilderness (ch. xii. 14)—of the Holy City trodden down (ch. xi. 2)—and also of the Witnesses (ch. xi. 3), again indicates that the sway of the Beast is co-extensive with the course of the Church: "it is," writes Hengst., "the signature of the world's dominion over the Church, or of the temporary subjection of the people of God."

Godet (*l.c.*, p. 375), interpreting as a "Futurist," writes: This number—"the broken week" as before—the well-known period of Antichrist—signifies that in the midst of its development and at the height of its increase the power of Antichrist will be suddenly broken. Instead of completing his cycle, he will remain there like a tree blasted by lightning:—"The Lord shall consume the wicked one with the breath of His mouth" (2 Thess. ii. 8). St. Jerome also sees here the latter "half week" of years in Dan. ix. 24 (*Comm. in Dan.* vii., t. v., p. 671):—see Note D at the end of this chapter.

The "Historical" school generally (e.g. Elliott) counts from the edict of Justinian which styles the Pope the "Head of all the Churches" (A.D. 533), or from the confirmatory edict of Phocas (A.D. 606). The former date added to 1260 years (or 42 months, see on ch. xi. 2) giving 1793—the date of the First French Revolution, which struck a blow at the Pope's supremacy; the latter date similarly giving 1866, a year still future when Elliott wrote:—see Note E at the end of this chapter.

One of the earliest attempts to apply the

blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.

7 And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.

8 And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names

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predictions of the Apocalypse to historical events is that of Dionysius of Alex. who applied to a contemporary, the Emperor Valerian, this description of the Beast. Valerian reigned for "seven" years (A.D. 253–260), and his persecution of the Church lasted during the latter "42 *months*," or 3½ *years* of his reign (Euseb. *H. E.*, vii. 10).

It is important to notice that it never occurred to Irenæus, when writing of the mysterious number 666 (see on ver. 18), to identify the Beast with Nero. Nor indeed did this idea, as Rationalists hold it, occur to those early writers on the Apoc.—not even to Victorinus (see Note E on ch. xvii. 11)—who thought that the Beast or his "*Heads*" represented Emperors of Rome: see on ver. 3.

As a "Preterist" Mr. Maurice makes the 42 months to "denote the whole of that time of lawlessness which preceded the accession of Vespasian" (p. 239).

6. for blasphemies *against God,*] See *vv. ll.*; and cf. ver. 5.

to blaspheme His name,] For the nature of this sin see Lev. xxiv. 16; it is the note of God's servants "to fear His name":—see ch. xi. 18; Deut. xxviii. 58.

and his tabernacle,] The Temple of God bears this name of "*Tabernacle*" or "tent" which was its original form; because the Church, which the Tabernacle designates, is now once more in the wilderness (ch. xii. 6, 14). See Ex. xxvi. 1.

[**even**] **them that** *dwell in* **the** *heaven.*] Or "**have their tabernacle**" there. Omit "*and*"—see *vv. ll.* On the connexion between the Temple and those that worship in it, cf. ch. xi. 1;—and on Heaven as the abiding place of the faithful, see ch. iii. 12; xii. 12; Phil. iii. 20; Heb. xii. 22.

Düsterd., reading "*and them that*," &c., sees here *three* kinds of blasphemy,—(1) against God's *Name;* (2) against his *Tabernacle;* (3) against those to whom God has opened heaven as a *Tabernacle.*

7. *And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them:*] (On the omission of these words, see *vv. ll.*). This clause exactly resumes what had been said by anticipation in ch. xi. 7—"*the Saints*" here corresponding to "*the Witnesses*" there. Both passages rest on Dan. vii. 21, where what is said of the "Little Horn" is here applied to the Beast (see on ver. 5); while Dan. vii. 22 supplies the Church with consolation under this prospect; cf. also ch. ii. 10, and see Hengst. *in loc.* "*The Saints*," according to the usage of the N. T. are the believers on earth—see Acts ix. 32; Rom. xv. 25; 1 Cor. vi. 1; &c. Cf. "*the* **rest** *of her seed*," ch. xii. 17. For a different result of the conflict see ch. xii. 11; xvii. 14.

and there was given unto him authority] See *vv. ll.* The verse begins with these words in many very ancient authorities—A, C, P, Ir., And.

over every tribe and people and tongue and nation.] See *vv. ll.* This fourfold enumeration embraces all the dwellers upon earth,—see on ch. v. 9. Mede notes here: "Prima ejus expeditio incubuit in Albigenses et Waldenses." Renan understands the war which the Roman Empire (the Beast) waged against the Jews, adding: "The author [St. John] seems on the whole favourable to the Jewish revolt."—p. 413.

8. *And all that dwell* **on** *the earth shall worship him,*] *I.e.*, the Beast, regarded as Antichrist; or, as some interpret, the accus. masc. "*him*" (see *vv. ll.*) implies that the worship of the "*Dragon*" is now meant—the worship of the "*Dragon*" following *this* description of the Beast, as the worship in ver. 4 follows the description in ver. 3; and the future tense (not the past as in ver. 4) signifying that the worship of the "*Dragon*" is to be the result of the activity of his instrument the Beast (see ver. 7):—so Düsterd. The masc. pronoun proves, writes Stern, that not an abstract antichristian *principle* is meant by the Beast, but a concrete, definite personality. Hengst. refers the masc. pronoun to the "*King*" in whom the Beast is personified (ch. xvii. 11).

[**everyone**] **whose name**] See *vv. ll.*

is not written *in the book of life*] Or **hath not been written.** See on ch. iii. 5; xvii. 8.

of the Lamb **that hath been** *slain*] See ch. v. 12. In ch. xxi. 27 it is simply "*the Lamb's book of life.*"

from the foundation of the world.] See Heb. ix. 26; 1 Pet. i. 19, 20; and cf. Matt. xxv. 34; Eph. i. 4. Bp. Pearson writes: "As he was 'the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world,' so all atonements which were

are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.

9 If any man have an ear, let him hear.

10 He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity: [a] he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.

[a] Matt. 26. 52.

ever made, were only effectual by his blood." —*On the Creed*, Art. x: see ch. xii. 11. "That death of Christ which was foreordained '*from the foundation of the world*,' is said to have *taken place* in the counsels of Him with whom the end and the beginning are one" (Alford).

Relying, however, on ch. xvii. 8, many (Hammond, Bengel, Stuart, Ewald, Hengst., Bleek, Düsterd., Burger, &c.) connect "*from the foundation of the world*" with "*written*." The theological significance of this interpretation is thus expressed by Dr. D. Brown (*The Second Advent*, p. 202): "As to the Book of Life . . . it is all but unanimously understood to denote *the book of God's elect*. . . . It is a catalogue of the names of all that are destined to life everlasting; . . . . as having the 'names' of all that are in it 'written from the foundation of the world' (ch. xvii. 8; xiii. 8), it teaches the origin of the choice of each and all of them in the everlasting electing love of God. . . . . When those 'on the left hand' find not one of their names in the book of life, they will discern therein God's eternal purpose, that they should be left to show what a fallen state is, . . . and that what God might righteously have done with all, He resolved to do with *them* as 'vessels of wrath fitted for destruction'—to glorify his justice in their everlasting destruction." (On this conclusion, cf. the note on ch. iii. 5).

Observe that in this description of the first Beast there is something wanting to complete our idea of Antichrist; there is none of that hypocrisy and deceivableness which other parts of Scripture lead one to expect. This is supplied by the second Beast (ver. 11); see 2 Thess. ii.; 1 John ii. 18.

9. *If any man* **hath** *an ear*,] The note of solemn attention, see ch. ii. 7:—what is to be heard follows in ver. 10. For a pause of a like nature, see ch. xiv. 12; xvi. 15.

10. **If any man [is] for captivity, into captivity he goeth:**] See *vv. ll.*:—if not read in the text, the words "**into captivity**" are to be understood. Words. translates "**If anyone** [*leadeth*] **into captivity, he goeth into captivity**," nearly as A.V. The abstract term *captivity* is used for *captives*—"*qui in captivitatem duxerit, ipse capietur*." The form of words is taken from Jer. xv. 2; xliii. 11; cf. Zech. xi. 9:—see Note F at the end of this chapter.

if any man shall kill *with the sword, he must be killed with the sword.*] (Cf. Matt. xxvi. 52). This verse is designed either as a consolation, or as a warning. As *a consolation*, it intimates that the persecutors of the Church shall experience the vengeance of God, and suffer the same evils as they had inflicted on the saints (Deut. xxxii. 43);—so Vitringa (p. 608), and this same note rings through the Apoc. (see ch. xviii. 5, 6; xix. 2; cf. ch. vi. 10). As *a warning*, it foreshows the fate of Christians in the days of the Beast's persecution—so Alford: 'As was the order of God's wrath towards His people of old, so shall it be with His saints under the persecution of the Beast.'

The former sense seems to be the true one; especially if we consider the import of the words which follow as to "*the patience of the saints*," showing that the Empire of the Beast would be of wide extent, and of long duration (Words.).

"*Here*" therefore, in the consolation just given, is the ground and source of

the patience and the faith of the saints.] See ch. xiv. 12. "*Here*," *i.e.*, during the rage of the Beast, is the place for patience and faith: in the endurance of persecution, must the patience—the "*wisdom*" (ver. 18; ch. xvii. 9)—of the faithful show itself.

Godet, dwelling on this reference to the saying of our Lord to St. Peter in Matt. xxvi. 52, writes: "In order that there may be no doubt as to the meaning, he adds: '*Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.*' What he asks from the saints is resignation in face of persecuting violence" (*St. John*, vol. i. p. 274).

Ebrard points to three formulæ of exhortation:—(1) That which is given here; (2) The token of the Beast given in ver. 18 lest the saints should be deceived; (3) That given in ch. xiv. 12, 13.

So far, notes Mede, as to the "Secular Beast"—see on ver. 15.

THE BEAST FROM THE EARTH (11–18).

11. *And I* **saw** *another beast*] Of the same nature therefore as the Beast in ver. 1, with whom he is contemporaneous (ch. xix. 20). Mention is often made of the *first* Beast without the second (ch. xi. 7; xiii. 1; xvii. 3, 8, 11, &c.), but never of the *second* without the first. As Irenæus noticed (*Adv. Hær.*, v. 28, 2, p. 326), the Beast from "*the earth*" is identical with the "*False Prophet*" ("Post deinde et de armigero ejus quem et pseudo-

11 And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.

prophetam vocat");—compare ch. xix. 20 with ch. xiii. 13, 14; and see ch. xvi. 13; xx. 10 (cf. Matt. vii. 15; xxiv. 11, 24, 25).

There is no Beast mentioned in the prophecies of Daniel *directly* corresponding to this other Beast, or the "*False Prophet*," though we have seen in *vv.* 5, 7, that certain particulars in the description of the "Little Horn"—viz. "the mouth speaking great things," and the making "war with the Saints" (Dan. vii. 8, 21)—are found in the *former* Beast of this chapter. The "Little Horn," however, has a special feature to which there is nothing analogous in the *first* Apocalyptic Beast—namely "eyes like the eyes of man," or the symbol of intelligence. This symbol answers to the character of the *second* Beast as "*False Prophet*." Accordingly, we have, in this chapter, this *one* symbol of Daniel reflected under *two* forms. The emblem of Antichrist in Old Test. prophecy is now represented by *two* figures—those of the *Beast* and *False Prophet*—which are contrasted with, and correspond in number to the "*Two Witnesses*": see on ch. xi. 3. It may also be that as the first Beast is the Anti-*Christ*, so this second Beast, or "*False Prophet*," is the Anti-*Pneuma* (or 'Opponent of the Holy Spirit'); and thus, the *two* Beasts with the "*Dragon*" (see ch. xvi. 13) form a hellish trinity, in contrast to the Divine Trinity of ch. i. 4–6 (see De Burgh, p. 265; Ebrard, s. 263; Gebhardt, s. 247; Burger, s. 210). Or differently:—

We have not here, notes Bisping, "the many false prophets" of Matt. xxiv. 11; 1 John iv. 1, but 'antichristian prophecy,' in the last times, converging to one personal agent,—a false Elijah (see ver. 13) who shall prepare the way for Antichrist.

Haupt (*The First Ep. of St. John*, Engl. tr., p. 115) on 1 John ii. 18, asserts that "Scripture gives us to discern in the ways of God, that every principle is finally presented in its concentration *in one person*"; and considers that "the two diverse presentations of the Beast in the Apoc." are combined by St. Paul in 2 Thess. ii., "into one sole picture,"—"the Man of Sin," borrowed from the description of Daniel, and being, according to that analogy, a worldly potentate. How this combination of the many-headed Beast (or power of the world opposed to God) and "the lamb-like Beast" (or anti-christian pseudo-prophecy) comes to pass, the Apocalypse gives a hint in ch. xiii. 15, when it says: "It was given unto him" (*i.e.*, to the Beast representing pseudo-prophecy) "to give breath to the image of the Beast that the image of the Beast should speak (ver. 15)." It is not until the hostile ungodly power of the world receives the spirit of pseudo-prophecy *opposed* to God—*i.e.*, until both forms of opposition are united in one—that this enmity is raised to its highest form of activity.

coming up out of the earth;] Another correspondence with Daniel:—the four symbolic forms, in Dan. vii. 3, to which the "Little Horn" belongs, came up from "*the sea*," as the first Beast here in ver. 1; but they shall also "arise out of *the earth*" (Dan. vii. 17), as we are now told of the second Apocalyptic Beast. In this the character of the second Beast is symbolized: "The wisdom that cometh not down from above is *earthly*, sensual, devilish:"—James iii. 15.

Hengst. compares John viii. 23;—I. Williams understands by "*out of the earth*," "from the visible Church of God;" and he thinks that this Beast from the *earth* "may represent what is subsequently seen as the Harlot or Babylon";—Düsterdieck limits the mention of "*the earth*" to what is said in ver. 12 as to the exercise of this Beast's power over the earth and its inhabitants;—According to Alford the first Beast was an Empire rising up out of confusion into order; while this Beast from "*the earth*" arises out of human society and its progress [a view which Burger rejects as unscriptural]: and Alf. explains this as setting forth "the *sacerdotal persecuting power*," both Pagan and Christian—not Pagan merely (as Hammond, Grot., Ewald, De Wette, Hengst., Düsterd. maintain), or Christian merely (as Elliott and others hold, who "would limit it to the priesthood of the Papacy"), but symbolizing both;—The True Prophets, notes Burger, announced to Israel the counsels of God; this "*False Prophet*" announces to mankind the counsels of the "Prince of this World;"—Stuart observes that Satan is Prince of the powers of the *air;* the first Beast rises from the *sea;* here the second Beast is from the *earth* [or as Stuart translates "**from the land**" as opposed to "*the sea*"]; and thus all the elements are stirred up against Christians (ii. p. 273);—De Lyra made the Beast of ver. 1 to be the son of the Persian Chosroes, and the lamb-like Beast to be Mohammed;—The second Beast, writes Sir I. Newton (p. 467), was the Greek Empire; the first Beast was the Empire divided between Gratian and Theodosius;—Mr. Birks understands that the two Beasts of this chapter denote the *civil* and *ecclesiastical* Latin Empire.

two horns like **unto** *a lamb,*] *I.e.*, like the horns of a lamb—cf. ch. ix. 10. On the

12 And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first

word rendered "*lamb*" see on ch. v. 6. Words. suggests that this word (*arnion*) may have been chosen in order to mark its antithesis to the word rendered Beast (*therion*) —see on ver. 1. The Lamb in ch. v. 6 has *Seven* Horns, and Hengst. supposes that the *two* horns of the lamb in this verse denote his inferiority in power to Christ. No further description is given of the form of this Beast, such as is given of the former Beast in ver. 1 and in ch. xvii. 3; and Düsterd. thinks that nothing more is meant than that this emblem of the "*False Prophet*" appears in form as a "*lamb*"—innocent and harmless in appearance, though speaking as a "*dragon*." Although the absence of the definite article does not directly point to "*The Lamb*" in ch. xiv. 1, nevertheless the use of a term applied elsewhere some twenty-eight times in this Book to Christ, and only to Him, cannot fail to indicate here the working of Anti-*Christ*. Note, that our Lord, in Matt. vii. 15, describes "*false prophets*" as coming "*in sheep's clothing*."

According to Hippolytus ("Ancolitus" *l.c.*, p. 26) the "*two Horns*" represent the Law and the Prophets; and he thence infers that this *second* Beast is to be outwardly fair, although inwardly a ravening wolf.

By the "*two Horns*" Mede understands the "power of binding and loosing," claimed by the Roman Pontiff;—Vitringa, the Franciscan and the Dominican Orders;—Elliott, the Regular and the Secular Clergy.

and he spake as a dragon.] The absence of the definite article again forbids a direct reference to "*the Dragon*" of ch. xii. 3; xiii. 4; but we cannot doubt that the treacherous and seductive character ascribed to this lamb-like Beast in ver. 14, is included in the name of that evil power which is described in ch. xii. 9 as *Dragon, Serpent, Devil, Satan*, and points to Gen. iii. 1.

Krenkel (*l.c.*, s. 59), noting that "Hebrew antiquity knows nothing of a *speaking* dragon," thinks that we should translate here "speaks *as a serpent*," according to Gen. iii. He observes that "dragon" is used as equivalent to "serpent" in the *Clement. Hom.* (ii. 32, 34):—see Note B on ch. xii. 3.

Stern notes that as before the Second Advent Enoch and Elijah (ch. xi. 3) will preach the kingdom of Christ, so a "*False Prophet*," enslaved to Satan, will strive to gain adherents to Antichrist.

As a "Preterist" Mr. Maurice makes this Beast from "*the earth*" to be that which sustained the Imperial tyranny of Rome,—namely, the religion of Rome (p. 243).

Among rationalistic "Preterists," Renan (p. 414) having observed that this symbol of the second Beast is by no means clear, nevertheless thinks that *vv.* 14–17 may indicate the thaumaturgy of the "mathematician" Babillus of Ephesus (Suet., *Nero* 36; Tac. *Hist.*, i. 22), or the legends as to Simon Magus (*l. c.*, p. 434). Réville, indeed, positively fixes on Simon Magus, whom St. John and St. Peter encountered at Samaria, Acts viii. 9-24 (*l. c.*, p. 130). Krenkel understands by this Beast a spiritual power—the embodiment of False Prophecy—in the service of the Roman Empire (the first Beast), the existence of which in Cent. i. is proved by the references in Suetonius (*Nero* 36) and Tacitus (*Ann.*, vi. 21) to "Astrologers," "Mathematicians," "Chaldæans." The chief type of the "*False Prophet*," according to Krenkel (ss. 80–82), was the historian Josephus, whom St. John thus notices as having abandoned the cause of his country (Sueton., *Vespas.* 5; Joseph., *B. J.* iii. 8, 9). Volkmar goes farther still, and holds that, in *vv.* 11–17, St. John is describing St. Paul as the "*False Prophet*" (see on ch. ii. 2), or, perhaps, the Pauline party in the Church. Volkmar also asserts that Rom. xiii. 1–11 is a perfect commentary on St. John's description here of the *second* Beast:—"As the Antichrist of this Book is certainly Nero, so certain is it that his Christian prophet (*Vorredner*) is Paul" (s. 205). This is too much even for Keim (*l. c.*, s. 160)—who however sees a reference to the "Paulinian party" in ch. ii. 2: see as to this question Note A on ch. iii. 19. Reuss merely says,—"False prophecy, by which men are seduced and led to worship the *first* Beast" or the Roman Empire, ch. xvii. (*l.c.*, p. 378). And in his commentary he adds that, in the absence of details supplied to the author by the Old Test., we remark, in cases similar to the present, "un certain défaut de force plastique."—*in loc.*

12. *And he exerciseth all* **the authority**] *I.e.*, 'performs all the acts of authority'—like the phrase "to do the will," John iv. 34; vi. 38, &c.: he performs them not, as the *first* Beast, by his direct power, but by words, and miracles, and signs. This verse, notes Burger, exhibits "this *second* Beast as a parody of the Holy Ghost" (see on ver. 11); and he refers to John xvi. 13, 14.

of the first beast **in his sight**.] Under his supervision—cf. ch. viii. 2; Deut. i. 38. Notwithstanding his lamb's form, he exercises all the authority of the symbolic wild beast, which represents the other aspect of anti-christian power, in its presence and in its service—see ver. 14; ch. xix. 20.

beast, whose deadly wound was healed.

13 And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men,

14 And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by *the means of* those

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And he maketh *the earth and them which dwell therein*] Hengst. notes, not absolutely all inhabitants of earth, but the earthly-minded, cf. Phil. iii. 19, and see on ver. 6.

to worship the first beast,] Gr. **"that they shall worship"**:—for this construction, characteristic of St. John, see on ch. iii. 9, and Introd., § 7, IV. (*f*).

whose **death-stroke** *was healed.*] See ver. 3. The relation between the two Beasts or two forms of Antichrist—the secular World-power, and the spiritual World-power—is expressed in this verse. To the *former* Beast the "*Dragon*" had given his external power (ver. 4); to the *latter* intellectual gifts—the understanding to speak "*as a dragon*"; see on ver. 11. The "*False Prophet*" who causes the dwellers on earth to worship the Beast symbolizes the deification of the World and of the World-power. The old heathenism of the world had been, in point of fact, an apotheosis of created Nature, and this is still to be the work of Antichrist: "This," writes Auberlen, "is the new heathenism sunk back into deification of nature and humanity, and of which it cannot be predicted what forms of folly and beast-nature it shall yet assume" (*l. c.*, p. 310).

"By the Seven-headed, Ten-horned Beast; the Two-horned False Prophet; and Babylon the Mother of Harlots" (ch. xvii.), Mede understands "the state and kingdom of Apostasie." . . . "The Kingdom of Apostasie was to be the Roman Empire:"—the Beast, which has "*Ten Horns*" on the seventh "*Head*," upon the recovery of a deadly wound in one of his "*Heads*," rises from the sea and succeeds to the power of the "*Dragon*," "blaspheming God by another idolatrous worship." "This I would call *Anti-christendom*. The King of this Apostatical Kingdom is the Two-horned False Prophet, the Roman Bishop" (p. 922).

I. Williams notes that no explanation is given of this second Beast as there is of the first Beast and of the Harlot in ch. xvii. Observe also that Babylon, or the Harlot which sits upon the first Beast (ch. xvii. 5), arises *after* the "*False Prophet*" (ch. xiv. 8), and appears to be destroyed *before* him,—see ch. xviii.; xix. 20.

Renan is compelled to admit the difficulty which this verse creates for the rationalistic theory that the *one* head of the Beast "smitten unto death" signifies the Emperor Nero: "There is here," he writes, "a confusion between the entire Beast with '*Seven Heads*' (the Roman Empire) and the Head 'smitten unto death' (Nero)" (p. 414). Observe however, that this so-called "confusion" between the wounded Head and the entire Beast is twice insisted upon by St. John himself,—viz. here, and in ver. 14. See Introd., § 4, b.

13. *And he doeth great* **signs**,] Or **miracles** (σημεῖα)—the word always used by St. John. That Antichrist is to possess miraculous power is, indeed, intimated by our Lord and by St. Paul (Matt. xxiv. 24; 2 Thess. ii. 9); but we cannot doubt that there is also a reference to the wonderful power over Nature which the spirit of man has attained to, and which has too often been abused to the deification of Nature and her laws, and to the disparagement of the Divine action which is ever present in Creation.

Many refer here to the magical arts common under heathenism; and Victorinus (Cent. iii.) comments: "Even at this day the magicians perform such signs by the aid of the fallen Angels" (*l. c.*, p. 62).

so that he **even** *maketh fire* **to** *come down* **out of** *heaven* **to** *the earth*] Or, **that he should even make fire to come down**] On the constr. with ἵνα, see Introd., § 7, IV. (*f*).

We have here another analogy to the description of the "*Two Witnesses*":—see on ch. xi. 5. Writing on Luke ix. 54, Abp. Trench notes: "How mighty a power this was in the eyes of [James and John] is evidenced by the fact that when in the Apoc. [John] records the great wonders and lying signs of the False Prophet, the only sign which he specially names" is that spoken of here.—*Studies in the Gospels*, p. 219. It is to be observed that this is the miracle which Christ forbade to be repeated if attempted in its literal sense.—Luke ix. 55, 56.

14. *And* **he** *deceiveth them that dwell on the earth*] See on ver. 12.

by reason of the signs] On the prep. (διά) with the *accus.*, cf. ch. i. 9; iv. 11; xii. 11. For the word "**signs**," see on ver. 13.

which it was given unto him *to do*] Cf. ver. 7, and ch. vi. 4.

saying to them] The *part.* (λέγων) is in the *nom.*,—out of constr. as in ch. xi. 1: cf. below the masc. relative "**who**." The use of the masculine gender here and in ver. 8 Burger

miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast; saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword, and did live.

15 And he had power to give [1]life unto the image of the beast, that the

[1] Gr. *breath.*

insists upon as proving "that by the Beast *a man* is represented."

that they should make an image to the beast,] *I.e.*, in his honour (see on ver. 15). The foundation of this symbolism is to be found in the erection of statues to the Roman Emperors to which divine honours were paid. Thus Pliny writes to Trajan, shortly after the Apoc. was written, how he made it an ordeal for the Christians to offer incense before the image of the Emperor ("Cum imagini tuæ, quam propter hoc jusseram cum simulacris numinum afferri, thure ac vino supplicarent."—*Epp.*, x. 97). We may also refer to "the image of Nebuchadnezzar's magnified royalty" in Dan. iii. (see notes on Dan. iii. 1, 14, 15). This worship of the Beast through his image denotes, as stated on ver. 12, the deification of the World and the World-power throughout the conflict between the Church and Antichrist.

Note: the "*Image of the Beast*" is mentioned ten times—four times in this chapter, and in ch. xiv. 9, 11; xv. 2; xvi. 2; xix. 20; xx. 4.

The "Ten-horned Beast," notes Mede (p. 421), is joined with the "*False Prophet*," three times—ch. xvi. 13; xix. 20; xx. 10. When "the Beast" is joined with his "*Image*"—ch. xiv. 9, 11; xv. 2; xvi. 2; xix. 20; xx. 4—the "*Beast*" is the "*False Prophet*"; and the "*Image*" is the Seven-headed Beast restored to the *image* of his former state as in ver. 3:—the "*False Prophet*" was its restorer (ver. 15), and by his will the "*Image*" is ruled (*vv.* 12, 15).

Words. understands by the "*Image*" the "*personification* of the Papacy in the visible form of the Pontiff for the time being;" and the "worship" the "*Adoratio Pontificis*" prescribed in the "*Cæremoniale Romanum*" to be performed after each Papal election; "it was performed to [Pope Pius IX.] on Wednesday, 17th June, 1846." Elliott sees here the Papal General Councils of Western Europe, which answer to the symbol of the "*image*" of the Ten-horned Beast, *i. e.*, of "Papal Antichristendom, and Antichrist."

who hath the stroke of the sword, *and* lived.] Note, the *pron.* is *masc.* (see *vv. ll.*), showing the personality of the former Beast:—cf. above the gender of "*saying.*"

"As with Daniel," notes Keil,—who takes the *first* Apocalyptic Beast to be the *fourth* Beast which Daniel (vii. 7, 8) had seen as the "Little Horn,"—"the World-power *and its representative* are conceived of as *one and the same*, so here also with John. This is seen in the insensible transition of the neuter to the masculine (τῷ θηρίῳ ὃς ἔχει)."—*On Daniel*, Engl. tr., p. 277.

It is important to observe again that the wound of *one* of the Heads is here ascribed to the whole Beast:—see on ver. 3, and the remark of Renan quoted on ver. 12.

15. And it was given [unto him] *to give life* **to it,**] Gr. **breath**—as in marg.; or *spirit*, and therefore "*life.*" See *vv. ll.*—the pronoun is in the *feminine* (αὐτῇ). If the pron. is taken to be *masculine* (with ℵ, B, 1), render, **And it was given unto him to give life to the image**; and so A.V. Cf. *vv.* 7, 14.

[**even**] **to** *the image of the beast,*] In this verse commentators see a reference to the power of speech ascribed to images of the gods. Grotius quotes Roman historians as to the fact of speaking statues—those e.g. of Juno Moneta, of Fortuna Muliebris, of Silvanus. Renan refers in proof of this to Valerius Max. (I., viii. 3–5); and to the worship claimed for the effigies of the Emperors. It is not impossible that St. John may have intended here to signify that demon-power which was present in heathen idolatry, and to which St. Paul refers in 1 Cor. x. 19, 20. Nor again is it unlikely that he may have referred to the "worship" which "the spirit of the age" at all times receives, owing to the unconscious influence exercised by it over the minds of men. Indeed, that "art-worship" of which we hear so much at the present day seems to be leading men to the idolatry of a new heathenism.

that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause] "*The Image*" is the subject of both verbs. Eichhorn and Hengst. regard the *second* Beast as the nom. to "*cause*," rendering: **"that the image of the beast should even speak; and that he should cause"** &c.—see ver. 12. According to the Codex Sinaiticus (see *vv. ll.*) the sense is: **that even the image of the beast should speak; and he shall cause** &c.

Words. explains: "The Papal Hierarchy . . give breath to the image which they themselves have made [the Pope], and then the image speaks." According to Bisping, all this will be fulfilled literally in the last days.

that as many as **should** *not worship the image of the beast*] See *vv. ll.*:—cf. ch. iii. 9.

image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed.

16 And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, [1]to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads:

[1]Gr. *to give.*

"*The Image of the Beast*" is found *three* times in this verse, signifying, doubtless, how great is the degree of this apostasy.

should be killed.] Pliny's letter to Trajan (see on ver. 14) has been quoted as the foundation of this symbolism ("supplicium minatus, perseverantes duci jussi").

This verse is, perhaps, the most difficult part of this most obscure description. In conformity with what has been already said of the nature of the two Beasts, may we not see in the "*Image*" of the *first* Beast those forms of seduction in which that emblem of the material World-power is reflected, and to which the *second* Beast, or intellectual World-power gives their vitality,—thus causing men (see ver. 14) to make of such objects "images" to receive their worship? Just before St. John writes "even now there are many Antichrists" (1 John ii. 18), he had written (ver. 16): "All that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world;"—and may not the temporal losses of those who disregard the appeals of ambition, or intellectual pride, or sensuality, or covetousness, be here symbolized by the fate of the early believers who would not join in the idolatrous practices of the heathen?

Mede (see on *vv.* 10, 14) interprets here:—"The '*False Prophet*' [the Pope,—'*Bestia Bicornis* seu *Pontifex Romanus*'] gives to the 'Secular Beast' [see on ver. 10] the power of putting to death those whom he shall have condemned for heresy ['hæreseos, ut vocant, seu *Imaginis* violatæ'—that is to say '*Imaginis* seu *Bestiæ Secularis idololatricæ*']."—p. 509.

16. *And he causeth all,*] Persons of all ranks and conditions, as in ch. vi. 15; xi. 18; xix. 18. For the constr. cf. ver. 12. The subject of the verb is either "*the Image*," or the Beast of ver. 11; doubtless the latter:—see on ver. 15.

the small and the great, and the rich and the poor, and the free and the bond, that there be given unto them] Gr. "**that they give unto them**"—see *vv. ll.*; *i.e.*, "**that men should give unto them**," or stamp on them,—the plural impersonal as in ch. xii. 6; xvi. 15. Words would render "to cause all men **to give themselves** a mark"—"intimating *compulsion*, under the semblance of *choice*," "they assume it voluntarily" (cf. ch. xiv. 9, 11; xvi. 2; xix. 20; xx. 4); so Grotius, Bleek, Düsterd., Burger, &c. De Wette gives the two versions: "dass Allen ein Maalzeichen gemacht wird;" and "dass Alle sich ein Maalzeichen machen."

a mark **on** *their right hand, or* **upon their forehead;**] (See *vv. ll.*). The badge of Antichrist, in contrast to the "sign upon thine hand" and the "memorial between thine eyes," given to the people of God—Ex. xiii. 9; Deut. vi. 8; xi. 18. Archbishop Trench (see on ch. iii. 12), observing that the redeemed have "the name of God or the seal of God, on their foreheads (ch. vii. 3; ix. 4; xiv. 1; xxii. 4) with probable allusion to the golden plate inscribed with the name Jehovah" (Ex. xxviii. 36–38), adds: "Exactly in the same way, in the hellish caricature of the heavenly kingdom, the votaries of the Beast are stigmatics, having *his* name upon their foreheads."—*The Epp. to the Seven Churches*, p. 183. In Matt. xxiii. 5 we read of the "phylacteries" or "frontlets" called by the modern Jews *Tephillim*,—see Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Frontlets;" see, too, the note on Ezek. ix. 4. For the Divine seal, of which there is here the unholy imitation, see on ch. vii. 3; xiv. 1.

Commentators also refer this "*mark*" or "brand" either to the heathen custom of branding slaves and soldiers (hence called στιγματαίαι) in token of their obedience to their master or general (3 Macc. ii. 29); or to the branding slaves attached to some temple (ερόδουλοι); as well as other persons devoted to the service of some deity:—thus Lucian, *De dea Syra*, 59 [στίζονται δὲ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἐς καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐχένας] supplies an excellent illustration of the passage here. Herodotus (ii. 113) also mentions the branding the temple slaves at Canopus with the sacred sign of Serapis:—as to the use of imagery borrowed from heathen customs, see on ch. ii. 10; vii. 9. The *stigmata* mentioned in Gal. vi. 17 are likewise cited (cf. Bishop Lightfoot, *in loc.*, and see Philo. *De Monarch.* i. 8, vol. ii. p. 221); implying that consecration to the service of the Beast is what is signified here.

Reuss notes that this "*mark*" (χάραγμα) means an incision or "cutting" such as was forbidden under the Old Law to the people of God (Lev. xix. 28).

Hippolytus ("Ancolitus," *l.c.*, p. 26) explains the "*mark*" on the hand to mean slavish obedience; and the "*mark*" on the forehead

17 And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.

18 Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number *is* Six hundred threescore *and* six.

to symbolize that men will exalt the Beast, as the forehead elevates a crown.

17. that no man should be able] Omit *And*—see *vv. ll.* The purpose and the result of imprinting the "*mark*."

to *buy or* **to** *sell*,] *I. e.*, to carry on social intercourse:—see on ch. xviii. 11; and cf. 1 Macc. xii. 36; xiii. 49.

Ancient expositors (Primasius, Beda, Haymo, quoted by Words.) see in the mark of the Beast an imitation of the Church's Creed, *Symbolum*—a term which (in the plural) also means, in the language of commerce, a covenant or treaty. Hence the reference to buying and selling, from which men are prohibited "unless they have the mark of the Beast; as merchants who sail in the same ship are known by the same sign." And Aquinas (3, qu. 63, 3, 3, vol. xxiv., p. 311) says that the "Mark of the Beast" is the "*professio illiciti cultûs*."

By this prohibition Alford understands "the commercial and spiritual interdicts which have, both by Pagan and by Papal persecutors, been laid on nonconformity . . . . down to the last remaining civil disabilities imposed on nonconformity in modern Papal or Protestant countries."

Godet (*l. c.*, p. 308) explains: The "*Head*" (ver. 3) which had been healed, and which now represents the entire Beast, returns as Antichrist (see on ch. xi. 13; xvii. 10)—as the *eighth* Head—and persecutes the Church (see ver. 6). The Church is now declared to be outlawed ("hors la loi"), *vv.* 16, 17:—"It is the time of the last persecutions announced in the *fifth* Seal." This will be a time, notes Burger, when promises such as that in Matt. x. 41, 42, may acquire an unforeseen importance.

The meaning of this symbolism Renan holds to be that the Roman coinage bore the effigy of Nero (see on ver. 18), together with the titles ascribing divinity to him which the Jews looked upon as blasphemous; and that the Romans forced this currency on the Jews in all mercantile transactions (p. 419). Réville (*l. c.*, p. 120) sees a reference to that gradual extension of the right of Roman citizenship by Nero, Galba, and others, to the remote Provinces, which imposed on the Christians the necessity of transacting all business, even the most simple, under the seal of the Satanic Roman power. Nothing, notes Reuss, can show more eloquently than these words the precarious state of the Christians in face of the state-law under Nero. Theirs was a "*religio* illicita."

save he that **hath** *the mark*, [**even**] *the name of the beast*] Omit. "*or*" in this place—see *vv. ll.* The true text thus tells us that the "*mark*" was "*a name*."

or the number of his name.] "*The mark*" consists either of "*the name*" of the Beast written in express letters; or of "*the number*" which is the sum of the numerical value of the successive letters of the name—not necessarily a proper name: see ch. xix. 13, 16. "*The number of the name*" is equally significant with "*the name*" itself.

THE NUMBER OF THE BEAST (18).

18. *Here is wisdom.*] Gr. **the wisdom**—observe the article. See ver. 10, and ch. xvii. 9:—a note of attention as in ver. 9. Or, "Herein Wisdom shows itself," in deciphering the letters of the name.

Auberlen explains (p. 343): "As the first Beast is to be met by patience and faith (ver. 10), the second Beast must be opposed by true wisdom;"—Ewald takes "*Wisdom*" (ἡ σοφία) to be a wise utterance in the sense of the Kabbala, viz. "Here follows the sublime saying which is intelligible only to the wise Kabbalist;"—Burger writes: "When he shall appear whose name gives the number 666, the Christian who has *the true Wisdom* knows what he has to expect from him."

Reuss, having stated that this verse "gives in an enigmatic form the historical name of Antichrist" (viz. Nero), adds: "This verse is, then, so to speak, the key of the whole Book, and the explanation given of it will always be the touchstone of every system of Apocalyptic interpretation" (p. 378).

He that hath understanding, let him *count the number of the beast*;] Of the first Beast—see ch. xix. 20. The words "*the number of the Beast*" occur only here:—the words "*the number of his name*," only in ver. 17, and in ch. xv. 2. Düsterd., Words., Alf., agree in seeing here a challenge to solve an enigma which the words that follow pronounce to be soluble: "It is a human number," says Words., "and not a divine number which no one is able to count (see ch. vii. 9; xx. 8)." This inference by no

means follows from the text. It is not inconsistent with the firmest belief in the inspiration of the Apocalypse, to hold that the name was unknown even to St. John himself (see Lee, *On Inspiration*, 4th ed. p. 209, &c.). At all events, so early a writer as Irenæus (who had conversed on this very subject with those who had seen St. John "face to face"—see above on ver. 5; and Note G at the end of this chapter) was of opinion that had St. John intended the enigma to be solved at that time, the Apostle would himself have given the solution—see the words quoted, Introd., § 2, (a), No. (10); and later still Andreas (*l. c.*, p. 75) observes that if the solution be possible it must be left to time to reveal it.

for it is the number of a man:] (Gr. "**a number of a man**"). Note the connexion by "*for*" with the words that precede. The meaning is explained to be either (1) a symbolical number denoting *a person—a man* and bearing the *name* of a man,—thus implying that Antichrist will be *a man* (Beda); or (2) "*the number of the Beast*" is "*the number of his name;*" and its being "*the number* (or **a number**) *of a man*" signifies that we are to count as men usually count: e.g. in ch. xxi. 17 "*a measure of a man*" is said to mean an ordinary measure, just as in Isaiah viii. 1 "a man's pen" means the instrument which men commonly use in writing. Accordingly we are to understand by this phrase, "the number indicating the name of an individual man" (who is to be the Beast or Antichrist), obtained, by giving the sum of the numerical value of the letters of his name. "The mechanism of the problem," as it is called, is founded on the Jewish *Ghematria*, or *geometrical* calculation—see below.

Düsterd. objects against Grotius, Ewald, Züllig, and others who uphold the *first* interpretation, that we should then have had "the number of a *certain* man" or of *one* man" (cf. ch. viii. 13); and Ebrard thinks that by these words is meant not a mystic symbolical number at all,—like the number 144,000 of the Sealed, or the 42 months,—but a number which can be readily assigned; and he understands here by this employment of the number 6, the Roman Empire, which is the *sixth* World-monarchy (ch. xvii. 10).

and his number is Six hundred **and sixty** [*and*] *six.*] *I. e.*, the number of the Beast is the number of his name—cf. ver. 17, and ch. xv. 2. This number, 600 + 60 + 6, is represented by three different Greek letters, χ, ξ, ϛ, corresponding to these three components; or, as in the earlier MSS., it is written in full (see *vv. ll.*). The remarks of Irenæus on the *old* "various reading," 616—to be found in some copies in his day, and still appearing in the important codex C and a few cursives—are worthy of particular attention: see Note G at the end of this chapter. The examples given below will explain the methods by which it has been sought to read the enigma. The method generally adopted is that known as the *Ghematria* (Γεωμετρία) of the Rabbins, and is as old as the beginning of the Cabbala; viz. that of assigning to each letter of a name its usual numerical value, and then giving the sum of such numbers as the equivalent of the name. Thus in the Sibylline Books (i. 324-331), and in the Epistle of St. Barnabas (c. 9), our Lord's name, Jesus, written in Greek characters, is, we are told, expressed by the number 888: viz., Ι=10+η=8+σ=200+ο=70+υ=400+σ=200=888.

The great majority of commentators, beginning with Irenæus, have made use of the Greek alphabet for this computation:—it was for Greek readers that St. John wrote; it was from the Greek alphabet that the formula "*I am Alpha and Omega*"—"Α and Ω"—(ch. i. 8; xxi. 6; xxii. 13) has been taken; St. John usually adheres to the LXX. version of the Hebrew (e.g. in ch. ii. 27; xii. 5); and he usually translates Hebrew words into Greek, see on ch. ix. 11. Many, however, select the Hebrew alphabet, urging the Hebrew style of the entire Book; as well as the fact that all the names in the Apocalypse (except Antipas, ch. ii. 13) are either translated from the Hebrew, or left in Hebrew.—Nikolaos, Apollyon, Diabolos (ch. ii. 6; ix. 11; xii. 9), and in ch. xvi. 16 "the place called in the Hebrew tongue Ar-Mageddon." A third class of expositors employ the Roman numerals.

(1). Of this class of solutions that which has, perhaps, received the most general assent is one of the explanations of Irenæus (not, however, that which he himself most favoured), viz. *Lateinos*, which, written in Greek characters, gives: Λ=30+Α=1+Τ=300+Ε=5+Ι=10+Ν=50+Ο=70+Σ=200=666. By this is indicated the Pagan Roman Empire ("Latini sunt qui nunc regnant," Iren.). It also, as Alford *in loc.* concludes, embraces "the Latin Empire, the Latin Church, Latin Christianity;" and Alf. goes on to note: "Short of saying absolutely that this *was* the word in St. John's mind, I have the strongest persuasion that no other can be found approaching so near to a complete solution." In his Prolegomena (§ v. 32), however, he declares, "That it is not *the* solution I have a persuasion amounting to certainty."

Dr. Adam Clarke (*Pref. to the Rev.*, p. 2018) observes that the solution given by "J. E. Clarke" "amounts nearly to demonstration," viz. ἡ Λατινὴ Βασιλεία,—(η=8+Λ=30+α=1+τ=300+ι=10+ν=50+η=8)=407+(Β=2+α=1+σ=200+ι=10+λ=30+ε=5+ι=10+α=1)=259; and 407+259=666.

(2). The application of the Hebrew alphabet is not modern. Piscator, Jurieu, and others, in Cent. xvii., suggested *Rômith, i.e.*, "*Roman*" (*Beast*, or *Kingdom*, or *Church* —see Note G). In recent times a warm controversy has arisen among rationalistic commentators as to the priority of suggesting the solution which they take as the key to their system of exegesis. Ewald led the way in 1828, but he held to the reading 616. Then Hitzig at Zürich and Benary at Berlin, in 1836–1837, each insisted that the discovery of "Nero Cesar" as the Beast was his own. M. Reuss of Strasbourg now intervened, claiming for himself the merit of the idea, which he had announced, he alleged, in 1835; while M. Réville declares that Professor Fritzsche was the original discoverer, at Rostock, in 1831. Accordingly, "Nero Cæsar," written in Hebrew, is alleged to be the name (נ=50, ר=200, ו=6, ן=50)=306 + (ק=100, ס=60, ר=200)= 360, *i.e.* 306 + 360 = 666. Here the Greek form of Nero (*Neron*) is represented in Hebrew characters; but if the final *n* (which is=50) be omitted, and the Latin form *Nero* be taken, the Hebrew will give the number 616, or the reading rejected by Irenæus—a proof, writes Scholten (*l. c.*, s. 46) that the name concealed under the number was known to the old copyists *before* Irenæus.

Does not the ignorance, however, of Irenæus (see on *vv.* 5, 17) as to *any* traditional explanation prove the exact opposite? while Ewald also points out that the *quiescent Jod* (=10) that should appear in the word *Cæsar* when written in Hebrew letters (see *Thalm. Bab.*, Gittin, fol. 56), is omitted in this computation, which accordingly does not give "*the name of the Beast.*" Renan (*l. c.*, p. 416) shows that the name Cæsar as given in Hebrew inscriptions of the first century has the *Jod:* the *Jod*, adds Renan, was omitted by St. John as it would have given the unsymmetrical number 676.

As to this interpretation, on which the school of modern rationalism boasts itself so proudly, and on which the chief weight of the rationalistic exegesis of ch. xvii. rests,—it may again be asked how could it have been totally unknown to Irenæus, if known to those scribes who used the reading 616; especially since Irenæus, who had occupied himself with this very question, enumerates the different attempts made in his day to solve the mystery?—How, if the Western scribes had believed that "Nero-Cæsar" was intended, could the credit of the Apocalypse have been maintained, when the prophecy had been so signally falsified by the result?—Nay, even were it admitted that "Nero Cæsar" is the name denoted by 666, nothing would be gained for the argument as to the date of the Apocalypse, or as to that exposition either of ch. xiii. 3 or of ch. xvii. 10 which rests on the name Nero; because, as already pointed out (Introd. § 4, a), Domitian also was known as Nero:—

"Cum jam semianimum laceraret *Flavius* orbem
Ultimus, et calvo serviret Roma *Neroni.*"—Juv., iv., 37.

"Frater [*i. e.*, Titi] quem calvum dixit sua Roma *Neronem.*"—Ausonius, *De xii Cæs.*

Gebhardt suggests that both *Latinus*, and *Nero Cæsar* were intended to be concealed under this name by St. John, who thus indicates that the Roman Empire, and Nero are alike symbolized by the Beast (*l. c.*, s. 235).

(3). Bossuet has chosen Roman characters —DIoCLes aVgVstVs, *i.e.*, the Emperor Diocletian (D = 500 + I = 1 + C = 100 + L = 50 + V = 5 + V = 5 + V = 5)= 666. To this solution the Hugenots gave as a parallel LVDoVICVs (Lewis xiv.),—the name of Bossuet's *Grand Monarque.*

Reuss has well described the general character of the solutions depending on numerical computation, which have been hitherto proposed. This famous number "has been made to yield almost all the historical names of the past eighteen centuries, Titus, Vespasian, and Simon Gioras; Julius the Apostate and Genseric; Mahomet and Luther; Benedict IX. and Louis XV.; Napoleon I. and the Duke of Reichstadt; and it would not be difficult for any of us on the same principles to read in it one another's names."—p. 381.

Other solutions remain:—

(4). Bengel, following a different course, regards the number as chronological,—the *neuter* form of the numeral as found in certain Greek MSS. (see *vv. ll.*), and its *masculine* form in the Latin Vulgate, directing us to the word *years* as the noun to be understood (see Introd., § 11, (b), IV. The first Beast rises from the sea shortly after A.D. 1058 (see on ch. xii. 14):—*i.e.*, the representative of the Papal Hierarchy, Gregory VII., came forward in 1073; and about or after 666 years from that date the Beast from the earth (ver. 11) arises, which may be Jesuitism. Pope Innocent III. had already applied the number 666 chronologically, in his Bull summoning the Fourth Lateran Council (see Hardouin, *Concil.*, t. vii. 3, A.D. 1214);—Luther, while making the "Thousand Years" begin from the birth of Christ, and end with Pope Gregory VII., reckoned 666 years from that Pontificate as the duration to be assigned to the Papacy;—De Lyra (A.D. 1329) had in like manner explained the number 666 as denoting a period of time, viz. the interval between the Incarnation and the death of Mohammed;—and his contemporary Petrus Aureolus, like Pope Innocent III., took this period to

denote the duration of Mohammedanism;—The Magdeburg Centuriators understand A.D. 666, when Pope Vitalian ordered the public services to be only in *Latin*;—Even Auberlen writes that the number 666 "certainly has, as all Apocalyptic numbers, its special and exact chronological signification" which time alone can explain: in the number *six*, moreover, as we are taught by the first *six* Seals and Trumpets, the judgments on the world are complete; and thus *six* is the signature of the world given over to judgment, the development of that number here (6 + 60 + 600) indicating that the Beast can only rise to greater ripeness for judgment. *Six* is the half of *Twelve*, which is the signature of the Church of God (as 3½ is the half of *Seven*); and this development of the number *six* corresponds to the development of the number *Twelve* in the 144,000 of the sealed in ch. xiv. 1—"the judged World-power being contrasted with the glorified Church delivered from judgment" (*l. c.*, p. 268). To the same effect:—"We have noticed," writes Dean Vaughan (*l. c.*, ii. p. 66), "the perfect *Seven*, and the imperfect *half-seven*; . . . . We have noticed also that the number *Twelve*, which (with its multiples) is the Apocalyptic signal of the Church; the *twelve Stars* (ch. xii. 1), the *four and twenty Elders* (ch. iv. 4), the *hundred and forty and four thousand which were redeemed from the earth* (ch. xiv. 3). Can it be—the question has been asked, though we presume not to answer it—that the 666, the thrice repeated *six*, the reiteration of the half-twelve, is itself the symbol of the world, as the full and perfect *Twelve* is of the Church." So also, in effect, Mr. Maurice and Burger.

Reuss considers that the absurdity of the chronological interpretation of the 666 is clear from the fact that St. John over and over again fixes the reign of paganism as lasting no longer than three years and a half.

(5). An explanation, first suggested by Heumann, taken up by Herder, and noticed by Volkmar (who however supports "Nero Cæsar") as one intended by St. John, has been adopted by Godet: The number was originally represented by the letters χξ́ς́—the true form. Now χς́ is the name of Christ abridged; and ξ́ is the emblem of the Serpent,—as St. John styles Satan; and thus the emblematic sense of these three letters is '*The Messiah of Satan.*'" Further: *Seven* is the Divine number, and 777 the complete cycle of Divine perfection which the false Messiah vainly endeavours to attain: "John therefore sees in the cipher 666 the symbol of a threefold impotence—that of the Dragon to equal God, that of the Beast to equal Christ, that of the False Prophet to equal the Spirit" (*l. c.*, p. 376). And thus ξ́ being the emblem of the "*Serpent*," the custom of the Gnostic heretics—especially the Ophites, or 'worshippers of the Serpent,' who date from the first century (see on ch. ii. 24)—may be alluded to, of using for amulets gems with certain symbolic inscriptions, in this case the mark of the Beast, χξ́ς́. And so Mr. Galton (*On the Revelation*, in loc.), who concludes "that Antichrist will strive to do what St. Paul (2 Cor. vi. 15) tells us cannot lawfully be done, namely, to join Christ with Belial—an evil conjunction represented by χξ́ς́.

It is to be borne in mind that the events under the *seventh* Trumpet (ch. xi. 15) have not yet come to pass.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. XIII.

NOTE A ON VER. 1—ANTICHRIST.

Although the name "Antichrist" does not appear in the Apocalypse, the anti-christian influence is again and again referred to under various figures,—as the Beast of ch. xiii. 1; —as Babylon (ch. xiv. 8), the City of Confusion opposed to Jerusalem the City of Peace;—as the Harlot (ch. xvii. 1) opposed to the Bride;—as the lamb-like Beast, or "*False Prophet*" (ch. xiii. 11) opposed to the True Witness. A great outbreak of evil is hereby foreshown when the "*Dragon*," and the Beast, and the "*False Prophet*" (ch. xvi. 13), shall be let loose "for a little time" (ch. xx. 3).

The word Antichrist (ἀντίχριστος—found only in 1 John ii. 18, 22; iv. 3; 2 John 7) signifies (1) a false Christ (ἀντὶ χριστοῦ,—ψευδόχριστος), Matt. xxiv. 24, *a man* who gives himself out to be Christ—as the impostors, some *sixty* in number, who claimed among the Jews the dignity of Messiah; (2) an antagonist of Christ, an opposer of his doctrine such as St. John describes in his Epistles. "The character assigned by St. John in his Epistles to Antichrist properly so called, is one of open hostility to the Divinity and Humanity of Christ; but is not one of *assumption* of His attributes."—Wordsworth on 1 John ii. 18.

Is, then, Antichrist a *person*, or a *principle* hostile to Christ? That a *personal* Antichrist is to appear a short time before the Second Coming of Christ was the general opinion of the Fathers—"from the earliest," writes Stern (s. 312), "down to Thomas Aquinas." The text usually relied on seems to have been John v. 43. Thus St. Augustine writes: "De Antichristo dictum est, *et omnes* sic in-

telligunt quod ait Dominus 'Ego veni in nomine Patris mei et non suscepistis me: si alius venerit in suo, hunc suscipietis.'"—*Serm.* cxxx. 6. St. Jerome quotes the same text, with the words: "Rursumque de Antichristo loquitur ad Judæos."—*ad Algasiam*, Ep. cxxii. And St. Hilary: "Et hic quidem Antichristum significari non obscurum est, mendacio paterni nominis gloriantem."—*De Trin.* ix. 22.

The other texts usually adduced are Matt. xxiv. 24; 2 Thess. ii. 3–10.

There are three opinions as to a *personal* Antichrist: (1) He is Satan under a seeming human form;—(2) He is an incarnation of Satan, *i.e.*, the prince of Hell united in essence to human nature, as it were an infernal imitation of the Logos become Man;—(3) He is an actual man who of his own free will has given himself over to the Devil. The *first* opinion was put forward in a treatise to be found among the works of St. Hippolytus (*De Consumm. Mundi*, *l. c.*, App. p. 4). The *second* opinion is supported by St. Jerome (*Comm. in Dan.* vii. t. v. p. 671); St. Cyril. Hieros. (*Cateches.* xv. 11, 12, p. 229); and others. Many uphold the *third* opinion, that Antichrist will be an actual man; and among them Stern, who elaborately expounds in this sense the present chapter (s. 319).

The type of Antichrist before the Christian era was Antiochus Epiphanes. Auberlen (p. 64) and Dr. Pusey (*Daniel the Prophet*, pp. 91, 96) agree in regarding Dan. xi. 36 as setting prominently forward that typical relation: "The image of the Antichrist of the Old Test.," writes Dr. Pusey, "melts into the lineaments of the Antichrist himself;" and he quotes St. Jerome on Dan. xi. 35:—"As the Saviour had Solomon and the other Saints as types of His coming, so we may rightly believe that Antichrist had as a type of himself that most evil king Antiochus, who persecuted the Saints, and profaned the Temple."[1] "It cannot be proved with absolute certainty," writes Auberlen (p. 303), "that a *personal* Antichrist will stand at the head of the antichristian kingdom, ... but the type of Antiochus Epiphanes is of decisive importance."[2]

That Antichrist is *not* a *person* is strongly maintained by others. St. John in his Epistles, writes Hengstenberg, makes no mention of a *person:* "He expressly states in 1 Ep. ii. 18, that the Antichrist is an *ideal* person, to be realized in *a multitude* of individuals:" we read of "many deceivers," "false Christs," "false prophets," 2 John 7; Matt. xxiv. 11, 24;—we read, 2 Thess. ii., of "the mystery of iniquity;" but *mystery* can be used only of a *thing;* and only of such could it be said "it already works." Hence, Hengst. concludes: "The question is not whether *person* or *not person;* but whether a real or an ideal person, such as we constantly meet with in the Psalms, of the wicked, the enemy, the adversary." So also Words. on 1 John ii. 18: St. John "appears here to represent Antichrist as *an incorporation* of those who set themselves against Christ . . . . This is also in accordance with St. Paul's prophecy (2 Thess. ii.) concerning the 'Lawless one,' or the 'Man of sin,' which represents a form of evil displaying itself in a *continuous series* of persons who are, as it were, *incorporated* and *personified* in one . . . . In like manner, it seems that the word *Antichrist* represents a succession of persons, in different times, animated by a spirit of violent hostility to Christ." This conclusion is not inconsistent with a possible development hereafter, in some *personal* agent, of the antichristian spirit.

Many parallel references to the antichristian spirit are to be found in the writings of St. John. The only distinction to be noticed—if it be a distinction—is that the idea is *symbolized* in the Apocalypse, and *spiritualized* in the Gospel and Epistles. Thus in Rev. xii. 9, 12, Satan is the "*Dragon*" cast down to earth;—in John xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11, he is presented as "the Prince of this world;" and in 1 John ii. 13, 14; iii. 12; v. 18, as "the evil one." It is in the Epistles, however, that the idea of Antichrist is most clearly spiritualized. There are "many antichrists" (1 John ii. 18), as there are "many false prophets" (1 John iv. 1); and "many deceivers" (2 John 7). Both in the Epistles and in the Apocalypse "false prophecy," which St. John identifies with the antichristian tendency, has Satan for its source. The spirit of Antichrist proceeds not from God but from the world (1 John iv. 3, 5), for "to be of the world," and "to be of the Devil," are synonymous expressions (1 John ii. 16; iii. 8, 12). In the Apoc. the antichristian principle is manifested by "false prophecy"; for the second Beast (ch. xiii. 11) seduces the inhabitants of the earth to worship the first Beast, working miracles after the manner of "the false prophets" (Matt. xxiv. 11, 24); nay, being expressly and repeatedly styled "*the False Prophet*" (ch. xvi. 13; xix. 20; xx. 10). The Antichrist of the first two Epistles is the "Deceiver";—and so is the "*False Prophet*" of the Apoc. (ch. xii. 9; xiii. 14). In 1 John iv. 1, we read of "spirits" of "false prophets" who are not "of God." In the Apoc. also the Satanic principle is likewise manifold in its manifestations: (1) as the "*Dragon*" (ch. xii. 17);—(2)

[1] Eusebius (*Eclogæ Proph.*, *in* Dan. xi., ed. Gaisford) writes:—ἀρχέτυπον δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου ὁ Ἀντίχριστος, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου εἰκὼν ὁ Ἀντίοχος.

[2] On the title given to Antichrist by the later Jews, *Armillus*, see Note B on ch. ii. 6.

as the Beast with "*Ten Horns*" (ch. xiii. 1);—(3) as the Beast with "*Two Horns*" (ch. xiii. 11);—(4) as the "*three unclean spirits*" (ch. xvi. 13). The "spirits" in 1 John iv. 1, who are not "of God," "are gone out into the world;"—in like manner, the Apocalyptic spirits of evil, "the spirits of devils," "go forth unto the kings of the whole world" (ch. xvi. 14). See Introduction, § 7, III., (*f*).

Mede (*Works*, p. 722) held the opinion that "the time of the end," *i. e.*, the end of the two prophetic periods of 1290 and 1335 days of Dan. xii. 11, 12 was to be marked by a new light imparted to the Church as to the interpretation of Prophecy—for so he interpreted the words "knowledge shall be increased" (Dan. xii. 4). Mede further supposed that this "increase of knowledge" was manifested A.D. 1120, by the discovery in that year of a new principle of expounding the predictions relating to Antichrist, who was no longer to be looked for in the person of an individual man, but in the series of Roman Pontiffs, or the Papacy. This "discovery" was contained in a treatise, to which Mede ascribed the date 1120, entitled "Qual cosa sia l'Antichrist"—according to which Antichrist was "discovered" to be a "*cosa*" (or "*thing*") and not a "*person*." Assuming that this treatise was circulated between the years 1120 and 1125, Mede concluded that this interval of *five* or *six* years must be the "time of the end" when the "days" of Daniel were to be accomplished. The document thus relied on was preserved among the relics of the Waldenses, and was first published by Joannes Paulus Perrin.[1] Mede states its substance to be that the *condition* of the Church at the time when it was written, and not any one *person*, was the Antichrist of Prophecy.

These Waldensian relics came into the possession of Sir Samuel Morland,[2] Envoy in 1655 from Oliver Cromwell to the Duke of Savoy, and among them was the tract known as the "*Nobla Leyczon*," in which the lines occur that caused Mede's mistake as to the *date* of the treatise. These lines were thus printed and translated by Morland:—

"Ben ha mil e cent an compli entierament,
Que fo scripta lora, Car son al derier temp."

"There are already a thousand and one hundred years fully accomplished,
Since it was written thus, For we are in the last time."

A typographical error in the first of these two lines led to Mede's mistake, and to the discussion to which that mistake has given rise. In Morland's copy of the "*Nobla Leyczon*," the line runs thus:—"Ben ha mil e * cent an" &c.,—there being an erasure before the word "*cent*," where, by the aid of a magnifying glass, the Arabic numeral 4, of the same form as others used in the volume, is visible. In another copy of the poem the reading is: "mil e .cccc. anz compli &c." Indeed a glance at the lines quoted above will show that the dialect is some hundreds of *years* later than Cent. xii. Bossuet (*Hist. des Variations*, xi. 12, 125) refers to Perrin's "Histoire des Vaudois," and observes that Peter Waldo's efforts were not made until 1160; and he argues against the date 1120 from the fact that in the "*Nobla Leyczon*" a work is quoted "que St. Augustin a intitulé *des Milparlemens*, c'est-à-dire *des Mille paroles*"—while this work is really a compilation made in Cent. xiii., and entitled "Milleloquium S^ti. Augustini." Dr. Todd (*Brit. Mag.*, vol. xvi. p. 605) has pointed out that what the "*Nobla Leyczon*" states as to Antichrist and the Last Times is taken from the speculations of the Abbot Joachim; he had already concluded, before the copies of this work were discovered, that the poem must be later than the first ten years of Cent. xiii:—see on this subject the Preface to Dr. Todd's Work "*The Books of the Vaudois*, 1865."

Mr. Bradshaw, of Cambridge (quoted by Dr. Todd, *l. c.*, p. 221) ascribes this tract "to the beginning of the 15th century at the earliest."

Note B on ver. 3—The Holy Roman Empire.

Mr. Freeman in his "*Historical Essays*" (London, 1871) reviews this work of Dr. Bryce. He writes:—"In combating the vulgar error that the Roman Empire came historically to an end in 476, though Mr. Bryce is doing excellent service to the cause of truth, he is not putting forth any new discovery. Thus much Sir Francis Palgrave has already established for the West, and Mr. Finlay for the East" (p. 135). "Mr. Bryce calls all due attention to the fact that the event of the year 476, so often mistaken for a fall of the Roman Empire, was, in its form, a reunion of the Western Empire to the Eastern . . . . The majesty of Rome still lived in men's minds; the Roman

[1] Perrin's "Histoire des Vaudois" was printed at Geneva, A.D. 1618.

[2] They were deposited by him in the public Library at Cambridge, and were for a long time supposed to be lost. In the search for them which was caused by the discussion between Dr. S. R. Maitland, Dr. Todd, and Dr. Gilly respecting Mede's "discovery" and his conclusion therefrom, copies of the "*Nobla Leyczon*" were found among the Ussher MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and also at Geneva; and, by the aid of these, Mede's mistake—already detected through the internal evidence—has been fully proved.

Emperor, the Roman Consuls, the Roman Senate and People still went on . . . . Unless we remember that the line of Emperors never ceased, that from 476 to 800 the Byzantine Cæsar was always in theory, often in practice recognized as the lawful Lord of Rome and Italy, it is impossible rightly to understand the true significance of the assumption of the Empire by Charles the Great" (p. 142). "During the whole of Cent. viii. the Imperial power in Italy had been gradually waning . . . the practical rule of the City had been transferred to the Frankish King. Still the tie was not formally severed; the image and superscription of Cæsar still appeared on the coin of his Western Capital, and Pippin and Charles ruled, like Odoacer, by no higher title than that of Patrician." [Mr. Freeman notes at p. 141 that there is no ancient authority for the statement, most unlikely in itself, that Odoacer assumed the title of "King of Italy"]. "The accession of Eirêne filled up the measure of Western indignation." A woman could not lawfully sit on the throne of the Cæsars: "The throne was vacant; the Christian world could not remain without an Emperor (Chron. Moissiac. A. 801, ap. Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ.* i. 505); the Senate and People of the Old Rome .... asserted their dormant rights, and chose their Patrician. Charles, not as the founder of a new Empire, not as the restorer of a fallen Empire, but as the lawful successor of their last lawful sovereign, the injured Constantine VI. This belief in the absolute continuity of the Empire is the key to the whole theory; but it is just the point by which so many readers and writers break down, and fail to take in the true character of the election of Charles as it seemed to the men of his own time" (p. 145). "From the death of Charles himself a state of division begins . . . . Then came the revival under Otto the Great [A.D. 962]. . . . . The Holy Roman Empire had now assumed essentially the same form which it retained down to 1806" (p. 149).

Writers on Prophecy have not overlooked this fact of the permanence of the Roman Empire; and, from it they argue in support of their own theories. Thus Auberlen, having observed that "some find in the Fourth Monarchy also [of Daniel] a prophecy of the Papacy"—which, he adds, "may be designated as the English and French view"—proceeds thus: "It is a fact that the Roman Empire is essentially still existing in history. The old Roman Empire never thought of representing itself as a continuation of Alexander's Universal Monarchy; but the Germanic Empire knew no greater honour than to be a Holy Roman Empire of a German nationality. And even before it was dissolved, Napoleon had taken up the idea of the Roman Empire; —his Universal Monarchy was essentially and avowedly Roman; his son was called King of Rome; his nephew, in order to found his power, distributed among the French army 'Roman Eagles.' The Roman Empire is the ideal which exerts fascinating power on the rulers of the world, which they are ever striving to realize, and will doubtless succeed in realizing. Of all phenomena of history none bears more essential resemblance to Antichrist than this demonic Napoleonism, which from the outset identified itself with the idea of the Roman Empire. In like manner it is the aim of the Czar's policy to surround his throne with the splendour of Constantinople and the Eastern Empire" (*l. c.*, p. 221).

Note C on ver. 3—The First of the Cæsars.

The rationalistic interpretation of the Apocalypse assumes as a first principle that the "*Heads*" of the Beast symbolize *seven* Roman Emperors (see on ch. xvii. 10) counting from Augustus as the *first* of the series. This assumption makes Nero[1] to be the *fifth* Emperor. Some count backwards from the particular Emperor under whom they assume the Apocalypse to have been written; others count forwards but differ as to the Emperor from whom the series is to begin—whether, e. g., from Julius or Octavius (*i. e.*, Augustus). Some even argue *a priori* that, inasmuch as the design of the Apocalypse is to describe how the contrast between the Kingdom of Christ and the Roman World-kingdom took its rise; and, since Christ was born under the reign of Augustus,[2] "Julius Cæsar was, for the New Testament history, a personage of no importance at all." (Lücke, s. 839[3]).

[1] Philostratus (*circ.* A.D. 217) quotes a saying of Apollonius of Tyana (born *circ.* A.D. 50) respecting Nero:—"In my travels I have seen the wild beasts of Arabia and India; but of this wild beast, commonly called *a tyrant*, I neither know how many *heads* he hath, οὔτε εἰ γαμψώνυχόν τε καὶ καρχαρόδουν ἐστί."—*Vita*, iv. 38 (*ap.* Philostr. *Opp.*, p. 178, *Lips.*, 1709). Do not these words imply that Apollonius had seen the Apoc.? If so, the later date of the Book is proved.

[2] The birth of Christ under Augustus has led many, both in ancient and modern times, to count from this Emperor. Thus Clemens Al. tells us that some exhibit the series of Emperors from Augustus (*i. e.*, "from the birth of the Saviour"—τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος γενέσεως); but others from Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, μεθ' ὃν Αὔγουστος ἐβασίλευσεν.—*Strom.* i., t. i. p. 406.

[3] Lücke quotes Tacitus, *Annal.*, i. 4; *Hist.*, i. 1; Aurelius Victor, *De Cæsaribus*, c. i.; Sextus Rufus, c. ii.; Hippolytus, *De Antichr.*, c. 56; Andreas, *l. c.*, p. 78; Malalas, *Chronogr.* ix.; Zonaras, *Ann.* x. 32.

Düsterdieck makes the further assumption that the Apocalypse cannot have been written later than the destruction of Jerusalem. He also relies on the words of ch. xvii. 10 ("the *five* are fallen, the *one* is"), and concludes that this "*one*"—the *sixth* Head or Emperor—must be Vespasian, and that the *fifth* is Nero; for he omits Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (see Note E on ch. xvii. 10): and thus, counting *back* from Nero, Augustus is the first Emperor.

Réville (*Essais de Critique religieuse*, 1860) appeals to the opening words of the *Annals* of Tacitus, where the historian, having glanced at the forms of government which had prevailed in Rome,—Kings, Consuls, the Dictatorship of Cinna and Sulla, &c.,—goes on to add: "Pompeii Crassique potentia cito in Cæsarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere; qui cuncta, discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine Principis sub imperium adcepit." On this Réville comments: "Dans l'esprit de Tacite, César n'eut que le pouvoir de fait,—la *potentia;* Auguste seul eut l'*imperium*" (p. 125). The people, he continues, shared this opinion; for Tacitus again writes (*Hist.* i. 90) that, in the adulation paid to Otho, "Clamor vocesque vulgi, ex more adulandi, nimiæ et falsæ: quasi *dictatorem* Cæsarem, aut *imperatorem* Augustum prosequerentur" &c.—a passage which, of itself, goes to prove that Julius was the first of the Imperial line.[1]

If it be asked, How could the question as to the succession of the Roman Emperors—if, indeed, it ever occurred to his mind—present itself to St. John? one naturally inquires 'How did the question actually present itself to the mind of a Jew of that age'? We find that the Jewish historian Josephus leaves no doubt as to his opinion; and the value of his opinion will be recognized by any one who remembers how closely he was connected with the Romans. Josephus clearly informs us that Augustus was the *second* Roman Emperor; that Tiberius was the *third;* that Caius (Caligula) was the *fourth.*[1] Nay, in an edict of Augustus granting privileges to the Jews, Augustus styles Julius his "*father,*" and also "*Emperor*"—*ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς, Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος.—Antt.* xvi. 6, 2.

Turning from Josephus to the Roman historian Suetonius (born *circ.* A.D. 70), we find that his work "The Lives of the Twelve Cæsars" begins with the life of Julius and ends with the life of Domitian, including the lives of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.[2]

Among the poems of Ausonius (*circ.* A.D. 370) occur the verses entitled "De xii. Cæsaribus," which begin as follows:—

"Primus regalem patefecit Julius aulam
Cæsar; et Augusto nomen transcripsit et arcem."

The historian Dion Cassius (*circ.* A.D. 220) records that when Octavius had learned the contents of the will of Julius he at once assumed the name of Cæsar; and when this name and the succession had been ratified "according to the usual custom," from that time forth he was styled Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus. "I accordingly" writes Dion, —*ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ Ὀκταουϊανὸν, ἀλλὰ Καίσαρα αὐτὸν, ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος*

[1] Réville proceeds:—"L'historien Florus (sous Trajan) reproduit la même division de l'histoire romaine, faisant aussi dater d'Auguste la dernière période de l'empire;" and he refers to the *Prœmium* of Florus which states that his narrative will give the period "from Romulus the king" "in Cæsarem Augustum septingentos per annos." "Plus loin il [Florus] observe 'qu'après le double meurtre de Pompée et de César le peuple romain semblait revenu à l'état de l'ancienne liberté." Here Réville stops short in the middle of a sentence; for Florus writes thus:—

"Populus Romanus, Cæsare et Pompeio trucidatis, rediisse in statum pristinæ libertatis videbatur: et redierat *nisi* aut Pompeius liberos, aut Cæsar *hæredem reliquisset* . . . . Dum Sextus paterna repetit, trepidatum toto mari: dum Octavius *mortem patris* ulciscitur, iterum fuit movenda Thessalia" (iv. c. 3, p. 464, Amst. 1702). And shortly before, Florus had written: "Cæsar in patriam victor invehitur . . Itaque non ingratis civibus *omnes unum in principem congesti honores* . . novissime, dubium an ipso volente, oblata pro Rostris ab Antonio consule, regni insignia."—*Ib.* iv. c. 2, p. 462 (see Note D on ch. ii. 10).

[1] Josephus writes:—*διαδέχεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτον Ἄννιος Ῥοῦφος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καῖσαρ* [*scil.* Augustus], *δεύτερος μὲν Ῥωμαίων Αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος.—διαδέχεται δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, Τιβέριος Νέρων, τρίτος οὗτος ἤδη Αὐτοκράτωρ.—Τιβέριος δὲ τότε τὸν Γάϊον ἀποδείξας διάδοχον.—Γάϊος δὲ ἦν Αὐτοκράτωρ τέταρτος.—Antt. Jud.* xviii. 2, 2; 6, 10.

[2] This fact is important as bearing on the rationalistic interpretation of ch. xvii. 10; and Lücke attempts to evade its force by quoting the epithet applied by Suidas (who wrote *circ.* A.D. 950) to the "Lives" of Suetonius, viz., *Συγγενικὸν Καισάρων*;—clearly an erroneous epithet if he meant the kindred of Julius, for the Julian line was extinguished with Nero, and the new dynasty of the Flavii began with Vespasian. What Suidas did mean seems plain from the only other words which refer to the "Lives," and which follow this title, viz., *περιέχει δὲ καὶ βίους καὶ διαδοχὰς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουλίου ἕως Δομετιανοῦ.—Art. Τράγκυλλος.* The idea ascribed to Suidas, and the foundation of the rationalistic theory seem to rest on the later custom, which dates, as Gibbon (ch. iii.) observes, from Hadrian (A.D. 117), of reserving the title of Augustus for the monarch, and of applying that of *Cæsar to his relations.*

λαμβάνουσιν ἡ προσηγορία αὕτη ἐκνενίκηκεν, ὀνομάσω (lib. xlvi. 47, p. 484, ed. Reimarus, Hamb., 1750). And in accordance with this statement Dion shortly afterwards styles Julius the first, and Augustus the second Cæsar.[1]

The testimony of a Roman Emperor ought to be conclusive as to the succession of his predecessors. Among the writings of the Emperor Julian—"the Apostate" (A.D. 360)—occurs the fable of "*The Cæsars*," in which the gods of Olympus receive the Cæsars at a banquet; the guests appear, and we read as follows: ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Καισάρων συνεκροτεῖτο συμπόσιον, εἰσῆει πρῶτος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ. Silenus looks at him, and addresses some jesting remarks to Jupiter; and then: παίζοντος ἔτι ταῦτα τοῦ Σειληνοῦ, Ὀκταβιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται, ... Τρίτος ἐπεισέδραμεν αὐτοῖς Τιβέριος, ... Then follow Caligula, the *fourth* Cæsar (referred to as θηρίον πονηρόν), and Claudius, the *fifth*; and then ἐπεισέρχεται λέγουτι τῷ Σειληνῷ, Νέρων μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας, κ. τ. λ. (*Opp.*, ed. Lips. 1696, pp. 308–310). Or to give the authority of a writer of the following century (A.D. 444), in the Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitain (ap. *Thesaur. Antt. Rom.*, ed. Grævius, t. xi. p. 282) we read: "Ex hoc loco continua Romanorum adnotantur imperia, et regnat apud eos primus omnium C. Julius Cæsar . . . . Idibus Martiis C. Julius Cæsar in curia occiditur. Cæsar Augustus . . . . annis lvi." In the *Chronicon Paschale* (written *circ.* A.D. 630) we read:—ὁ δὲ Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ἠρέθη μονάρχης βασιλεύς (i. p. 355). Ῥωμαίων δεύτερος ἐβασίλευσεν Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Αὔγουστος (*ib.* p. 360). And still later:—Georgius Syncellus (*circ.* A.D. 800):—Ῥωμαίων μονάρχης Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ ἔτη ἑ. . . . τούτου κληρονόμος υἱοθετηθεὶς ἦν αὐτῷ ζῶντι Ὀκταβιανὸς Καῖσαρ . . . . Δεύτερος Ῥωμαίων μονάρχης Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Ὀκταούιος, ὁ καὶ Αὔγουστος ἐπικληθείς (ed. Dindorf, vol. i. pp. 574–577).

In fine Petavius—no mean authority—commenting on a catalogue of Epiphanius (*De Ponder. et Mensur.*, c. xi., t. ii. p. 169) counts Augustus as the *second* Emperor (*ib.*, p. 384): and to sum up in the words of an unexceptionable witness who here differs from the great majority of rationalistic critics, M. Renan writes (*L'Antechrist*, p. 407): "Julius Cæsar is always counted by Josephus as Emperor. Augustus is for him the second, Tiberius the third, Caius the fourth. Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, Julian, count in the same way."

The conclusion may be thus stated:—

[1] αὖτω γὰρ προσφιλῶς τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ οἱ Ταρσεῖς εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ Ἰουλιόπολιν σφᾶς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μετονομάσαι. lib. xlvii. 26, p. 508.

Mommsen[1] begins his chapter on "The old Republic and the new Monarchy," as follows: "The new Monarch of Rome, the first ruler of the whole domain of Romano-Hellenic civilization, Gaius Julius Cæsar, was in his fifty-sixth year (born 12 July, 652?) when the battle of Thapsus placed the decision of the future of the world in his hands" (p. 450). "Cæsar was invested with the title of Imperator for life, B.C. 708" (p. 468). . . . "We find on Cæsar's coins, alongside of the dictatorship, the title of Imperator prevailing, and in Cæsar's law as to political crimes, the Monarch seems to have been designated by this name; and, what is quite decisive, the authority of Imperator was given to Cæsar not merely for his own person, but also for his bodily or adopted descendants" (p. 470).[2] . . . "Cæsar, very judiciously connected himself with Servius Tullius, in the same way as subsequently Charlemagne connected himself with Cæsar, and Napoleon attempted at least to connect himself with Charlemagne" (p. 173) . . . . "As a worker and creator he still, after well nigh two thousand years, lives in the memory of the nations,—*the first*, and the unique Imperator Cæsar" (p. 558).

To the same effect Dean Merivale writes: "It is easy to say that it was not Cæsar but Augustus after him that established the Roman Empire. Nevertheless the man who first conceives and executes a great design may command more attention from mankind than one who works upon his lines, and brings his designs to completion; and so it was that from generation to generation men have been wont to regard the immortal Julius as the first of the Cæsars, and the first of the Roman Emperors." *The Roman Triumvirates*, p. 169.

In his history of '*The Romans under the Empire*' Dean Merivale writes: "The stock of the Julii, refreshed in vain by grafts from the Octavii, the Claudii, and the Domitii, had been reduced to his [Nero's] single person, and with Nero the adoptive race of the great dictator was extinguished. The first of the Cæsars [Julius] had married four times, the second thrice, the third twice, the fourth thrice again, the fifth six times, and lastly, the *sixth* [Nero] thrice also."—vol. vi. p. 365.

[1] *The History of Rome*, vol. iv., part ii., Engl. transl., London, 1871.

[2] Augustus inherited under the will of his great-uncle Julius. Suetonius writes: "Ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familia ortum se scribit . . . Octavius pater . . . morte obiit repentina superstitibus liberis . . . item Augusto, quos ex Atia tulerat. Atia M. Atio Balbo et Julia sorore C. Cæsaris genita est. . . . Infanti [Augusto] cognomen Thurino inditum est . . . Postea Cæsaris et deinde Augusti cognomen assumpsit, alterum testamento majoris avunculi," &c.

Note D on ver. 5.—The Three great Apocalyptic Periods.

As to whether these three periods, of 42 *Months*, 1260 *Days*, and 3½ *Times*, assumed to be equal in duration, are successive, or contemporaneous, writers differ:—

Godet (p. 360) makes the three years and a half to be the duration of the exile of the "Woman" (ch. xii. 14) which corresponds to the forty-two months of the reign of Antichrist (ch. xiii. 5), and to the 1260 days during which the Two Witnesses prophesy (ver. 3): "These three periods are really one and the same, applied successively, under these three forms, to the Church during the time of her emigration,—to Israel during the days of its future restoration purely external and national [see on ch. xi. 13],—and to Antichrist during the time of his dominion."

Alford notes: "We have no right to suppose them, in any two given cases, to be *identical*, unless the context requires such a supposition." Thus, in ch. xi. 2, 3, "it is plain that such a view [their identity] is not required by the context"; "the two periods are equal in duration, but independent of one another":—and he adds on ver. 3: "It is a pure assumption that the two periods, the 42 months and the 1260 days, coincide over the same space of time." See also De Burgh, quoted in Note B on ch. xi. 2.

To the same effect Burger notes:—The 1260 days of ch. xi. 3 are not the same period as the 42 months of ver. 2 and the 1260 days of ch. xii. 6,—but an equal period preceding this. If, then, the 1260 days of ch. xii. 6, or the 42 months of ch. xiii. 5 (= 3½ years) be taken together with the other 1260 days of ch. xi. 3 they make a period of *seven* years, divided into two equal parts. The *first* half is occupied with the preaching of the "*Two Witnesses*." With the victory of the Beast (ch. xi. 7),—who is proved by ch. xiii. to be the Antichrist,—its *second* half opens; *i.e.*, the 42 months of ch. xi. 2, or the time of the decided ascendancy of Antichrist as described in ch. xiii. 5. Both halves together give the *last* "week" predicted in Dan. ix. 27. In Rev. xi. 1, 2, is described the state of the Church under the *seventh* Trumpet—see ch. x. 6, 7. From Rev. xi. 3–12 we learn what will immediately *introduce* this last period, and, at the same time, reveal what was not revealed under the first *six* Trumpets—namely, the Visitation with which God will strengthen His Church and vouchsafe the last testimony to the unbelieving world, before man's enmity to heaven has reached its utmost intensity. This *latter* Vision accordingly—that of the "Two Witnesses"—falls under the Second Woe, before the *seventh* Trumpet (ch. xi. 15); and the 42 weeks of ch. xi. 2, and ch. xiii. 5, beginning with the close of the 1260 days of the prophesying of the "Two Witnesses" and with the victory of the Beast (ch. xi. 7) over them, are included under the *seventh* Trumpet. This result, adds Burger, removes the difficulty of understanding how the victory of the Beast could take place at the close of the 42 months of his rule, which would be the case if the spaces of time described in *vv.* 2, 3, were the same: one perceives, too, why the "*Little Book*" (see on ch. x. 2) should form a part of the "*Sealed Book*" of ch. v., as relating to the state of the Church in "the *last* times;" while light is also thrown on ch. x. 11, because ch. xi. 1–12 certainly contains a prophecy "concerning many nations." Cf. the interpretation by Bisping of Dan. ix. 27, referred to on ch. ix. 12: In the midst of the [last or *seventieth*] "Week" of Dan. ix. 27—from which time the 42 months begin to run—Jerusalem "shall be trodden under foot."

Alf. concludes that the explanation of this period is "still among the things unknown to the Church";—"no solution at all approaching to a satisfactory one, has ever yet been given of any one of these periods."

Note E on ch. xiii. 5.—"The Edict of Phocas."

Gregory the Great (Bishop of Rome A.D. 590–604) was succeeded by Sabinian who held the see for only five months and sixteen days. After a vacancy of nearly a year, unaccounted for by Roman annalists, Boniface III., a Roman Deacon who had represented Gregory in a mission to the Court of Constantinople, became Pope. One object of this mission had been to obtain the resignation by the Patriarch of Constantinople of the title of "Œcumenical" or "Universal Bishop." This title was first used in Cent. v., and owed its origin to the customary extravagance of Eastern courtesy (see Gibbon on Oriental titles, *l. c.*, ch. xvii.). It appears to have been given for the first time at the second Ephesine Council[1] by a bishop Olympius to Dioscorus, the Eutychian Patriarch of Alexandria (Mansi, vi. p. 855). At the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), in the complaint of two Deacons of Alexandria against Dioscorus, Pope Leo is styled "Οἰκουμενικὸς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος" (Mansi, vi. pp. 1005, 1012).

The Emperor Justinian had given the same title to the Bishops of Constantinople (Gieseler, *Kirch. Gesch.* i. 2., s. 678); and Pelagius II. (A.D. 578–590) and Gregory the Great both protested against it.

[1] A.D. 449, "The Robber-Synod." The words are: "Concilio cui præsul et primus est sanctissimus pater noster et universalis archiepiscopus Dioscorus."

Writers on prophecy assume that the Emperor Phocas (A.D. 606), at the instance of Pope Boniface III., issued an edict to the effect "that the Apostolic See of Rome was *the head* ('Caput') of all churches, for that the Church of Constantinople had taken to itself the title of *first* ('Prima') of all churches." This statement is found for the first time in a single, short, and unconnected passage in the history of the Lombards written at the close of Cent. viii. by Paul Warnfried, commonly called "Paulus Diaconus" (*ap.* Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.*, i. 465). We next meet it, a hundred years later, in Beda, copied literally from Paul (*De Temp. Ratione*, ed. Giles, vi. 323). Again, after the lapse of three centuries, we find it inserted verbatim by Anastasius the Librarian in his lives of the Popes (*Vita Bonifacii III.*). After him it was copied by Siegebert of Gembloux in a treatise entitled 'Chronographia:' and from these works it has been simply repeated by all subsequent writers. Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, 10th ed., ii. 160) thus comments on the use which has been made of this passage:—"I observe that some modern publications annex considerable importance to a supposed concession of the title 'Universal Bishop,' made by the Emperor Phocas in 606 to Boniface III., and even appear to date the Papal supremacy from this epoch." Perhaps, he adds, some loose expressions of Mosheim (*Eccl. Hist.* ii. 169) may have led to this mistake; "but there are several strong objections to our considering this as a leading fact, much less as marking an era in the history of the Papacy: —(1) Its truth, as commonly stated, is more than questionable. The Roman Pontiffs Gregory I. and Boniface III. had been vehemently opposing the assumption of this title by the Patriarch of Constantinople, not as due to themselves, but as one to which no bishop could legitimately pretend. There would be something almost ridiculous in the Emperor's immediately conferring an appellation on themselves which they had just disclaimed." (2) "The concession of Phocas could have been of no validity in Lombardy, France, or other Western countries, where nevertheless the Papal supremacy was incomparably more established than in the East." . . . . (4) "Whatever the title 'Universal Bishop' meant, the Patriarchs of Constantinople," proceeds Mr. Hallam, "had borne it before, and continued to bear it ever afterwards (Dupin, *De Ant. Discipl.* p. 329):"—e. g. Heraclius, successor of Phocas, continued to give the title to the Patriarch of Constantinople:—see Gieseler, *ib.*, s., 680.

Mr. Hallam, indeed, himself is in error when he proceeds to state that Popes Pelagius II. and Gregory I. disclaimed the title 'Universal Bishop,' "*though it had been adopted by some towards Leo the Great in the Council of Chalcedon* (Fleury, t. viii. p. 95)." In these words is repeated a mistake as ancient as the time of Gregory the Great who himself believed it (see his Epistles, lib. v. 18, 20, 41; viii. 30). The title "Head of the Universal Church," was, indeed, inserted by the Roman Legates in the *Latin* version of the Acts of the Council, but the original records, in Greek, give it no countenance. In the record of the voting concerning Dioscorus we read—*ὁ ἁγιώτατος καὶ μακαριώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς μεγάλης καὶ πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης Λέων* (*Actio* iii., Mans, vi. p. 1048); while in the Latin version of the Acts which Leo sent to the Bishops of Gaul, the words appear thus: "Sanctus et beatissimus Papa, *caput universalis ecclesiæ*" (Leonis *Epp.* 103 (82)). The fable which the "Catechismus Romanus" retains, that St. Cyril, at the Council of Ephesus, named the Bishop of Rome "Archiepiscopum totius orbis terrarum Patrem et Patriarcham" (pars ii., c. 7. qu. 24 § 4), first appeared in the "Aurea Catena" of Thomas Aquinas on St. Matt. xvi. 18. "It is even laid down" observes Mr. Hallam, "in the *Decretum* of Gratian that the Pope is not styled 'Universal,' —'nec etiam Romanus Pontifex universalis appellatur,'—though some refer its assumption to Cent. ix. (*Nouv. Tr. de Diplom.*, t. v. p. 93)."

On the words of Paul the Deacon quoted already to the effect that, in the year 606, Phocas styled the See of Rome "*head*" of the churches, because the Church of Constantinople had the title "*first*" of the churches, Mr. Hallam says: "This was probably the exact truth: and the subsequent additions were made by some zealous partisans of Rome, to be seized hold of in a later age, and turned against her by some of her equally zealous enemies" (*ibid.*)

NOTE F ON VER. 10.—THE TEXT OF VER. 10.

The *Textus Receptus* reads:—*εἴ τις αἰχμαλωσίαν συνάγει, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει.* The Cod. Alex. (A) reads: *εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει.* This reading of A, writes Dr. Scrivener, "though apparently unsupported except by a Slavonic MS., and the best copies of the Vulgate,[1] looks more probable" than that of ℵ, B, C, P.—*Introd.*, p. 568. The old transl. in Irenæus gives:—"Si quis in captivitatem duxerit, in captivitatem ibit" (*Adv. Hær.* v. 28, p. 326).

The Armenian Version, notes Tisch., gives:

[1] The Vulg. gives: "Qui in captivitatem duxerit, in captivitatem vadet." Tregelles gives the more correct form: "Qui in captivitatem, vadit in captivitatem."

—"Sunt enim quidam qui in captivitatem tradentur;" and it goes on: "et sunt quidam qui gladio morientur, et sunt quidam qui ipsi ipsos occident." He gives as the Coptic:—"Ducens in captivitatem, ingrediatur."[1]

The MS. used by Erasmus merely read: *εἴ τις αἰχμαλωσίαν συνάγει.* Er. completed the clause, but altered the reading given him by Valla, viz.—*εἴ τις ἔχει αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει*, as the Complutensian reads.

Hengstenberg supports the reading of the Text. Rec., quoting 1 Macc. xiv. 7: *καὶ συνήγαγεν αἰχμαλωσίαν πολλήν*—"it corresponds," he writes, "to the Hebrew הגלה גלות, and denotes the bringing together of captives (Luke xxi. 24) for the purpose of transporting them from their own to a foreign land:" cf. Amos i. 6. Bleek in like manner takes the abstract as put for the concrete ("So jemand Gefangene führet, der wandert in Gefangenschaft)," referring the words to the Beast and his adherents. Renan to the same effect translates: "Celui qui fait des captifs sera captif à son tour."—p. 412.

De Wette rejects the different readings proposed: "Perhaps the author wrote, *εἴ τις εἰς αἰχμ., εἰς αἰχμ.*, and the ellipsis was filled up by different glosses."

NOTE G ON CH. XIII. 18.—THE NUMBER OF THE BEAST.

I. According to St. Irenæus Antichrist sums up in himself all the wickedness of former ages both before and after the Deluge; "the number of his name," therefore, is suitably set forth as 666 (*καταλλήλως οὖν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἕξει τὸν ἀριθμὸν χξ϶'*). Thus Noah was 600 years old when the Deluge came (Gen. vii. 6). In after times Nebuchadnezzar's image was in height three score (60) cubits, and in breadth six (6) cubits."—Dan. iii. 1. Accordingly the 600 years of Noah, together with the numbers (60 and 6) denoting the height and breadth of the image, signify the number of Antichrist's name. The number in Rev. xiii. 18, adds Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* v. 29, 30) teaches us that the number of the name of the Beast exhibits, according to the computation of the Greeks, by the letters which are in it, 600 and 60 and 6:—"Some persons, however, have, through error, subtracted 50 from the middle number of the name (*οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἐσφάλησάν τινες ἐπακολουθήσαντες ἰδιωτισμῷ, καὶ τὸν μέσον ἠθέτησαν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος, ν' ψήφισμα ὑφελόντες, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἓξ δεκάδων, μίαν δεκάδα βουλόμενοι εἶναι*); but this was the fault of the scribes, as usually happens when numbers are set forth by letters, and when the Greek letter denoting 60 (ξ) is altered into the Greek letter Iōta denoting 10 (ι). Certain persons have even dared to look for a name represented by the false number (*ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ὄνομα ἀναζητεῖν ἔχον τὸ ν' ἐσφαλμένον καὶ διημαρτημένον ἀριθμόν*); becoming liable to the punishment of him who adds or takes away aught from Scripture (Rev. xxii. 18, 19).[1] Irenæus then proceeds to state sundry explanations which had, in his time, been proposed; among which he gives LATINUS[2] observing:—"ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ nomen habet sexcentorum sexaginta sex numerum: et valde verisimile est... Latini enim sunt qui nunc regnant."—*ib.*, p. 329. If, he adds (in the passage No. (10), quoted in the Introduction, § 2, a), it were right at the present time to proclaim openly the name of Antichrist, it would have been spoken by him who beheld the Visions of the Apocalypse,—"nomen autem ejus tacuit." Canon Farrar (*The Expositor*, May 1881, p. 345), apparently in illustration of this remark, writes: "Josephus was in high favour, first with Poppœa and then with the Flavian dynasty, yet he stops abruptly in his explanation of the prophecies of Daniel, with a mysterious hint that he does not deem it prudent to say more,—'Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the King: but I do not think proper to relate it.'—*Antt.* x. 10, § 4."

R. Fleming (*l.c.*, p. 30) observes "that even the Hebrew contains the number 666, in the numerical letters thereof, whether we make use of רומיית *Romana*, scil. *Sedes*, or רמענוש *Romanus* vel *Latinus*." From the number being found in Λατεῖνος Irenæus "concluded that he was to be a Roman." Thus, (ר = 200 + ו = 6 + מ = 40 + י = 10 + י = 10 + ת = 400) = 666. And again (ר = 200 + מ = 40 + ע = 70 + נ = 50 + ו = 6 + ש = 300) = 666. "And whereas Bellarmin objects that *Latinus* should be rendered by a single *Iota* and not by *ei*,

[1] Griesbach gives as the reading of the Coptic and Slavonic, *εἴ τις αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει*, and as the reading of the Syr., *εἴ τις αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀπάγει εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει.*

[1] Dr. Scrivener (*l. c.*, pp. 450, 543), aptly illustrates this alteration of the text by the reading *ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα ἕξ*, for *διακόσιαι ἑβδομήκοντα ἕξ*, in Acts xxvii. 37; where the "difference between B and the Received Text would consist of the insertion or the contrary of the letter ω: whether in fact the Evangelist wrote *ωσϖ϶* or *σοϖ϶*, '*about* 76' or '276'."

[2] The word *Latinus* has been objected to, because the term had no existence in the first century except in the poetry and local geography of the Campagna of Rome; and, as the name of a language, was utterly unknown in any form within the Apostolic sphere—see for example Luke xxiii. 38 (Ῥωμαϊκοῖς); John xix. 20 (Ῥωμαϊστί).

he is exceedingly mistaken: for not only Irenæus renders the word thus, but all the Greeks do the same"—e.g. Ἀντονεῖνος, Σαβεῖνος.

Of all the solutions current in his time Irenæus[1] prefers TEITAN, a word which consists of *six* letters, of two syllables—each consisting of *three* letters, and which may well designate Antichrist, as being the name of one of the giants who assailed the gods. For this last reason modern writers (Wetstein,[2] Knittel) have adopted it; and also from its similarity to "*Titus*," the name of the conqueror of Jerusalem. The name Titan is also mentioned by Victorinus, as being a name "quem gentiles Solem, Phœbumque appellant." Victorinus is also made to add that if we use Latin letters we get *per antiphrasin* "*Diclux*" (D = 500, I = 1, C = 100, L = 50, V = 5, X = 10)—"id quod Græce sonat Τειτάν, nempe id quod Latine dicitur *Diclux*, quo nomine per antiphrasin expresso intelligimus Antichristum." This suggestion of *Diclux* is a senseless interpolation; and the interpolator, whoever he was, was so ignorant as to make Victorinus, who lived *circ.* A.D. 294, also give as a solution *Genseric* (A.D. 429). Bengel indeed tells us that it was Ambrosius Autpertus (*circ.* A.D. 770) who composed DICLVX. out of DCLXVI. —the Roman numerals denoting 666.

Among the names given by Andreas, as if after Hippolytus, is Βενέδικτος. Andreas might indeed have heard of Benedict of Nursia (A.D. 530); but, as Bengel points out in his *Gnomon*, this name, signifying "The Blessed"—*per antiphrasin*, "The Cursed"—is an interpolation made for the purpose of bringing in the name of Pope Benedict IX. (A.D. 1033–1044). The date of this Pope being thus 1000 years after the Passion, his name, accordingly, gave the date of the Kingdom of the Beast (ch. xx. 7). Arethas (*l.c.*, p. 384) gives ὁ Νικητής, "The Conqueror," which is adopted by Stern.

Here it should be noted that it was only in the later written Greek character that *final* σ became ς (σ really denotes 200); and that ς is to be distinguished from ϛ—originally used for the numeral 6, but afterwards as a short form of στ. Hence we may see the error of Salmasius and Grotius, who think that St. John referred to "Ulpius T"(rajanus), in Greek Οὔλπιος, *Ulpiost*,— viz. (Ο = 70 + υ = 400 + λ = 30 + π = 80 + ι = 10 + ο = 70 + ϛ = 6) = 666.[1]

II. The solution "Nero Cæsar"—the name being written in Hebrew letters as נרון קסר (=666), or נרו קסר (=616)—has been mentioned above in the note on this verse. The mode of writing this name in the Hebrew of St. John's day would be נירון קיסר (see *Thalm. Bâbyl.*, Gittin, fol. 56). The name "Cæsar" (קסר) is found without quiescents in the inscriptions of Palmyra of Cent. iii. (Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscr. sémit.*, pp. 17, 26); but the Nabathean inscription of Hebron which belongs to A.D. 47, presents קיסר (Vogüé, *ib.*, p. 100). Renan observes: "The omission of the י may appear strange in the first century; it is probable that the author has designedly suppressed it in order to have a symmetrical cypher ἑξακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἕξ. With the י he would have had 676"—p. 416.[2] In consequence of this difficulty, Ewald (s. 263) explains "Cæsar of Rome," and writes קיסר רום,—(ק = 100 + י = 10 + ס = 60 + ר = 200) = 370 + (ר = 200 + ו = 6 + ם = 40) = 246; and thus gets 370 + 246 = 616,—the number indicated by the reading which Irenæus rejected.

The reference to Rome in Hebrew letters has long since been suggested, and in more than one form owing to the difficulty of proving that such a group of letters has ever been

[1] Hippolytus (*De Antichristo*, c. 50, ed. Fabric. p. 25) also writes:—πολλὰ γὰρ εὑρίσκομεν ὀνόματα τούτῳ τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἰσόψηφα περιεχόμενα, and, following his master Irenæus (see Photius, *Cod.* 121), he gives Τειτάν, Εὐάνθας, Λατεῖνος, as his solutions. Hippolytus ("Ancolitus," *l.c.*, p. 26: see Note C on ch. xii. 3) also adopts the reading 666; and adds to other explanations the word Δαντιαλοσ.

[2] Wetstein notes:—"*Andreas:* Τειτὰν καθ' Ἱππόλυτον. *Hesychius:* Τειτὰν . . . . τὸ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ὄνομα. *Beda:* 'Hic numerus apud Græcos in nomine Titanis, id est gigantis, dicitur inveniri' [viz. T = 300 + E = 5 + I = 10 + T = 300 + A = 1 + N = 50 = 666; and Beda adds: 'Hoc sibi nomen Antichristus, usurpatum ire putatur de quo scriptum est *exultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam*,' &c.]. Eleganter [continues Wetstein] et apposite Ioannes Titum Flavium Vespasianum patrem et filios hoc nomine designat. Convenit nomen Τειτάν prænomini ipsorum *Titus*. Res ipsa etiam convenit. Titanes fuerunt θεομάχοι, tales etiam Vespasiani."

The idea of getting the reading 616 by dropping the final ן in Nero's name, is not a discovery of *modern* rationalists; for Wetstein goes on to note: "Sin autem ex aliorum codicum lectione præferas 616, invenies hunc numerum demta litera postrema N in voce Τειτά, quæ *Titum* clarius designat."

[1] The commentary ascribed to Tichonius (see Note A on ch. vi.) adopts the reading 616. We there read (ap. *Opp. S. August.*, t. iii. p. i. *App.*, col. 154, Ant. 1700): "*Numerus*, inquit, *ejus est sexcenti sedecim.* Quem faciamus secundum Græcos maxime quia ad Asiam scribit, *et ego*, inquit, *α et ω.* '*Sexcenti* et *sedecim*' Græcis literis sic fiant χις'. Quæ notæ solutæ, numerus est: redactæ autem in monogrammum et notam faciunt et numerum et nomen. Hoc signum Christi intelligitur, et ipsius ostenditur similitudo, quam in veritate colit ecclesia."

[2] Ewald, however, refers to the Syriac, and also to Jewish writings (cf. Joseppôn, 2, 23, p 156 f. Br.) for the form קסר as well as קיסר —s. 263.

used: e.g. רומיית = "Roman" *Beast* (חיה), or *Kingdom* (מלכות):—so Jurieu, Piscator, Launay, Daubuz,[1] Osiander;—or = רומה ורברבה "excelsa et præampla:"—so Vitringa, (p. 633). Züllig's solution is the most elaborate of all:—The Rabbinical title 'of the Anti-Messias is Armillus,[2] a name which is equivalent to Balaam (see Note B on ch. ii. 6). Accordingly Züllig takes for the number the words "Balaam, son of Beor, the soothsayer"—בלעם בן בעור הקוסם, from which he omits ו twice (Num. xxiv. 3, 15), as well as the art. ה; and giving their values to the remaining letters he gets 666. (Mr. Elliott gives a solution, "suggested by a friend," in Arabic characters, which signify *Catoolikee Lateen*).

III. The Latin solutions are comparatively few: e.g. that ascribed to Bishop Bedell—PAVLO V. VICEDEO, (*i.e.*, 'in the time of Paul V. Vicegerent of God'). Roman Catholic writers of course retorted: e.g. "Luther" gave the number, under his early name "Martin Lauter;"—or "Joannes Calvinus;"—or "Beza antitheos," counting at pleasure according to Saxon, or Greek, or Hebrew numerals. Thus "Martin Lauter" is represented as follows by Feuardentius (p. 200) in his notes on Irenæus (v. 30),—(M = 30 + A = 1 + R = 80 + T = 100 + I = 9 + N = 40) = 260 + (L = 20 + A = 1 + V = 200 + T = 100 + E = 5 + R = 80) = 406; and hence 260 + 406 = 666, where the letters of the Roman alphabet are counted, as in the Greek, by units, decads, hundreds. The same name reads in Hebrew characters, under the form לוּלתר,—ר = 200 + ת = 400 + ל = 30 + ו = 6 + ל = 30 = 666. (See Belarmin., *De Rom. Pont.* iii. 10).

To give a few other examples:—

Weyers:—Γάϊος Καῖσαρ, *Caius Cæsar*, or Caligula. Zuschlag (reading 616):—Δῖος Καῖσαρ, the *Divine Cæsar*. Gensler:—Julian the Apostate, Ἀποστάτης. Gensler takes an *era called after some man or men*, "for it is the number of a man;" and he takes the *era* of the Seleucidæ, which began B.C. 311. To this number he adds 355 which gives, according to him the date of Julian. The Vandal Genseric, Γενσηρικός (A.D. 429) is also named;—Mohammed, in Greek characters, viz. Μαομέτις, as given by Zonaras, Euthymius, and Cedrenus;—Napoleon, written Ναπολεόντις;—Paræus gives Ἰταλικὰ ἐκκλησία, "the Æolic termination," writes Mr. Elliott, "being given to Ἰταλικά," inasmuch as "the Latin is of Æolic origin." Hengstenberg, after Vitringa, gives the curious solution, viz., "In the whole Old Testament there is but one instance in which the number 666 occurs in connexion *with a name*. It is said in Ezra ii. 13: 'The sons of Adonikam 666.' The name *Adonikam* must therefore be the name of the Beast."—vol. ii. p. 52. (Beda notices, that 666 talents were the yearly revenue of Solomon 2 Chron. ix. 13).

See Calmet, *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Antichrist;"—Züllig, "Excurs zu kap. xiii. 18;"—Elliott, *Hor. Apoc.* iii. p. 242;—A. Réville, *Essais de Crit. Rel.* p. 72, &c.

IV. Two specimens of interpretation may be added in conclusion:—

(1) "An interpretation of the No. 666, by Francis Potter, B.D., Oxford, 1642;" with a letter commendatory of Joseph Mede, who describes this tract as "The happiest that ever yet came into the world."

The author states "that in ch. vii. the Mystery of the number 144, which is the number opposed to 666, consists in the square root of it which is 12, and that therefore the mystery of 666 must be in the square root of it also." Now $(25)^2 = 625$; and the remainder as being "unusefull" (p. 66), may be disregarded. "The first decreed and limited number of Cardinals and parish Priests in Rome was 25;"—"The number of the gates of Rome was 25;"—"The Popish Creed consists of 25 articles, as the Apostles' doth of 12;" &c. In reply to the objection that 25 may as well be the root of any number between 625 and 676 (the square of 26) as of 666, the author says no,—for, among other reasons, "no other number whose root was 25, could be expressed by the numeral letters of the Beast's name, as concerning the word λατεῖνος, and divers other names of this Beast in divers languages hath been, and may be observed." p. 190.

(2) Lange in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie* (art. *Antichrist*, i. 375), observes "that the numbers of the Apocalypse in general are not cabbalistic, enigmatical numbers, but symbolical numbers." The number 666, accordingly, may perhaps be explained after the analogy of the numerical symbolism of this Book; and the key to this solution may be found in the contrast between the "*unrest*"

[1] Daubuz observes that the Harlot's name "*Mystery*," in ch. xvii. 5, in Hebrew סתור, gives the same result.

[2] Canon Farrar (*l.c.*, p. 336) states that in the Talmud "the Emperor Caligula is called *Armillus* because of the 'bracelets' (*armillæ*) which he had the folly to wear in public." No other reference however is given for this statement; it resembles the origin of the name Caligula (*caliga*). Pliny (H. N. xxxiii. 2, 37) says that the Emperors conferred the *armilla* on soldiers of merit, who were citizens:—"*armillas* civibus dedere quas non dabant externis." Suetonius indeed says that Caligula "manuleatus et *armillatus* in publicum processit" (*Calig.*, c. 52); just as he mentions that Nero was accompanied by "*armillata* et phalerata turba" (*Nero*, c. 30); but the historian makes no mention of a *name* derived from *armilla*. Tacitus says nothing of such a name.

of apostates and the "*rest*" of the faithful —see ch. xiv. 11, 13. Lange sees, therefore, a threefold contrast to the sacred *Seven*:— "The 600 is perhaps the number of the endless, curse-laden time, which will amount to a pure Æon; 60 is the number of false prophecy in contrast to the 70 Elders of Moses (Ex. xxiv. 1) and the 70 disciples of the Lord (Luke x. 1); 6 is the number of endless trouble as opposed to 7 as the number of sabbath-rest."[1]

The more this question is considered, the more one is inclined to accept the conclusion of Bellarmine:—

"Verissima igitur sententia est eorum qui ignorantiam suam confitentur."

[1] Hilgenfeld has published a Latin text of the apocryphal "Apocalypse (or ἀνάληψις) of Moses." He compares in his notes chapters i., viii., and x., with our Gospel of St. Matthew, with St. Paul in his Epistles, and with the Revelation of St. John. Matt. xxiv. 21, and Rom. ii. 15 resemble, he thinks, the words of this apocryphal writer; and Hilgenfeld concludes that Rev. xiii. 18 is founded on the following enigma of ch. ix.: "Tunc illo dicente homo de Tribu Levi, cujus nomen erit ΤΞΕ, qui habens vii. filios," &c. [cf. 2 Macc. vii., sq.]—*Nov. Test. extra Can.*, Fascic. i. pp. 105, 112, 114.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *The Lamb standing on mount Sion with his company.* 6 *An angel preacheth the gospel.* 8 *The fall of Babylon.* 15 *The harvest of the world, and putting in of the sickle.* 20 *The vintage and winepress of the wrath of God.*

AND I looked, and, lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and

[Ver. 1 τὸ ἀρνίον.—τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα.—[1 reads καλόμενον (for γεγραμμένον), an error for καιόμενον—as Andr. seems to have read]. Ver. 2 καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς κιθ. Ver. 4 *om.* 3rd εἰσιν. Ver. 5 ψεῦδος.—*om.* γάρ.—*om.* ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ (1 also omits these words, which Er. supplied from the Vulg. *ante thronum Dei:* Luther, "*für dem stuel Gottes*"). Ver. 6 ἐπὶ τοὺς.—καθημένους.—καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν. Ver. 7 λέγων. Ver. 8 ἄλλος δεύτερος ἄγγ.—*om.* ἡ πόλις.—ἥ *for* ὅτι.—τὰ ἔθνη. Ver. 9 ἄλλος ἄγγελος τρίτος. Ver. 10 *om.* τῶν before ἀγγ. [A omits ἁγίων]. Ver. 12 ἡ ὑπομονή.—*om.* 2nd ὧδε. Ver. 13 *om.* μοι.—[ἀπαρτὶ is read by Tisch., 8th ed.; others read ἀπ' ἄρτι].—ἀναπαήσονται.—τὰ γὰρ ἔργα. Ver. 14 καθήμενον ὅμοιον υἱόν. Ver. 15 *om.* σοι.—*om.* τοῦ bef. θερίσαι. Ver. 16 τῆς νεφέλης. Ver. 18 ὁ ἔχων.—φωνῇ.—[1 omits τῆς ἀμπέλου]. Ver. 19 τὸν μέγαν [with A, B, C, P.—ℵ reads τὴν μεγάλην.—1 reads τὸν ληνὸν . . . τὸν μέγαν, which Er. changed into τὴν ληνὸν . . . τὴν μεγάλην]. Ver. 20 ἐξωθεν.]

CHAP. XIV.

The Fifth chief Vision of the Revelation Proper now opens and is contained in this chapter:—see Introd. § 12.

The Seal-Visions, speaking generally, have occupied the section from ch. v. 1 to ch. viii. 1; and the Trumpet-Visions have extended from ch. viii. 2, down to ch. xi. 19, on which there is, apparently, an abrupt break between ch. xi. and ch. xii. In ch. xii. and ch. xiii. the origin and fortunes of the Church Militant, as well as the source of her conflict with the world, have been represented; and now, in order to fill up the break between ch. xi. and ch. xii., and immediately before the "*Seven last Plagues*" (ch. xv. 1), the present chapter is interposed. It contains *three* principal Visions—each opening with the formula, "*And I saw*,"—an episode (*vv.* 12, 13) separating the *second* Vision from the *third*. (1) In *vv.* 1–5, the servants of God are consoled as they contemplate the terrible prospect disclosed in ch. xiii.;—(2) In *vv.* 6–11 follow the announcements of the three Angels containing distinct references to ch. xiii.;—(3) In *vv.* 12, 13 the episode is interposed;—(4) In *vv.* 14–20 the Seer beholds the Vision of the Harvest and the Vintage. As in ch. vii. a Vision of the glory of heaven was given in order to animate and support the Church at the approach of "*the great tribulation*" (ch. vii. 14), so here, before the Seven Vials are poured out, there is given, in *vv.* 1–5, a Vision of the Redeemed, setting forth the recompense reserved for those "*that overcome*" (see ch. ii. 11; iii. 12, 21; and the note on ch. iii. 22).

THE LAMB ON MOUNT ZION (1–5).

1. And I saw,] For the same formula introducing a separate Vision, see *vv.* 6, 14; for the formula "*I heard*," see ver. 13:—cf. on ch. i. 2; iv. 1; v. 11.

and behold, the Lamb] (See *vv. ll.*). Note the definite article, "**the Lamb**," the Lamb of ch. v. 6:—for the thought implied see ch. v. 9; vii. 14; xii. 11; xiii. 8. Christ, in the form of a Lamb, appears in contrast to the Dragon-form of Satan in ch. xiii. 4.

standing upon *the mount Zion*,] Here only, and in Heb. xii. 22, do we find "*Mount*

with him an hundred forty *and* four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads.

2 And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps:

3 And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders: and no man could learn that song but the

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Zion" ("Jerusalem which is above," Gal. iv. 26) mentioned in the N. Test. In Heb. xii. 18 the spiritual Zion is contrasted with the outward and earthly Zion which was the seat of the old Covenant; and as in ver. 2 the Voice is heard from "*heaven*," so here we have the heavenly Zion, the seat of the heavenly Temple which is related to the ancient Tabernacle, or "Tent of meeting" (Num. xvii. 4; cf. Ex. xxv. 21, 22), as the substance to the shadow (Ex. xxv. 40):—it is the place "where God and Angels meet with men, and the righteous are eternally blessed" (so Stern, Hengst., Ewald, Ebrard). This Düsterd. denies, regarding Zion as the *emblem* of the sacred home *on earth* of the New Test. Church, as it had formerly been the home of the Old Test. Church. More literally still, Burger understands the *actual, earthly* Zion, or Jerusalem, to which converted Israel is hereafter to return. At all events, Zion, "the City of the Lamb," is opposed to Babylon, the city of the Beast—see ver. 8 (Words.).

an hundred **and** *forty and four thousand,*] Observe the absence here of the definite article, and the use of it in ver. 3 when these same words are referred to. Accordingly the reference is now not *directly* to the 144,000 of ch. vii. 4, but to the innumerable multitude of ch. vii. 9. In ch. vii. 4 the 144,000 were the Sealed *on earth;* what is now intended is to exhibit by anticipation the Redeemed *in heaven;* and the same sacred number (see on ch. vii. 4) is employed by which the Sealed had been designated, because it is that very body, consisting of "the Israel of God," for whose consolation this Vision of heaven is designed.

The article is also wanting in the first clause of ch. xv., where we read "*a sea of glass*" (cf. ch. iv. 6). Burger explains this absence of the definite article by observing that, in ch. vii. 4, St. John had not then *seen*, but had merely "*heard* the number of them which were sealed;" and therefore that this is an absolutely new *Vision*:—what the Sealing had intimated, he now *sees* fulfilled.

having his name, and the name of his Father, *written* **on** *their foreheads.*] (See *vv. ll.*). All who have been "*sealed*" throughout the ages as the servants of God, and who have "*come out of the great tribulation*" (ch. vii. 14) are now beheld by the Seer—as if their conflict were past and over—bearing the Name wherewith they had been sealed. We observe here the fulfilment of the promise given in ch. iii. 12 (cf. Ex. xxviii. 36, 38); as well as the contrast to ch. xiii. 16:—for the contrasted mark of evil, see also ch. xvii. 5.

Some (e.g. Züllig, De Burgh, Burger) understand by the 144,000 the converted or the elect from among the Jews; and so, with a peculiar modification, Godet,—see on ch. vii. 4; x. 8; xi. 13. Ewald identifies the 144,000 here with "*the armies which were in heaven,*" ch. xix. 14.

2. *a voice from heaven,*] Cf. ch. x. 4, 8. If we understand the scene to be the *heavenly* Zion (see on ver. 1), the Voice may be taken to proceed from the 144,000, although it is by no means necessary to suppose this. If we understand the scene to be the *earthly* Zion, then the voice (the speaker being left undefined) comes down from heaven, and the 144,000, "the Israel of God," listen to it on earth.

as the voice of many waters,] Cf. ch. i. 15; xix. 6.

and as the voice of a great thunder:] Cf. ch. vi. 1; x. 3, 4.

and **the voice which I heard was as** [*the voice*] *of harpers harping with their harps:*] See *vv. ll.*; and Note A on ch. v. 8. For the prep. "*with*" (ἐν) see on ch. vi. 8. The strength of the heavenly Voice is attuned to harmony with the notes of the harp: cf. Ps. xliii. 4. These words join on to ver. 3—

3. *and* **they sing** *as it were a new song*] See on ch. v. 9, where the words "*as it were*" do not appear. The song is "*new*," because the adoration of the Lamb is introduced:—cf. Deut. xxxi. 19–22. The song is "*new*," notes Burger, because a *new* act of Divine power, viz. the Judgment close at hand, is now to be praised (cf. Ps. xxxiii. 3; xl. 3; xcvi. 1; cxliv. 9). Bengel sees a reference in the word "*new*" to the idea of "*first-fruits*," ver. 4; and so Bisping—the 144,000 are as it were "the *élite* of the Redeemed." De Burgh "conjectures" that the "*new song*" is the same as that in ch. v. 9, 10—the "song of Messiah's kingdom."

and before **the four living beings** *and the elders:*] Here we have once more the symbolism of ch. iv. 4–11.

and no man could learn **the song**] Cf. the similar thought, ch. ii. 17; xix. 12.

hundred *and* forty *and* four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.

4 These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.

These [1]were redeemed from among men, *being* the firstfruits unto God and to the Lamb.

[1] Gr. *were bought.*

5 And in their mouth was found no guile: for they are without fault before the throne of God.

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save *the hundred and forty and four thousand,*] A comparison with ch. v. 9 renders it still more probable that the 144,000—who symbolize the innumerable multitude of ch. vii. 9—are beheld, by anticipation, *in heaven;* a result confirmed by the words which follow. On the other hand, Alf., following Düsterd. (see on ver. 1), pronounces it to be "essential to the right understanding of the Vision, that the harpers and the song are *in heaven*, the 144,000 *on earth.*"

[even they] which had been *redeemed from the earth.*] Gr. "**bought**," "**purchased**:"—cf. the verb here and in ch. v. 9 with Gal. iv. 5. (The concord of the masculine participle with the fem. "*thousands*," Düsterd. notes, is "ad sensum:" cf. ch. v. 13).

4. *were not defiled*] The tenses must be attended to in this passage. As noted on ver. 1, a Vision of the Redeemed, as if their course were past and over, is exhibited to the Church on earth: accordingly, here and in ver. 5 the *past* tense is necessarily used—"*were not defiled*," "*was found;*" and each of these *aorists* is followed by the *present*, "*they are*," expressive of a permanent state. Between these two "double-membered" propositions two others are interposed—one relating to the *present*, viz. "*they follow;*" the other relating to the *past*, "*they were redeemed.*" (Düsterd.)

for they are virgins.] They represent "the faithful Bride" married to the spotless Lamb —ch. xix. 7, 9 (Words.). These words may imply (if understood literally) the state described in 1 Cor. vii. 1, 7; or (if understood spiritually) the state of those, whether married or unmarried, who are spoken of in 2 Cor. xi. 2. When understood in this latter sense, the words may imply either purity of soul, as seems pointed at in ver. 5; or the chastity which is opposed to the "*fornication*" of Babylon (ver. 8)—viz. spiritual loyalty to God, as opposed to spiritual disloyalty: cf. ch. ii. 4, and also the spiritual sin of Jezebel, ch. ii. 20–22. Burger understands those who have *not* entered into the marriage state, and who thus, in the Last Days, have kept themselves free from all the cares of this life, according to 1 Cor. vii. 32, 33:—cf. Matt. viii. 19; Luke ix. 57.

That the words can only be understood spiritually seems to follow from the whole tone of Apocalyptic symbolism:—cf. the mention of the Bridegroom and the Bride, of the Harlot and her fornications. Elsewhere we have the language of Ps. xlv., of the Canticles, of the Book of Hosea, above all of 2 Cor. xi. 2:—"I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ."

See Note A at the end of this chapter.

These [*are*] *they which follow the Lamb*] See *vv. ll.*:—the present tense (see above) denotes their existing state of glory—cf. ch. vii. 17. Or, on the other view of this passage, the entire obedience of the Redeemed during their earthly life is implied, "following" their Lord even to death; cf. Matt. x. 38; John xiii. 36, 37; Heb. xiii. 13.

These were redeemed from among men,] See on ver. 3; and cf. the preposition here (ἀπό) with the "*out of*" (ἐκ) in ch. v. 9.

[to be] *the first-fruits unto God and* **unto** *the Lamb.*] Separated from the entire mass as the best absolutely — see Num. xviii. 12, and the notes on Ex. xxii. 29; Deut. xxvi. 2–11; chosen by God as "*first-fruits*"—see James i. 18—they had while on earth been consecrated to His service: cf. Titus ii. 14. The opinion of many that these are first-fruits from among the Redeemed themselves, or that they are so called with respect to those who shall come after them, seems unsuitable. Still more so the notion of Reuss that the idea of "*first-fruits*" implies a privileged class, and accounts for the mention of a twofold Resurrection in ch. xx.

5. *And in their mouth was found* **no lie**:] See *vv. ll.* With the *past* tense, "*was* found," compare "*were* not defiled," ver. 4. The most general sense of "**a lie**" is to be understood—see ch. xxi. 8, 27; xxii. 15; a sense expounded in 1 John ii. 22: compare John viii. 44; and also the title "*False* Prophet," ch. xvi. 13.

they are without blemish.] Omit the words "*for,*" and "*before the throne of God*"—see *vv. ll.* Ps. xv. is the best commentary on this passage.

The "Historical" interpretations at this point are of the usual character:—Cocceius refers to the protests of the Synod of Frankfort, A.D. 794, against image worship;—The 144,000, according to Vitringa (p. 639), are the Waldenses and Albigenses, who first dared

6 And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every

to abandon the communion of the Mystic Babylon, the harpers being Wiclif, Huss, and other Reformers;—Elliott sees in ver. 2 the Reformation; the "*new song*" being the union of all the Reformed Confessions, and the 144,000 the elect among Protestant nations who did not give way to a cold orthodoxy.

Among "Futurist" interpreters, De Burgh regards the 144,000 as being "the rest of the Woman's seed" (ch. xii. 17)—the "Woman" being the Jewish Church—who are to pass into the presence of the Lamb, exempted from death, and being "changed and translated, as shall be the Saints alive at the Lord's coming:" and he concludes that, "before the Vials of wrath are poured out, they shall be translated—the Jewish '*first-fruits*,' and the Gentile '*harvest*'" (pp. 272, 276). Todd (p. 116) considers that the event seen in this Vision "occurs after the revelation of Antichrist, and immediately before the proclamation 'that the hour of God's judgment is come.'"

Two of the Visions which now follow (*vv.* 6, 14) are introduced by the same formula, as in ver. 1, "*And I saw*"—the intervening episode (*vv.* 12, 13) including the words "*And I heard*" (see on ch. i. 2). These Visions announce judgment on the world which worships the Beast, and thus serve to cheer and support, throughout all the ages from the beginning, believers who are the sufferers from the Beast's oppression.

THE THREE ANGELS OF JUDGMENT (6–11).

Ebrard compares ch. xviii. with the Visions of this passage. Bisping (after Gerlach) takes *vv.* 6–11 to foretell that three great events at the end of the last World-week are immediately to precede Christ's Second Advent:—(1) The announcement of "the eternal Gospel" to the whole earth (Matt. xxiv. 14);—(2) The fall of Babylon;—(3) A warning to all who worship the Beast.

6. *another angel*] Different from those who appeared in the earlier scenes—see on ch. x. 1. It may be, as Hengst. suggests, an Angel different from the *Angelus interpres* of ch. i. 1, who is supposed to be the speaker in ch. x. 4; xiv. 13; &c.—see on ch. i. 1.

flying in mid-heaven,] Commentators refer to the Eagle in ch. viii. 13, which announced the "Three Woes." In *vv.* 7, 8, 9, are heard the sayings of the three Angels.

the eternal *gospel*] The word "*Gospel*" is found in the New Test. solely in its technical sense; and thus, as in Rom. i. 1, the definite article is not used here—the only place in St. John's writings where the word *Gospel* occurs.

Owing to the absence of the art. many exclude this sense, and render "**an eternal gospel,**" of which the contents are contained in ver. 7—so Grotius, Ewald, Züllig, De Wette, Hengst., Düsterd., who appeal in proof to ch. x. 7; and thus the sense would be, "a message of good news," relating to the Lord's Second Coming. Burger says this Vision can denote nothing but a last admonition and summons to conversion shortly before the End. But, in these senses why "*eternal*"? Some see in this expression an allusion to God's predestination.

Bishop Wordsworth justly notes: "It is the same Gospel for all nations, and for all ages, even unto the end of the world. And St. Paul has said, '*If any man preach any other gospel*' &c., Gal. i. 9." If we except these words (or Matt. xxiv. 35), the title or idea of "*eternal*" (cf. Heb. ix. 14) is not applied to "*the Gospel*" elsewhere in the New Test.

[For the classical use of the word *αἰώνιος*, see Plato, *De Republ.* ii. 363 D, where the opinion is mentioned of those who make the fairest reward of virtue in "Hades" to be *μέθην αἰώνιον*. Cf. *De Legg.*, x. 904 A., *ἀνώλεθρον δὲ δὴ γενόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰώνιον, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα*, κ.τ.λ.:—see also Tim., 37 D.; 38 B.; Locr. 105].

to proclaim *unto*] Or **bring unto.** The infinitive depends on "*having*," cf. John xvi. 12:—on the active form of the verb see on ch. x. 7. (For the insertion of the prep. *ἐπί*, see *vv. ll.*). Düsterdieck suggests as a parallel ch. x. 11—where the prep. has a *dative*. Hengst. explains the sense to be "**over,**" and this, by the position of the Angel in the highest heaven; the proclamation "over" every "nation," &c. forms the counterpoise to the influence of the Beast—ch. xiii. 7. In Mark ix. 12, the signification seems to be '*towards*,' '*with reference to*;' and so, perhaps, here.

them that dwell] Gr. "**sit**"—see *vv. ll.* On the word "**sit**" cf. Matt. iv. 16:—for the thought, intimating the false security of mankind, see Matt. xxiv. 37, &c.; 1 Thess. v. 2.

and **unto** *every nation, and* **tribe,** *and tongue, and people;*] See *vv. ll.* Cf. Matt. xxiv. 14: "*This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come.*"

Elliott illustrates this description by the fervour which animated many of the 144,000 at the close of Cent. xviii. in the establishing

nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people,

7 Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.

8 And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is

[b] Ps. 146. 5. Acts 14. 15.

[c] Is. 21. 9. Jer. 51. 8. ch. 18. 2.

Evangelical Missions to the heathen. "The end is close at hand when this great era of Christian missions is inaugurated" (Alf.). On the other hand, as a "Futurist," De Burgh holds that "the preaching of the Gospel in this Dispensation has not hitherto had for its object the conversion of the world"—which is to be "the work of Christ's Second Advent;" and he understands the preaching of the Gospel in this verse as designed "to test, not convert, the nations" (p. 281). See on ch. xv. 4.

Victorinus takes this Angel to be Elijah, and the Angel in ver. 8 to be the other "Witness:" see ch. xi. 3.

7. and he saith *with a* **great** *voice,*] The part. (λέγων) is in the nom.—see *vv. ll.*

and give **him glory;**] Cf. ch. xi. 13.

for the hour of his judgment is come:] Cf. ch. vi. 17; xi. 18. The Judgment is introduced at ver. 14; and to the eve of that consummation this verse points. Elliott notes that this new era of missions points out the sounding of the *seventh* Trumpet, and the outburst of the French Revolution of 1789, to be the epoch.

the *heaven* **and the** *earth* **and sea and fountains** *of waters.*] The A. V. here omits the definite article where it occurs, and inserts it where it is absent. Cf. the divisions of the waters in ch. viii. 8–11; xvi. 3, 4. On the objects of Creation here specified the judgments of the Seals, the Trumpets, and the Vials are poured out. In ch. viii. 7–12 the first four Trumpets relate to this same fourfold division—the earth, the sea, the sweet waters, the heaven.

8. *And* **another, a second angel, followed,**] (See *vv. ll.*). This "**second Angel**" is expressly distinguished by this description from the "*another Angel*" in ver. 6. It belongs, notes Düsterd., to the dramatic animation of the scene that each new announcement is committed to a special angelic messenger.

saying, **Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great,**] (Omit *city*—see *vv. ll.*). This use of the aorist—in the sense of the "prophetic preterite"—expresses the certainty of the fall: cf. ch. x. 7; xi. 18; xviii. 2, and see on ch. xv. 1. The language is taken from Isai. xxi. 9, the verb denoting the violent fall and overthrow of kingdoms—cf. Ezek. xxx. 6; and see on ch. xvii. 10. With the fall of Babylon, the capital of the ungodly World-kingdom, the Old Test. connects the redemption of the people of God (Isai. xiii. 19; xlvii. 1; Jer. li. 1–10). [B, C omit the second "**fallen**"].

This is the first mention of Babylon in the Apocalypse, and—if we except 1 Pet. v. 13—in the New Test.; the name of the Old Test. World-power being now transferred to the New Test. World-power (ch. xiii.; xviii. 10). The title "*Great*" was applied to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. iv. 30). "Great Babylon" is now but "a possession for the bittern, and pools of water" (Isai. xiv. 23):—see the note on Dan. iv. 30. As in ch. xi. 7 there is an anticipatory mention of the Beast before he is fully described, so here the great event of the last Vial (ch. xvi. 19) is foreshadowed.

Babylon, in its first form on the plain of Shinar, was the living type of the idolatrous city. Shinar, as an ideal land of unholiness, is contrasted with Israel, "the Holy Land" (Zech. ii. 7, 12). "What was Nineveh under Sennacherib, was Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar. The type remained, though a city of the West became the ruling power of the earth" (Maurice, *l. c.*, p. 323).

For the more special interpretation of "Babylon," see generally on ch. xvii.

Tertullian (*Marc.* iii. 13), Jerome (*in Isai.* xlvii.), Augustin. (*De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 22), Bellarmine, Bossuet, Bleek, Döllinger, Hengst., &c., understand Rome Pagan;—It was usual among the Christians, writes Renan, "whether through precaution against the police, or from a taste for mystery, to designate Rome by the name of Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13; Apoc. xiv.–xviii.; *Carm. Sibyll.* v. 142, 158): the Jews called Rome '*Nineveh*,' and the Roman Empire '*Edom*,' see Buxtorf., *Lex. Chald.*" (p. 36);—Vitr., Bengel, Elliott, &c., take it to mean Rome Papal;—Beda the evil world ("*Diaboli civitas*");—Herder, Züllig, &c., Jerusalem;—I. Williams, "Heathen Rome and adulterous Jerusalem" (p. 260);—Bisping, referring to ch. xvii. 18, "the chief City of the Antichristian World-power of the Last Days—the Capital of the Beast from the Sea."

The fact is once for all to be noted here that nothing is more marked in Scripture than the contrast which is maintained between Babylon as the type of the World, and Jerusalem as the type of the Church (cf. ch. xxi. 2). This contrast is introduced by the foun-

fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.

9 And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive *his* mark in his forehead, or in his hand,

10 The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall

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dation of Babel soon after the Deluge; and it is completed by the establishment of the house of David in the City of Zion. Babylon is ever the scene of confusion;—"Jerusalem is built as a City that is at unity in itself." This is the theme of St. Augustine's great work *De Civitate Dei:* the contrast between the two Cities—the worldly and the heavenly—supplies him with an interpretation of the whole Bible. Their actual relations gave shape to the entire history of the ancient people of God. If Babylon be supposed to be an emblem of the Church, this main analogy of Holy Writ is lost sight of; and the meaning which we ought to deduce naturally from its history and its types is forgotten:—see Introd. § 12.

which hath *made all* **the nations to drink**] See *vv. ll.* Cf. the text of this verse with that of ch. xviii. 3.

of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.] On the idea of "*fornication*" here, see on ch. xvii. 1; and also on ch. ii. 14, 20–22. This whole passage as to Babylon is founded on Jer. li. 7, 8—see ch. xvii. 4. On the symbolism here see also Ps. lx. 3; lxxv. 8; Isai. li. 17, 22; Jer. xxv. 15.

As De Wette notes, two ideas are here combined:—Babylon has made the nations to drink of the wine of her fornication (ch. xvii. 2, 4); and in retribution God shall give her to drink the wine of His wrath (ver. 10; ch. xvi. 19): but the sense is not—as Züllig, Stuart, &c., explain—"inflammatory or intoxicating wine."

According to Elliott after the proclamation of the Angel of missions (ver. 6), and in order to encounter the growing political power which was subsequently gained in England by the Church of Rome in 1829,—the next great crisis in the Church was the founding of the Reformation Society in 1827. What follows in this Vision, he adds, is unfulfilled.

Note, the Cod. Sinait. omits from the word "*saying,*" to "*with a* **great** *voice,*" in ver. 9 (ἠκολούθησεν, *homœotel.*).

9. And another angel, a third, followed them, *saying with a* **great** *voice,*] (See *vv. ll.*). This announcement connects itself more closely than the two preceding with ch. xiii.

If any man **worshippeth** *the beast and his image,*] The spiritual "*fornication*" referred to in ver. 8 is thus defined.

Wherever the "*Beast*" and "*his Image*" are coupled together, as here,—viz. in ver. 11; ch. xv. 2; xvi. 2; xix. 20; xx. 4,—Mede (p. 421) understands by the "*Beast*" the "*False Prophet*" (ch. xiii. 11); and by "*his Image,*" the "Seven-Headed Beast" restored of ch. xiii. 3:—see on ch. xiii. 14, 15.

and receiveth a mark on *his forehead, or* **upon** *his hand,*] Cf. ch. xiii. 16. Ebrard notes that the Beast has not fallen with the fall of Babylon, which is but one of the "*Heads*" of the Beast: this he takes to be the *sixth* "Head"—see ch. xvii. 10, 11.

10. he also *shall drink*] *I.e.*, as well as Babylon and the nations, see ver. 8, and cf. ver. 17:—or, **even he.** Hengst. and Alf. would regard the conjunction as "quasi-redundant."

of the wine of the wrath of God,] See on ver. 8.

which is **prepared unmixed in** *the cup of his* **anger;**] Gr. "**which is mixed unmingled (or undiluted) in the cup**"—the figure "*Oxymoron.*" For the sense given in A. V., "*to pour out,*" Grimm refers to ch. xviii. 6; and also to Bel and the Dragon, ver. 11; *Anthol.* xi. 137. So Düsterdieck, who explains that the universal custom of diluting wine with water (cf. Isai. i. 22) for ordinary use gave the verb the sense of "pouring out,"—see Wetstein. Züllig refers to Ps. lxxv. 8 (LXX): "In the hand of the Lord there is a cup and the wine is red; *it is full of mixture;*" and he takes the word "**unmixed**" to mean not "unmixed or undiluted *wine,*" but "undiluted *mixture,*" consisting of the ingredients by which the Orientals added strength to their wine, viz. spices, myrrh, opiates, &c. (cf. Mark xv. 23); the sense being "he shall drink of the wine of God's wrath—the undiluted mixture poured out in the cup." Hengst. takes up the idea of this use of ingredients, but he attaches it to the *verb,* leaving to the adj. the sense of "undiluted *wine*"—so that "the wine of God's wrath is mingled [with strength-giving ingredients], itself being *undiluted* [with water], in the cup":—the wine of God's wrath, though its intoxicating power is increased, is tempered by no clemency. So also Words.

be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb:

11 And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.

12 Here is the patience of the saints: here *are* they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus.

13 And I heard a voice from

in the presence of the holy angels,] Cf. Luke xv. 10; which of itself sets aside the interpretation of De Wette—"in the judgment of the Angels." An aggravation of their punishment is signified, notes Düsterd., by the fact that Angels are spectators; and he refers to ch. xi. 12; Luke xvi. 23, &c. See *vv. ll.*

11. *of their torment*] "*Their*," because "*any man*," ver. 9, is taken collectively.

goeth up] Cf. ch. xix. 3. The source of this description is Gen. xix. 28; Isai. xxxiv. 9, 10.

for ever and ever;] Gr. **unto ages of ages**:—note the absence of both articles here; see on ch. i. 6. Endless duration *a parte post* is signified.

and they have no rest] Cf. this eternal unrest of the apostate worshippers of the Beast, with the blessed rest reserved for the faithful:—see ver. 13.

day and night, they that *worship the beast and his image, and* **whoso** *receiveth.*] Hengst. observes that ch. xx. 10 supplies a decisive objection to the interpretation of Vitringa (p. 660) that an evil conscience in this life is meant, which allows no rest day and night.

Renan accounts for the imagery in this passage by the natural convulsions which he supposes the Seer to have witnessed. Renan is struck by the fact that the great eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79, occurred (according to him) some ten years *after* the Apocalypse was written; but he is equal to this difficulty: "We shall soon see," he writes, "this strange locality [which there is no proof that St. John ever visited] inspire the Author of the Apocalypse, and reveal to him the pit of the Abyss ten years before nature, by a singular coincidence, opened again the crater of Vesuvius."—pp. 331, 334: —see also on ch. ix. 2.

The older Protestant expositors usually understood by the three Angels (*vv.* 6–11) human personages. De Wette classifies such opinions; Launoy finds in the first Peter von Bruis, in the second Wiclif, in the third Luther;—Brightman sees Wiclif, Jerome of Prague, Luther;—Mede sees the opponents of image-worship, the Waldenses and Albigenses, Luther;—Calovius sees in the first Luther, who preached "*the eternal Gospel*," in the second Chemnitz ("alter Martinus"), among the third Calovius recognizes himself ("et alii, inter quos Ego indignissimus omnium"). Bengel fixes the periods of the three Angels:—The *first* Angel, John Arnd ("*mid-heaven*" being Germany), preaches "the eternal (αἰώνιον) gospel," the gospel which lasts for an "Æon":—but as a "Chronus" (see on ch. vi. 11) = 1119$\frac{1}{9}$ years —an Æon, which is equal to two Chroni,= 2222$\frac{2}{9}$ years; and this period, accordingly, extends from the date of the Reformation (A.D. 1614) to A.D. 3836 (= A.D. 1836, + 2000 years the duration of the double Millennium—see on ch. xx. 2). The *second* Angel (ver. 8) Bengel makes to be Spener from 1635 to 1727; and the *third* (ver. 9) he regarded as not far distant; while he makes the Harvest and Vintage (*vv.* 15–18) extend from A.D. 1740 to A.D. 1836.

Hammond, as a "Preterist," refers the section *vv.* 6–11, to the period between Domitian and Constantine.

THE EPISODE (12–13).

12. In order to comfort and support the Church still militant on earth, three Angels have proclaimed the history of the Christian ages:—the diffusion of "the eternal Gospel" (*vv.* 6, 7); the fall of the World-power (ver. 8); the doom of the ungodly (*vv.* 9–11). And now, lest the faithful should be discouraged by the prospect opened out in *vv.* 10–11, the loving admonition already given in ch. xiii. 10 is once more repeated. See ch. xix. 9, 10.

Here is the patience of the saints,] The end which the preceding description is intended to enforce is here laid down:—see on ch. xiii. 9, 10; xvi. 15.

they that keep the commandments *of God,*] Omit "*here are*," see *vv. ll.*; and for the constr. cf. ch. i. 5; ii. 20.

and the faith of Jesus.] Cf. ch. iii. 10; "*the faith of Jesus*" rests on "*the testimony of Jesus*," ch. xii. 17; see Mark xi. 22.

13. *And I heard a voice from heaven*] See on ver. 2, the voice, as before, being left undefined:—on the dramatic effect thus

heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed *are* the dead which die in the Lord ‖from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest

‖ Or, *from henceforth saith the Spirit, yea.*

produced see on ch. i. 1, 10. Hengst. suggests that the voice may proceed from one of the just made perfect; or from one of the Elders, ch. vii. 13, 14.

saying,] Omit "*unto me*"—see *vv. ll.*

Write,] On the command to "*write*" see on ch. i. 11; and cf. ch. xix. 9; xxi. 5.

Blessed] This epithet is applied only to men by St. John—John xiii. 17; xx. 29; ch. i. 3, &c. It is applied by St. Paul to God—e.g. in 1 Tim. i. 11.

In ver. 12 the judgments on the ungodly were urged as the motive for patience; here, the eternal blessedness of the faithful.

are the dead which die in the Lord] Compare 1 Cor. xv. 18; 1 Thess. iv. 13–18. Not merely martyrs (as many hold), not merely those who suffer in time of persecution, but each member of the Church;—every one in glory;—each of the 144,000 "*redeemed from the earth*" (ver. 3), whose "blessedness" is now the theme. "*Which die,*"—not "who *have* died:" thus including those, too, who die in later times.

from henceforth:] Cf. John xiii. 19; xiv. 7. The natural meaning is that, dating from the utterance of the heavenly voice, "*the dead which die in the Lord*" are blessed from that time forth; and that time begins with the era of Redemption.

The words "*from henceforth*" (see *vv. ll.*) are variously connected: some connect them with "*Blessed,*" in the sense of *immediate* blessedness, cf. Luke xxiii. 43; Phil. i. 23 (Bleek, De Wette, Hengst.);—others with the verb "*die,*" in the sense, "How much better it is to die before the evil to come," Eccl. iv. 2; Isai. lvii. 1 (Züllig);—or, "The time is soon coming when it will be better to die than live" (Cocceius, Hammond);—Mede refers the words to the deaths of future *martyrs;*—Alf. takes this complete blessedness to date from the time when "the harvest of the earth is about to be reaped:"—Stern refers to the time of Antichrist when they who die in the Lord are to enter into Paradise *at once* (and *so far* Ewald agrees, comparing ch. vi. 9–11; vii. 9–17), thereby escaping that course of purification after death which all who had died previously must pass through;—"*From henceforth*" is joined by others (see Margin) with the words that come after, the Spirit promising immediate blessedness after death, so Andreas, Primas., Beda, and the Vulgate: "Amodo, jam, dicit Spiritus." Lambert Bos (*Exercitt. Phil.*, in loc., ed. 2, p. 300), reading ἀπαρτί renders, in the same connexion, "*perfectly,*" "*absolutely,*" "*altogether,*"—"*Omnino næ inquit Spiritus;*" but, as Words. notes, whenever the Greek word rendered "*yea*" is used in the New Test. it stands first in the sentence.

Yea, saith the Spirit,] Cf. the Divine confirmation similarly added, ch. xix. 9. It is the Spirit which gives this assurance, as the milder echo of Christ's more powerful voice (Ewald)—cf. ch. ii. 7, 11, &c.; xxii. 17; 1 Tim. iv. 1. We have here the "Amen" of the Spirit of Prophecy. Züllig considers that two voices are heard—the first that of the speaker who is not defined; the other that of the Spirit of Prophecy, see Isai. lxi. Bisping and Burger take this second clause to be uttered by St. John himself, appealing in confirmation to the Spirit of Prophecy.

Or render, **in the Lord. From henceforth, yea, saith the Spirit, that**].

that they may rest from] Gr. "**that they shall rest:**" see *vv. ll.*; cf. ch. xxii. 14; Eph. v. 33.

See on ver. 11,—we may contrast this announcement of perfect rest, with the condition, there described, of those who worship the Beast.

This clause, stating the ground of the blessedness (the constr. being compounded of "**that they may,**" and "**in that they shall,**" cf. ch. ix. 20) Ebrard connects with "saith"—"the Spirit saith that they shall;" cf. Mark ix. 12, and see 2 Cor. viii. 7. Winer (s. 283) supplies from the previous clause "they die," *i.e.*, "in order that they shall rest," cf. ch. iii. 9; vi. 11. Professor Moulton notes:—"May not ἵνα be more simply connected with μακάριοι, as it is by Düsterd., Alf., A. Buttm.?"—p. 399. Burger explains, "Yea [the intent is] that they may rest," &c., cf. John ix. 3: and so Reuss "Si (quand) les fidèles meurent, *c'est pour* vivre," &c. On the future after ἵνα see Introd. § 7, (*f*).

for their works follow with them.] See *vv. ll.*; and cf. ch. vi. 8 on the phrase "*to follow with*"—which, as Hengst. notes, is found out of the Apoc. only in Luke ix. 49 where St. John is the speaker. We may here refer to ch. vi. 11, as explained by ch. xix. 8, —1 Cor. xv. 58 supplying the commentary: see also the Lord's words Matt. xxv. 34–40. Ewald (s. 270) comments: "Yea, they shall rest in death from their heavy troubles! their works are so far from being lost through their death, that they follow them into eternity." Burger compares ch. ii. 2; xx. 12; 1 Cor. iii. 13–15.

from their labours; and their works do follow them.

14 And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud *one* sat like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle.

15 And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, [a] Thrust [a] Joel 3. 13.

THE HARVEST AND THE VINTAGE (14–20).

14. And I saw, *and behold, a white cloud;*] The colour of heaven, see on ch. ii. 17,—always in the Apoc. denoting Christ's presence.

and upon the cloud [**I saw**] **one sitting** *like unto the Son of man,*] (See *vv. ll.*). For this title of Christ see on ch. i. 13. Here, as in ch. i. 13—the only instances in which the title occurs in the Apocalypse—the articles are not found. Vitringa urges the absence of the article as a reason why we are to understand an Angel, and not Christ; and so Grotius, Bengel, Züllig, De Wette, Bleek,—Bleek further urging that the words "*another Angel,*" ver. 15, prove that an Angel merely is intended (but see ver. 6, where, as in this case, there is no reference to an Angel previously spoken of). Bleek also argues that, were Christ introduced here, the Angel in ver. 17 would be placed on an equality with Him:—but the whole tone of this verse forbids such a conclusion, see below.

Winer (§ 59, 11, s. 473) suggests that the participle (*καθήμενον*) is a *neuter* following "*behold,*"—viz. "something sitting upon the cloud like a man," &c., the constr. then passing into the masc.

having on his head a golden crown,] The conqueror's *crown,*—see on ch. vi. 2. He has not as yet assumed His *diadem* as King, ch. xix. 12,—see on ch. ii. 10. We have here the fulfilment of Matt. xxiv. 30; Luke xxi. 27:—"Then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven;" "Then shall they see the Son of Man coming in a cloud with power and great glory."

and in his hand a sharp sickle.] As "Lord of the harvest," Matt. ix. 38:—on the imagery see Joel iii. 13; John iv. 35–38. On this Vision I. Williams notes: "The picture is itself a parable:—the golden-crowned Reaper on the symbolic cloud, and that cloud illumined by the presence of the Son of Man seated thereon, as on His throne!"—p. 263. The Son of Man is related to the three Angels which follow in *vv.* 15, 17, 18, as the Rider in ch. vi. 2 to the three who come after Him (ch. vi. 3–8); and He is distinguished from them by his titles "Son of Man," "He that sitteth on the cloud" (ver. 15), and by His "golden crown."

Mede, Hammond, and others understand in this whole passage not the final judgment, but some previous coming of Christ; and so Döllinger, who sees the judgment on heathen idolatry and the triumph of Christianity. On the other hand it seems that this Vision (*vv.* 14–20) *is* related to the final judgment; just as the *sixth* Seal (ch. vi. 12–17) is related to the completion of the mystery of God:—see ch. x. 7.

15. Now follow the three prophetic types of approaching Judgment—the Harvest (Isai. xvii. 5; Jer. li. 33), the Vintage (Joel iii. 13), the Treading of the grapes (Isai. lxiii. 2, 3). The thought conveyed is the nearness of the judgment. Many (Bengel, Words., Alf., De Burgh, &c.) regard the "*Harvest*" as signifying the gathering in of the godly; the "*Vintage*" and "*Wine-press*" as signifying the crushing of the wicked. This interpretation, however, scarcely agrees with our Lord's own interpretation of the "*Harvest,*" in Matt. xiii. 30, 38–42. Godly and ungodly alike may well be included in both the "*Harvest*" and the "*Vintage.*"

And another angel] See on *vv.* 6, 14.

came out **from** *the temple,*] Or "**the Sanctuary**" (see on ch. xi. 1) in heaven, ver. 17, which, according to ch. xi. 19; xv. 5, had been opened, and from which the Angels with the Seven Plagues proceed (ch. xv. 6).

crying with a **great** *voice to him that sat on the cloud,*] These words also have been urged in order to show that Christ cannot be referred to in ver. 14—for He, it is said, could not receive a command from an Angel as here. To this it has been often answered that the Angel is but the messenger of the will of God; and as to the mysterious relation between the Son and the Father, we have the Lord's own words, John v. 19, 30.

Send forth *thy sickle,*] The verb here is *πέμψον.* For the cognate verb (*ἀποστέλλω*) see Mark iv. 29; and cf. Joel iii. 13 (*ἐξαποστείλατε,* LXX.), from which the image is borrowed. A different verb (*βάλλω*) is used in *vv.* 16, 19. Hengst. thinks that the phrase "**send forth thy sickle**" rests on the personification of the sickle as an *assistant.*

The *sickle* was "a curved scimitar or knife" used for reaping or pruning. Its use in this passage both for the Harvest and for the Vintage denotes, Words. observes, that the term is to be taken figuratively.

in thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is [1]ripe.

16 And he that sat on the cloud thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped.

17 And another angel came out of [1] the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle.

18 And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe.

19 And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast *it* into the [1] great winepress of the wrath of God.

[1] Or, *dried.*

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for the hour to reap is come;] Omit *for thee*—see *vv. ll.*; and cf. ver. 7.

for the harvest of the earth is **over-ripe.**] Gr. "**is dried up,**" cf. Marg.:—in John xv. 6 the verb is rendered "*is withered.*" Cf. Mark xi. 20; and see below, ver. 18.

(In the *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 8, St. Augustine speaks of the sown corn growing up "ab initiis herbidis usque ad aristas aridas").

16. *And he that sat on the cloud*] See on ver. 14.

cast *his sickle* **upon** *the earth;*] For the verb see on ver. 15; and cf. John xx. 25, 27. The extent of the reaping over the earth is denoted by the prep. "upon,"—see on ch. i. 20.

and the earth was reaped.] Burger also would restrict the Harvest to the "gathering together the elect," Matt. xxiv. 31;—but see on ver. 15, and cf. the words of Christ, Matt. xiii. 30.

17. *And another angel came out* **from** *the temple which is in heaven,*] Or "**Sanctuary,**" as in ver. 15.

he also] As well as the Son of Man, ver. 14:—cf. ver. 10. Hengst. would regard this Angel also as Christ; for the treading the grapes must belong, he thinks, to Him to whom the reaping the harvest belonged; and this Angel, too, has "*a sickle.*"

18. *And another angel came out from the altar,*] *The* Altar already mentioned in ch. vi. 9, 10; viii. 3—the Altar of burnt offering under which lie the souls of "those who had been slain because of the word of God;" and from which the Angel now comes forth to avenge their blood.

As to this Angel we read: (1) That *this* Altar is his peculiar place as "the ministering spirit" who brings the command to execute judgment;—(2) That, as described in the words which follow, it is

he which hath] See *vv. ll.*

power over fire;] Gr. **authority over the fire;**] Either *fire* generally,—as e.g. "*the Angel of the waters,*" ch. xvi. 5 (cf. ch. xi. 6); compare also ch. vii. 1. Or, the *fire* spoken of in ch. viii. 3–5, which was the fire from the censer that kindled the judgments.

and he called *with a* **great voice**] See *vv. ll.*

to him that had the sharp sickle, saying,] Viz. the Angel in ver. 17.

Send forth *thy sharp sickle,*] The verb is the same as in ver. 15, and translates literally the Hebrew verb in Joel iii. 13.

the vine of the earth;] Not, it has been observed, the "vine out of Egypt" (Ps. lxxx. 8), or that to which Christ likened himself (John xv. 1), but "the vine *of the earth.*" (See *vv. ll.*).

As noted by others (see on ver. 15), Burger also sees in the "*Vintage*" and "*Wine-press*" tokens of the judgment on the ungodly.

Ewald takes "*the vine*" to be a type of Palestine, and these words to indicate the Holy Land;—Grotius places the scene in Syria and Egypt;—Mede, Hammond, Wetstein, in Italy.

In *vv.* 15, 17, 18, we have *three* Angels following Christ (see on ver. 14) as in the first four Seals (ch. vi. 2–8); and *three* Angels having already appeared in *vv.* 6, 8, 9, the number *Seven* is thus a feature of this Vision also.

19. *And the angel*] Not, as in ver. 16, "*He that sat on the cloud.*"

cast *his sickle into the earth,*] The verb is the same as in ver. 16.

and gathered **the vintage** *of the earth,*] Gr. "*the vine.*"

and cast it into **the winepress,** *the great* [*winepress*], *of the wrath of God.*] (See *vv. ll.*). A masculine adjective, and a feminine substantive:—the confusion seems to have arisen from the substantive being both masc. and fem. The imagery corresponds with that of ch. xix. 15 (cf. Lam. i. 15); it is founded on Isai. lxiii. 1–6, where see the notes.

Primasius (*ap.* Migne, *Patrolog.*, vol. 68, p. 890) illustrates this passage by Matt. xiii. 41; 1 Cor. iii. 9:—he reads the *masc.* (τὸν μέγαν), and translates, "and cast the proud one into the winepress" &c. ["Dicendo *iræ Dei*

20 And the winepress was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the winepress, even unto the horse bridles, by the space of a thousand *and* six hundred furlongs.

sententiam hic pro ira Dei posuit quam *superbo* dicit inflictam, quem etiam *magnum* vocat."].

20. *And the winepress was trodden*] As in Isai. lxiii. 3—the usual phrase, see Judg. ix. 27; Neh. xiii. 15; Jer. xlviii. 33.

• *without the city,*] (See *vv. ll.*). Hengst. gives the true meaning: "The '*city*,' without any accompanying epithet, can only be that which was *the* City by way of eminence in Scriptural usage—'the Holy City' (ch. xi. 2), Jerusalem; but this in the Apoc. is always a designation of the Church." Hence we have here a judgment on the world as opposed to the Church—cf. ch. vii. 1–8. Züllig, Ebrard, De Wette, Stern, Düsterd. explain the "*city*" to be the literal *earthly* Jerusalem, which the nations assail (ch. xx. 9). Ebrard places the scene in the valley of Jehoshaphat (Joel iii. 12–14). Hammond and Wetstein understand Rome.

and **there came out blood from** *the winepress,*] The juice of the grape being a type of blood—cf. Isai. lxiii. 3.

even unto the **bridles of the horses,**] *I.e.*, such was the depth of the blood-stream. The mention of "*horses*" points forward to ch. xix. 11–15, where Christ and his armies appear on "*white horses*" (cf. ch. vi. 2), and where mention is again made of "*the winepress.*"

a thousand and six hundred furlongs off.] An idiom peculiar to St. John—see John xi. 18; xxi. 8; cf. Acts x. 30. (The Cod. Sinait. reads "a thousand and two hundred"). Or render—"**as far as a thousand . . . furlongs.**"

The *furlong*, or *stadium* (τὸ στάδιον—in plur. οἱ στάδιοι, or τὰ στάδια) is 600 Greek, or 606¾ English feet; about ⅛ of a Roman mile: see ch. xxi. 16. Sixteen hundred is the square of forty, or the square of four multiplied by the square of ten; and thus, as *Four* is the 'signature' of the earth (see ch. vii. 1) and *Ten* the signature' of completeness, this symbolic number denotes a space of vast magnitude: see Introd. § 11, (a); and cf. the 144,000= $4^2 \times 3^2 \times 10^3$ in ver. 1. Hengst. understands "a judgment encircling the whole earth." From the early expositors, Victorinus Primasius, Beda, onwards a reference to the *four* quarters of the earth has been insisted upon: e.g. Victorinus, "per omnes mundi *quatuor* partes" (*l. c.*, p. 62). Ebrard considers that the signification of the number 40 (40×40=1600) as the symbol of punishment (Num. xiv. 33; Judges xiii. 1; Ezek. xxix. 11) is intended. St. Jerome (*Ep. ad Dardan.* 129) takes this source of the number to be the distance "from Dan to Beersheba," which extends to a distance of scarcely 160 miles ("vix clx. milium"), although 160 Roman miles are equal to 1280, not 1600 stadii:—this explanation is accepted by C. à Lapide, Eichhorn, Züllig, &c. The Itinerary of Antoninus makes the distance from Tyre on the north to Rhinocorura (now *El Arish*) on the border of Egypt to the south, to be 1664 stadii; and thus the meaning would be that the blood-stream covered the whole surface of Judæa—so Grotius, Bengel, Bleek, Reuss, &c. (in Isai. xxvii. 12, the LXX. render "the stream of Egypt" by *Rhinocorura*). See Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.*, vol. ii. p. 709; and Note B at the end of this chapter.

Some who adopt this interpretation regard Palestine as a type of the Church.

Krenkel (*l.c.*, s. 84) applies this description to the battle of Ar-Mageddon, ch. xvi. 16, the scene of which he places near Jerusalem; arguing from the mention of Mount Zion, ver. 1, and from the supposed allusion to the length of Palestine. On this, Stuart not unreasonably asks, "What has Palestine to do with the present battle?"—the measure comes as near the breadth of Italy as it does to the length of Palestine: and Stuart thinks that the breadth of Italy is meant. Mede sees here the extent of the Roman Empire. Brightman (see on ver. 11) interprets of England and its Reformation,—the Angel in ver. 18 being Cranmer.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. XIV.

NOTE A ON xiv. 4.—ST. JOHN'S TITLE παρθένος.

The words of this verse, together with the absence of St. John's name from 1 Cor. ix. 5, suggested the belief of many in early times that the Apostle was unmarried:—see Tertull. *De Monogam.* c. 17; Cyrill. Alex. *Orat. de Maria Virg.*, Opp. p. 380; August. *De bono Conjug.* c. 21; Jerome, *ad Jovin.*, i. 14, 36; Epiphan. *Hær.* 51, 12.

Hence the title παρθένος sometimes given to him, as in the superscription of the Apocalypse quoted by Lücke[1] from Codex 30 of

[1] "Schriften des Joannis," iii. s. 52.

Griesbach (Cent. xii.). The title which St. Augustine, in more than one place (*Quæst. Evang.* ii. 39; *Inscr. Tract.* x.), states was prefixed to St. John's first Epistle, viz. "Ad Parthos," is conjectured by Hug, Gieseler (*Kirch. Gesch.*, i. 118), and others to have arisen from this title παρθένος. Ambrosiaster writes on 2 Cor. xi. 2: "Omnes Apostoli, exceptis Joanne et Paulo, uxores habuisse dicuntur."

NOTE B ON VER. 20.—THE STADIUM.

The *Stadium* (τὸ στάδιον, in plur. οἱ στάδιοι, or τὰ στάδια) or *furlong* was a Grecian measure taken in name and length from the foot-race course at Olympia. It was employed in the East after the age of Alexander the Great; and is mentioned in 2 Macc. xi. 5; xii. 9; &c.; and in the N. T. in Luke xxiv. 13; John vi. 19; xi. 18; 1 Cor. ix. 24; Rev. xxi. 16; and here. The *Stadium* = 600 Greek feet (Herod. ii. 149); or 125 Roman paces (Plin. ii. 21; cf. Censorin. 13), so that eight stadia = one Roman mile. It is equal to 606¾ feet of our measure, *i.e.* 53¼ feet less than our furlong:—see Winer, *Real Wörterb.*, art. *Stadium;* Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Weights and Measures.*

CHAPTER XV.

1 *The seven angels with the seven last plagues.*
3 *The song of them that overcome the beast.*
7 *The seven vials full of the wrath of God.*

AND I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues; for in them is filled up the wrath of God.

[Ver. 2 *om.* ἐκ τοῦ χαράγματος αὐτοῦ. Ver. 3 τοῦ δούλου.—For ἁγίων read ἐθνῶν (A, B, P), or αἰώνων (ℵ, C: cf. 1 Tim. i. 17); [1. reads τῶν ἐθνῶν, which Er., relying on a copy of the Vulgate, where he found "*rex sanctorum*" (a corruption of the true reading of the Vulg., "*rex seculorum*"), altered into τῶν ἁγίων. This reading is preserved in A. V., and by Luther, "*du König der Heiligen.*" Tregelles suggests a confusion in the MSS. between ΑΙΘΝΩΝ (=ἐθνῶν) and ΑΙΩΝΩΝ]. Ver. 4 *om.* σε.—δοξάσει. Ver. 5 *om.* ἰδού. Ver. 6 οἱ ἔχοντες.—[A, C read λίθον,—B, P read λίνον καθαρόν,—ℵ reads καθ. λίνους].—*om.* 2nd καί.]

THE SEVEN VIALS (xv. 1—xvi. 21).

The Sixth chief Vision of the Revelation Proper opens here:—see the remarks introductory to ch. xiv.

The Vision of the Seven Vials themselves is contained in ch. xvi.; but previously, in ch. xv., the Seer beholds "*Seven Angels*" (ver. 1) as in ch. viii. 2; and then, before the Angels execute their office, the "Just made perfect" sing the praise of God (*vv.* 2–4);—as in ch. viii. 2–5 there is a solemn offering of prayer and its results before the Trumpet-Angels "*prepare themselves to sound.*" The Vials—unlike the Seals and Trumpets which are divided into groups of *four* and *three* (see the remarks introd. to ch. vi.)—are divided, like the Seven Epistles (see the remarks introd. to ch. ii.), into groups of *three* (ch. xvi. 2–4) and *four* (ch. xvi. 8–17) by the voices in ch. xvi. 5–7. As in the Visions of the Seals and Trumpets, the *sixth* Vial is separated from the *seventh* by the episode announcing (in *vv.* 13–16) the assembling of "*the kings*" for Ar-Mageddon. Compare also the episodes of ch. vii., and ch. x. 1–ch. xi. 14.

Here St. John again "recapitulates" (see the remarks introd. to ch. viii.); he re-ascends to "an earlier point in the Prophecy; and *enlarges* on the judicial chastisements to be inflicted on the Empire of the Beast." (Words.)

THE SEVEN VIAL-ANGELS (1–8).

1. *And I saw*] A Vision of the "*Seven Angels*" is already, before ver. 6, granted to the Seer. This is denied by Züllig; who thinks that the Angels are first seen in ver. 6, and that these words are a mere superscription to the chapter, which really begins at ver. 2. Bisping and Burger also regard this verse as merely anticipatory, concluding that the Angels do not receive the "*Seven Plagues*" until ver. 7.

another sign] See ch. xii. 3. On the word "*sign*," as indicating what is figurative, see on ch. i. 1; xii. 1, 3.

in heaven,] What is now prepared "*in heaven*" is carried out on "*earth*" in ch. xvi.

great and marvellous,] Surpassing the "signs" in ch. xii. 1, 3, and in this respect,—that the Angels who have power to inflict the coming trials themselves *have the* "*Seven Plagues*" (see *vv.* 1, 6) and direct the Divine judgments (ch. xvi. 9, 21). This "marvel" is not explained to the Seer as is that in ch. xvii. 6. The Angels all appear at once; although, unlike the Seven in ch. viii. 2, they do not receive the "*Vials*" until ver. 7.

seven angels] The absence of the definite article indicates that these Angels had not been seen before. There is no reason for

2 And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire: and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over

taking them, with De Wette, to be Archangels. As implied in ch. xvi. 5, they have each a distinct office.

having **seven plagues, [which are] the last,**] *I.e.*, the "*Plagues*" leading to the final judgment which belongs to the *seventh* Trumpet (see ch. x. 7):—ch. xvii. 1, indeed, seems to imply that the judgments which are then introduced follow those of the Vials, or, at least, synchronize with them. Düsterd. notes that ch. xvi. 15 points to something which is now near at hand. The Vials themselves bring us not to the "great day of final account, but to the fall of Babylon, and the consequences of that event which are immediately to usher in the Day of Christ's coming"—Todd, p. 75. Nevertheless, neither ch. xvii. 1, nor ch. xxi. 9 are conclusive as to the order of time.

for in them is **finished** *the wrath of God.*] See ch. x. 7; xiv. 8:—"the prophetic aorist, which speaks of a thing foreseen, and decided by God as *already* done."—Words.

Elliott considers that we are now brought to the opening of the French Revolution of 1789. So also Mr. Faber, who takes chapters xv.–xxii. to be the second portion of the Sealed Book (ch. v.), and to extend from A.D. 1789 to the end of all things:—see on ch. v. 1; and on ch. x. 8.

2. *And I saw*] The formula announcing a new Vision—see on ch. iv. 1; xiv. 1. He had already seen the "*Seven Angels*" (see on ver. 1), and now, before the Vision of ver. 5—before the Angels enter on the scene—this Vision of the Redeemed is interposed. Preparation is again made for the events in ch. xvi., as was the case in ch. xi. 15, &c. "For the *third* time," notes Reuss, "the promised and imminent accomplishment of God's decrees is celebrated beforehand by those who shall find in them rest and felicity" (ch. xi. 15; xiv. 1, &c.).

as it were a sea of glass]. Or **a glassy sea.** The *material* or the *appearance* is, as it were, of glass—see on ch. iv. 6, a scene identical with that beheld here. This is further shown by the presence of the Four Living Beings in ver. 7 (on the absence of the definite article, cf. ch. xiv. 1). This identity Ebrard questions, because we do not read here "*like unto crystal*," but

mingled with fire;] As observed on ch. iv. 6 the "*sea of glass like unto crystal*" denoted the purity and calmness of God's rule. The intermingling of mercy with justice is there symbolized in ver. 5; and so here the same conjunction is signified by the altered words, "*mingled with fire*:"—fire denotes judgment; and thus both aspects of the Divine rule are now also exhibited. Many see here a symbolical representation of the Red Sea.

and them that **come victorious from** *the beast*,] I. Williams: "Not *over* as our translation has it, but rather *from* the Beast,—they have vanquished by flight, escaped from the net of the fowler" (Ps. cxxiv. 6). And so Ebrard, the present tense denoting that the act of overcoming still continues: as in ver. 3 "*they sing*," not "*they sang*."

De Wette rightly takes these words to be an ideal anticipation, as in ch. vii. 9. The palm-bearing multitude may be recognized as reappearing here, just as the 144,000 of ch. vii. 4 reappear in ch. xiv. 1.

and **from** *his image*, **and from the number of his name,**] Omit "*over his mark, and*"—see *vv. ll.* (Winer, § 47, s. 329, notes on νικᾶν ἔκ τινος—"Victoriam ferre *ex* aliquo"). These words refer back to ch. xiii. 4, 15, 16; xiv. 9. As Todd remarks (see on ver. 1), this Vision brings us down to the fall of Babylon, ch. xvi. 19; and therefore precedes the events disclosed in ch. xiv. 14–20. For Mede's interpretation of "the *Image* of the Beast," see on ch. xiii. 14; xiv. 9.

standing by *the sea of glass*] Or **the glassy sea**—as above. (For the prep., ἐπί, with an accus., see ch. iii. 20; Acts xxv. 10; cf., too, ch. viii. 3; ix. 14). So Bengel, Ebrard, Words., Alford; and Abp. Trench writes: "It is, as Bengel gives it rightly, '*by* the sea of glass' ('ad mare vitreum'), which '*sea of glass*' we are not to understand as a solid though diaphanous surface, *on which* these triumphant ones stood or could stand; but '*as it were* a sea of glass,' not a "**glassen**,' but a '**glassy**' sea,—a sea that might be compared to glass in its clearness and transparency" (*On the A. V. of N. T.*, 2nd ed., p. 139). The usual sense of the prep., "*upon* the sea," is adopted by Stuart who takes "*the sea*" to be "the pavement of the court above (*sea* in the sense of an extended level surface), in the midst of which the throne of God stands;" and so Züllig regards the "*glass mingled with fire*" to signify 'a mosaic floor,' *upon* which the elect from among the Gentiles stand in the same Temple-court, behind the elect from among the Jews, the 144,000:—see on ch. xiv. 1. In support of the former rendering is the explanation of the symbolism given by many commentators:—Thus, I. Williams writes of the "*sea*" in heaven, "before as '*of glass*' only, now of '*fire*' also, from the trials of these last days:—they are

his mark, *and* over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God.

[b] Ex. 15. 1. 3 And they sing [b]the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous *are* thy works, Lord God Almighty; [c]just and true *are* thy ways, thou King of saints. [c] Ps. 145. 17.

4 [d]Who shall not fear thee, O [d] Jer. 10. 7.

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the waves of the Red Sea, which appear on fire as the Sun of Righteousness arises upon them, on the margin of which the true Israelites sing the song of Moses, and the saving Lamb" (*l. c.*, p. 274);—and Words.: "Standing on its shore are seen those . . . . who are delivered from his [the Beast's] sway as the Israelites were in their Exodus from the land of Pharaoh": to the same effect De Wette, Stern, Hengst.

The words are also applied allegorically: Grotius understands the mass of heathen Christians animated by the love of God;—Vitr., the conqueror stands on the firm ground of truth illumined by the fire of Divine justice;—Calovius, the *sea* denotes baptism, the *fire* the wrath of God;—De Burgh, the Baptism of water, and the Baptism of fire (Matt. iii. 11), "denoting their purification by trials."

The "*sea of glass*" notes Andreas (*l. c.*, p. 85), signifies the multitude of the saved;—its being "*mingled with fire*" points to 1 Cor. iii. 15, those "saved as through fire."

having **harps of God.**] Instruments of music wholly dedicated to His praise—see 1 Chron. xvi. 42; 2 Chron. vii. 6; and cf. ch. v. 8; xiv. 2.

The "*harps*," writes Andreas, denote the harmony of the virtues modulated by the Spirit.

3. *the song of Moses*] More probably that preserved in Ex. xv. 1—the song of triumph after the passage of the Red Sea (see on ver. 2)—than that given in Deut. xxxii. Hengst. urges in confirmation of a reference here to the Red Sea, that the work of the Angels was to renew the plagues of Egypt—see on ch. xvi. "*The song of Moses*" is sung by delivered Israel *after* the Egyptian plagues: here the hymn of praise is sung by the Redeemed *before* the last victory of the Church over the antichristian world.

the servant of God,] (See *vv. ll.*). For this title see Ex. xiv. 31; Num. xii. 7; Josh. xiv. 7; Ps. cv. 26; Mal. iv. 4; cf. Heb. iii. 5.

and the song of the Lamb,] Many (e. g. Grotius, Vitr., De Wette, Hengst., Ebrard) explain that "*the song of Moses*" is here used "*of*" or "*in honour of*" the Lamb; and the analogy of ch. xiv. 1 leads Hengst. to add that "the Lamb sings this song along with His people." Düsterdieck (followed by Alf.) explains that this song was composed at once by Moses and the Lamb, and was taught to the singers (see ch. xiv. 3);—that it betokens, in fact, what we elsewhere learn from a comparison of ch. vii. 9, &c. and ch. x. 7 with ch. vii. 4, &c. and ch. xiv. 1, viz. the essential unity of the Churches of the Old and the New Test. (cf. ch. xii. 1, 17). So also Reuss:—"For the Author, the Church is the true Israel, cf. ch. ii. 9; iii. 9; vii. 4; x. 7; xi. 1; xiv. 1, &c." Andreas (*l. c.*) thinks that there are here *two* songs, one of the pious under the Old Test., the other of the New Test. believers;—Cocceius understands the harmony between Prophecy and the Gospel;—Züllig, that these worshippers "who were formerly idolaters express in this song their conversion to Moses and to Jesus." The meaning rather is that the song in which Moses celebrated the deliverance from Egypt, is now renewed, and receives its perfected close when God's people are finally delivered by the Lamb.

Writers point out how we have in the Apocalyptic song which follows distinct echoes of the Old Test.

saying, Great and marvellous [*are*] *thy works,*] See Ex. xvii. 11; 1 Chron. xvi. 9; Ps. cxi. 2; cxxxix. 14.

O Lord God, the Almighty;] See on ch. i. 8; cf. ch. iv. 8; xi. 17.

righteous *and true* [*are*] *thy ways,*] Cf. on ch. iii. 7; and see Deut. xxxii. 4 (the second Song of Moses); Ps. cxlv. 17.

The word "righteous" (δίκαιος) is used by St. John to signify both the rectitude of the *Judge*, and the rectitude of the person *judged* who comes up to the required standard. It occurs in the Apoc. usually in the *former* sense,—e. g. here; ch. xvi. 5, 7; xix. 2; cf John v. 30. In the *latter* sense it occurs in ch. xxii. 11; cf. 1 John iii. 12.

thou King **of the ages.**] Or **thou eternal King.** See *vv. ll.* The title given by this reading is found in 1 Tim. i. 17:—or, taking the alternative reading (for there is no authority for the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, and of the A. V., "*thou King of saints*"), we have

thou King **of the nations.**] Perhaps *all* nations: the title is given to Jehovah in Jer. x. 7, as indicating His relation to all mankind—cf. Ps. xxii. 28. This reference to Jer. x. 7, and the mention below, in ver. 4, of "**the nations**" afford considerable sanction to this reading.

4. *Who shall not* **fear, O Lord,** *and*

Lord, and glorify thy name? for *thou* only *art* holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest.

5 And after that I looked, and, behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened:

6 And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white

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glorify thy name?] (Omit '*thee*,'—see *vv. ll.*). These words also rest on Jer. x. 7. They suggest a designed contrast to ch. xiii. 4, as being similar in form and subject:—see also Ps. lxxxvi. 8–10. The question asked rests on the first two of the following three clauses each beginning with "*for*," or "*because*."

for [*thou*] *only* [*art*] *holy;*] The word rendered "*holy*" (ὅσιος) is applied to *God* only here and in ch. xvi. 5. It is applied to *Christ* in Acts ii. 27; xiii. 35 (Ps. xvi. 10); and Heb. vii. 26. We have but one word "*holy*" to render both that which the Greek has here, and that which in ch. iii. 7 (ἅγιος) is used of Christ. The term here, if applied to *Man*, signifies one who diligently observes all the sanctities of religion; as applied to God it denotes that He is one in whom these eternal sanctities reside:—see Abp. Trench quoted on ch. iii. 7.

for all **the** *nations shall come*] See Ps. lxxxvi. 9; Isai. ii. 2–4; lxvi. 23; Micah iv. 2–4; Zech. viii. 22. These words contain the sum of the Old Test. predictions as to the conversion of the heathen. De Burgh (see on ch. xiv. 6) further quotes these words to prove "that not until the coming of Christ in Judgment does the conversion of the world take place" (p. 297); and he goes on distinctly to state that it is an error "to expect the conversion of the world as an event to grow progressively out of the present dispensation."—*ibid.* This, as a testing result of the "Futurist" system, is deserving of notice.

for **thy righteous acts have been** *made manifest.*] This *third* clause (note the tense) beginning with "*for*" refers to that which immediately *precedes*, and gives the reason why "all the nations shall come and worship before" God. "**Thy righteous act:**" *i. e.*, "thy deeds in righteousness towards the nations,—*thy judgments.*" This noun (δικαίωμα) is found in the Apoc. only here and in ch. xix. 8—in both places in the plural. In the plural it signifies (1) 'precepts,' 'ordinances,' Luke i. 6; Rom. ii. 26; Heb. ix. 1, 10; (2) as here, actions corresponding to the *righteousness* which is fulfilled by them,—a righteousness which is the sense of the word in the *singular*, e. g. in Rom. v. 18. The verb "to make manifest," found here and in ch. iii. 18, is frequent with St. John—e. g. John i. 31; iii. 21; 1 John ii. 19; &c.

Ebrard divides this Song into four Strophes: (1) God is praised for His works;—(2) As King of the nations;—(3) All the world shall glorify Him;—(4) Because He alone is holy, &c. See on ch. xviii. 4–20.

5. *And after* **these things I saw,**] After the preliminary Vision of the "*Seven Angels*" (ver. 1), and after the heavenly Song.

and the *temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven*] (Omit "*behold*"—see *vv. ll.*). The phrase, "*the Tabernacle of the Testimony*," is found in Acts vii. 44. It was so called as containing the Ark with the Law of God which *testifies* against sin (Ex. xxv. 16, 21; xxx. 36; xxxiv. 29; xxxviii. 21). The pattern existed in heaven (see Ex. xxv. 40; Heb. viii. 5), and was doubtless that which St. John now beholds—cf. Ex. xxix. 10, 11 (LXX.); Num. xvii. 7; 2 Chron. xxiv. 6; &c., in which texts we read only of the "Tabernacle of the Testimony." The "**Sanctuary**" or "*Temple*" (see on ch. xi. 1)—the structure which belonged to "the Tabernacle of the Testimony" as enclosing it—is what is here meant. By the *gen. appositional*, notes De Wette, the Temple is described as consisting of the Tent or Tabernacle made after the Divine pattern:—here it points to the Ark of the Covenant, ch. xi. 19. Ebrard notes: "The Temple, so far as it was the place of the Ark of the Covenant, and therefore 'The most Holy place,' is here opened." With this act of *opening*, adds Ebrard, the last and deepest mystery is unveiled. In ch. xi. 19 the Ark had become visible,—as in ch. viii. 3, before the Temple was opened, there had been a preliminary Vision of the Altar *through* the Veil. Now the Holy of Holies is opened, and the Veil is withdrawn. While the Church is still struggling and suffering, the Ark appears for a moment (ch. xi. 19); now, when the Holy of Holies is thrown open, St. John is shown the Church triumphant in the New Jerusalem —see on ch. xix. 11.

6. and there came out from the temple] Cf. ch. xiv. 15, 17. There is nothing in prophetic imagery more striking than this picture of the Seven Angels issuing, in solemn procession, from the **Sanctuary.**

the seven angels] See ver. 1.

that have the seven plagues,] The article (see *vv. ll.*), referring back to ver. 1, shows that in ver. 1 a preliminary Vision was exhibited. "The Angels *have* the seven

linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.

7 And one of the four beasts gave unto the seven angels seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever.

8 And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power; and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled.

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plagues even before the "*Seven Vials*" are given to them" (Hengst.). See on ver. 1.

arrayed in linen, pure [**and**] **bright,**] (Omit "*and*,"—see *vv. ll.*). We cannot here refer (with Hengst.) to ch. xix. 8; for the word rendered "*linen*" in that verse is different (not λίνον, but τὸ βύσσινον). The meaning "*linen*" is very suitable here, as describing the angelic priestly attire (De Wette); cf. ch. iv. 4; Acts x. 30.

The reading (λίθον) of important MSS., and the comments of ancient expositors, do not allow us to reject the sense, **arrayed with** [**precious**] **stones, pure** [**and**] **bright**—(Gr. **with stone**: see ch. xvii. 4; and cf. ch. xxi. 11), a thought borrowed from Ezek. xxviii. 13 ("*every precious stone was thy covering*") where the stones named are found in the High Priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 17–20):—see the note on Ezek. xxviii. 13, and Note A at the end of this chapter. This reading gives the sense that each Angel wore raiment studded with precious stones. It is to be noted moreover that the word rendered above by "*linen*" is found elsewhere in the New Test. only in Matt. xii. 20, where it signifies "flax:"—see Note A.

In connexion also with this reading, Ps. cxviii. 22; Isaiah xxviii. 16; 1 Pet. ii. 6 have been referred to.

and **girt about their breasts**] As our Lord appears in ch. i. 13, a different noun (μαστός not στῆθος) being used.

THE SEVEN VIALS (7–ch. xvi. 21.)

7. *And one of the four* **living beings**] See Note B on ch. iv. 7. As representing "the creaturely life of nature" one of the Living Beings now reappears, and takes part in sending forth the coming plagues "**into the Earth**" (ch. xvi. 1). Cf. the action here with that of the Cherub in Ezek. x. 2, 7.

gave unto the seven angels] We may also note the similar reappearance of one of the "*Seven Angels*" of ver. 1, in ch. xvii. 1, and in ch. xxi. 9:—of this fact see Ebrard's interpretation quoted on ch. xvi. 21.

seven golden vials] See Note A on ch. v. 8. The "*Vials*" point to the metaphor in ch. xiv. 10, "the cup of God's anger"—the "*Vial*" (cf. Amos vi. 6) was the shallow "**bowl**" in which they drew from the larger goblet (Alf. *in loc.* quotes from Plato's *Crito*, χρυσαῖς φιάλαις ἐκ τοῦ κρητῆρος ἀρυττόμενοι). For the figure of the pouring out God's wrath in judgment see Ps. lxxix. 6; Jer. x. 25; Zeph. iii. 8. The "*Trumpets*" (ch. viii. 2, 6) *announce* judgment on God's enemies; the "*Vials*" *execute* His judgment on the Empire of the Beast. The "*Vials*" are *Seven* in number because "in them is **finished** the wrath of God"—ver. 1. It is also to be noted that in ch. xxi. 9, the Angels still "**have**" the "*Vials*" which are still full; as if this judgment were even then future (see on ver. 1, and on ch. xvi. 21).

The function of the Four Living Beings here is more significant than that which is assigned to them in ch. vi. 1, 3, 5, 7.

liveth for ever and ever.] Düsterd. notes that this close of the verse adds, as in ch. i. 8, solemnity to the description:—cf. ch. i. 18; iv. 9, 10; x. 6; and see the pledge given of old to God's people in the Song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 40. With this manifestation of Divine wrath compare ch. xix. 15.

Bengel observes that the "*Vials*" do not constitute the Third Woe (ch. xi. 14), but are merely the preparation for it. In common with the majority of writers he notes that these plagues run out quickly.

8. *And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God,*] As in Isaiah vi. 4; cf. Ex. xl. 34; 1 Kings viii. 10; 2 Chron. v. 14; Ezek. x. 2–4. We have in the "*smoke*" (often "the cloud") a symbol of the glory of the Divine Presence. Many, with reference to the *fire* of judgment, understand the "*smoke*" as the token of Divine wrath. Both ideas are, doubtless, combined: "The shrine is opened which it was death to a stranger to approach (Num. iii. 10). . . . . Nor is it again closed, though inaccessible for a time from the awful Presence of God's glory in the cloud, and His wrath in the smoke."—I. Williams, p. 278.

and from His power;] See on ch. i. 6. On God's present "*power*" in heaven, which is not yet recognized on earth, see ch. iv. 11. On this whole description, cf. Ps. xviii. 8–15.

and **no one** *was able to enter into the temple,*] E.g. as in Ex. xix. 21; Isaiah vi. 5,

until the Divine wrath shall be appeased, and judgment accomplished, as the Seer proceeds to say,—

till the seven plagues of the seven angels **should be finished.**] As Bossuet writes: "While God strikes, man flies from His presence, or rather tries to conceal himself. When God ceases to send forth His plagues we may then again enter into His Sanctuary, to consider there the order of His Judgments."

ADDITIONAL NOTE on Chap. xv. 6.

Note A on ver. 6.—ON THE READING λίθον.

In Ezek. xxviii. 13, the Heb. text is: כל־אבן יקרה מסכתך—LXX., πᾶν λίθον χρηστὸν ἐνδέδεσαι. Tischendorf (ed. 8ᵛᵃ) quotes Andreas (*l.c.* p. 85): λίνον ἢ λίθον καθαρόν, καθὰ τινὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἔχουσι, διά τε τὴν τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν καθαρότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον λίθον Χριστὸν ἐγγύτητα (1 Pet. ii. 6).

"Compare also Haymo (as well as Beda and Ansbertus): '*Vestiti lapide mundo et candido,' i.e., ornati et amicti Domino Jesu Christo, juxta illud: Omnes qui baptizati estis Christum induistis. Qui bene lapis dicitur, quo electi circumdantur*, &c. Or if we read: vestiti *lapidibus mundis sicut in quibusdam cdd. invenitur, per hos lapides designantur virtutes*, &c. *Alia translatio habet: vestiti lino mundo, per quod puritas vitæ*," &c. (Tisch., *ib.*). The Coptic version has, "circumamicti vestibus linteis splendidis;"—the Vulgate, "vestiti lino mundo et candido." In Matt. xii. 20, the only place in the New Test.—if we except this verse—where we find λίνον, the words are: καὶ λίνον τυφόμενον οὐ σβέσει, "and smoking *flax* shall he not quench." The Greek word for "*linen*" or "*fine linen*" is ἡ βύσσος, Luke xvi. 19; or βύσσινος, η, ον, or neut. βύσσινον, scil. ἱμάτιον (Winer, s. 522), Rev. xviii. 12, 16; xix. 8, 14. In the LXX., for Hebr. שֵׁשׁ, we have βύσσος Ex. xxviii. 6, 8, 29, where the attire of the Jewish Priests is described and in ver. 39 (35) ποιήσεις κίδαριν βυσσίνην, "a mitre of fine linen." (See on the word *Cidaris*, or *Mitre*, Note D on ch. ii. 10).

CHAPTER XVI.

2 *The angels pour out their vials full of wrath.*
6 *The plagues that follow thereupon.* 15 *Christ cometh as a thief. Blessed are they that watch.*

[Ver. 1 τὰς ἑπτά. Ver. 2 εἰς τὴν γῆν.—ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρ. Ver. 3 *om.* ἄγγελος.—ζωῆς.—τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλ. Ver. 4 *om.* ἄγγελος.—*om.* 2nd εἰς.—[A reads ἐγένοντο]. Ver. 5 *om.* κύριε.—[For ἐσόμενος read ὅσιος. Er. follows his codex in reading καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὅσιος];—*om.* καὶ before ὁ ὅσιος [with ℵ, P.—A,B,C omit καὶ ὁ]. Ver. 6 δέδωκας.—*om.* γάρ. Ver. 7 *om.* ἄλλου ἐκ. Ver. 8 *om.* ἄγγελος. Ver. 9 τὴν ἐξουσ. Ver. 10 *om.* ἄγγελος. Ver. 12 *om.* ἄγγελος. Ver. 13 ὡς βάτραχοι. Ver. 14 δαιμονίων.—ἃ ἐκπορεύεται [ℵ, 1 read σημεῖα ἐκπορεύεσθαι].—*om.* τῆς γῆς καί.—τὸν πόλεμον.—*om.* ἐκείνης. Ver. 16 [ℵ reads συνήγαγον].—[For τόπον, A reads ποταμόν—cf. Judg. v. 19, ἐπὶ ὕδατι Μαγεδδώ].—Ἀρμαγεδών. Ver. 17 *om.* ἄγγελος.—ἐπί.—ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ.—*om.* τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.—[For ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου, ℵ reads τοῦ θεοῦ]. Ver. 18 ἀστραπαὶ κ. φων. κ. βρ.—*om.* οἱ [A reads ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο].]

THE SEVEN VIALS (1–21).

As already stated (see the remarks introd. to ch. ii., and ch. vi.), the "*Seven Vials*" which form the subject of this chapter are divided, like the Seven Epistles (ch. ii.; ch. iii.), into groups of *three* and *four* (*vv.* 2–4; and *vv.* 8–17)—*vv.* 13–16 forming an episode between the *sixth* and *seventh* Vials: (1) In each of the first *three* the preposition "*into*" (εἰς) is used, as in ver. 1, to designate the object of "*the wrath of God*;"—in the last *four*, the preposition "*upon*" (ἐπί) is used for the same purpose in each. (2) The *third* Vial is separated from the *fourth* by a formal conclusion consisting of two solemn utterances in *vv.* 5–7, lauding the righteous judgments of God. (3) The first *three* are marked by their short and sharp description, each Vial occupying but one verse (*vv.* 2–4); while each of the remaining *four* is described with much greater minuteness, notwithstanding the brevity of this entire Vision (*vv.* 8–21). (4) The *fourth* Vial is connected with the group containing the *fifth* and the *seventh*, by the statement that under each of these Vials men "*blasphemed*" God—see *vv.* 9, 11, 21. (5) The *fourth* Vial differs essentially from the *fourth* Trumpet (ch. viii. 12)—for, though both affect the *sun*, "*the sun*" in ch. viii. 12

AND I heard a great voice out of the temple saying to the seven

is darkened, while here (*vv.* 8, 9) its heat is intensified. To these reasons for the division into *three* and *four*, Hengst. adds (6): "The last four begin with the *sun*, and conclude with the *air*, while the first three keep *below*,—to the earth, the sea, the rivers and the fountains." Hofmann also divides the Vials into groups of *three* and *four;* and he argues for the internal unity of the first three Vials from the fact that they are directed against the *two* sins to be punished: (1) If men receive the "*the mark of the Beast*" on their forehead and hand, God marks them with a noisome sore;—(2) If they have poured out "*the blood of saints*" like water, not only the salt water of the sea, but the sweet waters of the fountains are changed into blood (*l. c.*, ii. s. 362).

There is much diversity of opinion here; but this division agrees best with the general character of the description. Bengel, Züllig, Ebrard, Bleek, Volkmar, Reuss, Alf., Bisping, divide, as in the Seals and Trumpets, into groups of *four* and *three*,—the objects of the first *four* being the earth, the sea, the fountains of waters, and the sun (see ch. viii. 7–12): in the last *three*, special objects are particularized—the throne of the Beast and the river Euphrates, while a certain vagueness also marks the *seventh*, as in the Seals and the Trumpets. De Wette sees here groups of *five* and *two*—the former causing pain, the latter war and confusion; and he again divides the group of five into *three* and *two* by the pause in *vv.* 5–7, while the *fourth* and *fifth* Vials are connected by the parallel comments in *vv.* 9, 11. Düsterd. on the other hand concludes that there is no division here into groups as in the previous Visions; observing that if a separation were to be made it might with equal justice be made at ver. 3, or ver. 9, or ver. 11, or ver. 15:—and his conclusion is that all Seven are poured out, one after the other, with a rapidity corresponding to that with which the End approaches, before which these last plagues only (ch. xv. 1) are interposed. For this reason Bossuet thinks that the Vials are all poured out at once.

The analogy of the Vials to the Trumpets is obvious. This has been noticed by so early a writer as Victorinus (see his words quoted in Note A on ch. ix.); the chief feature in the analogy being the references to the plagues of Egypt, although the references are not strictly the same. St. Irenæus has long since pointed out that where the Prophets and "John the Lord's Disciple in the Apocalypse" speak of the End, the Nations are spoken of as enduring the plagues of Egypt (*Adv. Hær.* iv. 30; see on ch. viii. 6):—

The *first* Vial reminds us of the *sixth* plague of boils, Ex. ix. 8–12 (the *first* Trumpet recalls the *seventh* plague, Ex. ix. 22–26);—the *second* Vial, like the *second* Trumpet, reminds us of the *first* plague, the waters "turned to blood," Ex. vii. 19, 20;—the relation of the *third* to the *second* Vial corresponds to that between the *third* and the *second* Trumpet, ch. viii. 8–10;—the *fourth* Vial, like the *fourth* Trumpet, relates to the source of *light* and heat, and thus refers to the *ninth* plague, of darkness. Ex. x. 21;—the *fifth* Vial (ver. 10) in like manner refers to the plague of darkness. We may observe too in these Visions that the same imagery, taken from created things, occurs for the most part under the same "*Vial*" or "*Trumpet*," and in the order of the days of Creation (Gen. i.). As in the Egyptian plagues, so in these judgments also what "God created to be beautiful and pronounced to be good" becomes evil to man, because he does not in them worship their Creator:—see ch. xiv. 7. If (as I. Williams notes) St. Augustine compares the ten plagues of Egypt to the Ten Commandments, so the Vials have a reference to the seven sins which quench the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost. Under the Vials there is no repentance (*vv.* 9, 11, 21).

1. *And I heard a great voice out of the temple,*] Or "**Sanctuary**," which was filled with the Divine Presence—see ch. xv. 8. Many think that as "no one was able to enter into the Temple" it must be the voice of God Himself. For a like call from God to His ministers of judgment, Hengst. compares Ezek. ix. 1, 8:—see on ver. 17.

saying to the seven angels, **Go ye,** *and pour out* **the seven vials** *of the wrath of God*] See *vv. ll.*; and compare ch. xv. 7.

into *the earth.*] The words are the same as in ch. viii. 5, 7.

The mutual relation of the three great Visions illustrates very clearly the principle of Recapitulation. The *Seal* is the emblem of an event still secret, but decreed by God;—the *Trumpet* sounded manifests the will that the Divine decree should be accomplished speedily;—the poured-out *Vial* is the symbol of that decree identified with its execution. "The Seals are the first assault of the King of Heaven on the stronghold of the rebellious world;—the Trumpets are the supreme call to submission and repentance;—the Vials are the chastisements which strike the hardened human race. . . . . The Seals correspond to the first miracles of Moses before Pharaoh;—the Trumpets to the ten plagues;—the Vials to the disaster of the Red Sea" (Godet, *l. c.*,

angels, Go your ways, and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth.

2 And the first went, and poured out his vial upon the earth; and there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and *upon* them which worshipped his image.

3 And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea; and it became as the blood of a dead *man:* and every living soul died in the sea.

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p. 297). The "*Vials*" are introduced in ch. xv. 1, as being the "*last plagues;*" they belong to the time when the End is near. The judgments accordingly fall, not on the *fourth* part of the earth, as under the "*Seals*" (see ch. vi. 8); nor on the *third* part as under the "*Trumpets*" (see ch. viii. 7–12; ix. 15, 18), but on *all* created things. The events of the preceding Visions are, as it were, taken up and completed:—thus the second, third, and sixth "*Vials*" are analogous to the second, third, and sixth "*Trumpets*" (ch. viii. 8, 9; ix. 14); and the seventh "*Vial*" is parallel to the sixth "*Seal*" (ch. vi. 12). We may also discern between the sixth "*Vial*" (ver. 12) and the seventh (ver. 17) an episode consisting of *vv.* 13–16; just as we noticed between the sixth and seventh "*Seals*" (ch. vii.), and the sixth and seventh "*Trumpets*" (ch. x.; xi. 1–14). The "*Vials*" indeed to a great extent fall under the seventh "*Trumpet;*" and many writers consider that the "*Seven Trumpets*" are contained in the seventh "*Seal,*" when "the mystery of God is finished" (see on ch. viii.). There is also in the "*Vials*" an anticipation of the End: e.g. after the sixth "*Vial*" there is a gathering to battle as described in ch. xix. 17–21, the symbolical battle-field being indicated; and under the *seventh* the judgment on Babylon is referred to before the event itself (see ch. xvii.; xviii.; cf. ch. xiv. 8):—ver. 20 points on to ch. xx. 11.

Mr. Maurice (*l. c.*, p. 296) takes the Trumpets as pointing to Jerusalem, and the Vials as pointing to Rome:—"Both denote a crisis through which the two cities were passing within the same three or four years."

Godet, who takes the "*Vials*" to symbolize the judgments upon mankind enslaved to Antichrist, identifies the Vial-plagues with the judgments spoken of in ch. xi. 5, 6.

THE FIRST THREE VIALS (2–7).

2. *And the first went,*] In the Trumpets, as Bengel notes, the word "*Angel*" is repeated (ch. viii. 8, 9, 10, 12; ix. 1, 14; xi. 15); now, such is the brevity of the style, the word is omitted throughout (see *vv. ll.*):—"The Vials make short work."

into *the earth;*] As in ver. 1. See *vv. ll.*—"**into**" (εἰς), not "*upon,*" the preposition being the same in each of the first *three* Vials, see *vv.* 3, 4. In the second group of *four* Vials, the preposition, in each case, is "*upon*" (ἐπί)—see *vv.* 8, 10, 12, 17.

and it became] As implied by A. V. in *vv.* 3, 4; or, "*and there* **came**"—nearly as A. V. in this place.

a noisome and grievous sore upon the men] (See *vv. ll.*). The *sixth* plague of Egypt, Ex. ix. 8–12; see the note on Ex. ix. 9. The word rendered "*sore*" is found elsewhere in the New Test. in ver. 11 and in Luke xvi. 21; compare Deut. xxviii. 27, 35; Job ii. 7 (Hebr. שְׁחִין, LXX., as here, ἕλκος). Hengst. notes that it is "not without meaning that men and cattle were alike smitten with this distemper. Its nature was so noisome that the magicians could not 'stand before Moses,' Ex. ix. 11." Observe "*men*" are smitten here, not the trees and grass as in the first Trumpet (ch. viii. 7);—and further "*the men*" now described, without exception, not "*the third part*" only.

which had the mark of the beast, **and which worshipped** *his image.*] See ch. xiii. 15, 16; xiv. 9.

For examples of the various explanations of the "*Vials,*" see Note A at the end of this chapter.

3. **And the second** *poured out his vial* **into** *the sea;*] Omit "*Angel*"—see *vv. ll.*

and it became **blood as of a dead man;**] So A. V.; that is, "the sea became:" cf. ver. 4, and Ex. vii. 20—the first Egyptian plague, as in ch. viii. 8. Or the meaning may be, "the Vial became," cf. *vv.* 2, 4. Or we may render, **and there came,** *i. e.,* "there was," "there resulted" blood. The intensity of the second "*Vial*" above that of the second "*Trumpet*" (ch. viii. 8) consists not only in this that the whole sea is changed into blood, and that every living thing in it dies, but in this that the blood is not fluid, living blood—it is now that "*of a dead man,*" and therefore tainted with corruption.

and every living soul died.] Gr. "**every soul of life**"—see *vv. ll.*; and cf. Gen. i. 20, 30: not "*the third part*" as in ch. viii. 8, 9.

[even] the things that were *in the sea.*] See *vv. ll.*:—the art. referring to what is implied by "*every living soul.*" Cf. ch. viii. 9, whence we might borrow the noun signifying "*creatures,*" viz. **[even] the [creatures] that were in the sea**":—see also

4 And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood.

5 And I heard the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus.

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ch. v. 13. The "*sea*" of "the nations" is to be understood, "the restless wicked world" (Hengst.)—cf. ch. xvii. 15, and see on ch. xiii. 1. The "*sea*" (adds Hengst.) cannot be understood literally, for it cannot be the object of God's wrath. A comparison with ch. viii. 8, 9 further shows that what is said here is symbolical.

"This is the fulfilment," writes I. Williams, "of the *second* day of the Creation (Gen. i. 6),—the dividing of the waters from the waters,—the *sea* of *blood* below, and the 'sea of glass mingled with fire' (ch. xv. 2) above, on which are standing the harpers of God."

4. *And* **the third** *poured out his vial* **into** *the rivers* **and the fountains of the waters;**] (See *vv. ll.*). The *first* Egyptian plague (Ex. vii. 20)—as in the preceding Vial and in the second and third Trumpets (ch. viii. 8, 10)—is repeated here. "This correspondence between the second and third Vials, and the second and third Trumpets is designed. It furnishes a sort of finger-post for the internal connexion of the two groups" (Hengst.). In the first Egyptian plague there was a twofold symbolism,—the blood (1) denoted the slaying of the first-born, and the destruction of the Egyptian host in the Red Sea (Ex. xii. 29, 30; xiv. 28); and (2), it rendered the water of the Nile impure, denoting the loss of Egypt's prosperity. The two emblems are combined in Ps. lxxviii. 44: "He turned their rivers into blood; and their floods that they could not drink." And thus in "*the Trumpets*" and "*the Vials*," the symbolism exhibits both death and the result of the impurity of the waters. On this use of the same symbol under *two* aspects, see the note on ch. viii. 10.

and **it became** *blood.*] The A. V., either adopting the reading of the Codex Alexandrinus (see *vv. ll.*); or, taking "*the waters*" —a neuter plural—to be the nom., renders "*they became.*" As in *vv.* 2, 3, the sense may be **and there came,** *i.e.*, "there was," or "there resulted" blood—the verb being in the singular. The *third* day of Creation is pointed to in this "*Vial*," when "the waters" were "gathered together into one place."

THE MORAL OF THE FIRST GROUP (5–7).

Here follows the formal conclusion of the preceding verses—the moral, as it were, drawn from them—separating the first group of *three* from the second group of *four* Vials: see the remarks introd. to this chapter.

5. *And I heard the angel of the waters* **saying,**] *I. e.*, the "Angel set over the waters." Angels are set over the winds and over fire in ch. vii. 1; xiv. 18 (cf. ch. xi. 6); and hence we may infer that each of the Seven Vial-Angels is set over a distinct element. Or, the Angels who fill a special office in God's presence, as in ch. viii. 2 (cf. the Angel-Princes in Daniel—see the notes on Dan. x. 13, 21; xii. 1). "Angels of the sea" are spoken of in the Rabbinical writings—see *Bava Bathra*, f. 84, 2, b, *ap.* Wolf; and cf. Schoettgen, p. 1131, f. Düsterd. suggests that this Angel may simply represent the *waters*, as the Four Living Beings (ch. iv. 6, &c.) represent the *life* of Creation. Grotius and Ebrard explain that we have here a short description of the Angel who poured his "*Vial*" over "*the waters*," and therefore has power over them; just as the Angel in ch. xiv. 18 represents concisely the Angel mentioned in ch. xviii. 4. Hengst. refers to John v. 4 in illustration,—but the genuineness of that passage is questionable. Stern notes that the "*Angel of the waters*" might have complained to God at the change of the sea and rivers into blood, whereby an element essential to human life was tainted. On the contrary, the Angel confirms the justice of the punishment.

Righteous art thou,] Omit "*O Lord*"—see *vv. ll.* On the word "*righteous*" see ch. xv. 3; and cf. ver. 7.

which art and which wast, thou Holy One,] See *vv. ll.* The words in A.V., "*and shalt be*," rest on no authority whatever. Griesbach, who notices the reading (ἐσόμενος) of the *Textus Receptus*, merely says: "Cod. ap. Bezam." Dr. Scrivener writes: "ἐσόμενος (for ὅσιος), a bold variation of Beza's last three editions, is adopted in our Version, and the Elzevir text of 1633."—*Paragraph Bible*, Intr., App. E, p. ciii. The Vulgate has "*qui es et qui eras sanctus*," with A, B, C (without the art.), **which art and which wast holy.**

because thou didst thus judge:] We may also render here: **holy** [**art thou**],—or [**yea**] **holy,—because**" &c. These latter renderings, which regard "*holy*" as in apposition with "*righteous*," are supported by Düsterdieck and Wordsworth, but are not adopted by De Wette and Alf., who translate, with the Vulgate: **"Thou art righteous who art and wast holy, because,**

6 For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy.

7 And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous *are* thy judgments.

8 And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun; and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire.

9 And men were ‖scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory.

‖ Or, *burned.*

10 And the fifth angel poured out

&c. Or a full stop may be placed at "**judge.**"

The word "*thus*" (Gr. "**these things**") refers to the judgments described in *vv.* 2–4. For the word "*holy*" see on ch. xv. 4.

For the title here given to God—"**Which art and Which wast**"—see on ch. i. 4; xi. 17.

In *vv.* 5–7 is given the reply to the appeal of the martyrs in ch. vi. 9, 10, under the *fifth* Seal.

6. because they poured out] The former "*because*" is here repeated.

and thou hast given them] The *perfect*—see *vv. ll.*

blood to drink.] The sense being—'therefore righteous art thou.' Or there may be here a new clause: "**Because they poured out . . . . thou hast given them blood also to drink**": *i.e.*, 'the *Vial* is poured out, in retribution, on the waters.' Hengst. notes that 'to drink blood' is mentioned not as a crime (see ch. xvii. 6), but as a punishment,—cf. Isai. xlix. 26.

They are worthy.] Omit "*for*"—see *vv. ll.* The contrast between this solemn declaration of "*the Angel of the waters*," and the same words used in ch. iii. 4, is expressed in Rom. vi. 23.

Another voice is next heard in confirmation:—cf. ch. v. 9, 12, 13, 14.

7. And I heard the altar saying,] Omit the words "*another out of*"—see *vv. ll.* The great majority of writers see here a personification of the Altar,—including the souls of the martyrs beneath it, and the prayers of the saints offered on it (ch. vi. 9, 10; viii. 3),—for which preparation was made in ch. ix. 13, 14; and which was further intimated in ch. xiv. 18. Words would compare Gen. iv. 10; Heb. xii. 24; Luke xix. 40: as well as 1 Kings xiii. 2. Many, however, understand here (what the reading followed in the A. V. expresses) "*the Angel* of the Altar"—as in ch. viii. 3–5: "the Angel of the fire," notes Züllig, "replying antiphonally to the Angel of the waters." Burger refers, in illustration, to Josh. xxii. 26–29.

Yea, O Lord God, the Almighty,] See on ch. i. 8. The word "**Yea**" expresses assent to what was said by "*the Angel of the waters.*"

true and righteous [are] thy judgments.] See ch. xix. 2.

THE LAST FOUR VIALS (8–17).

8. And the fourth *poured out his vial*] See *vv. ll.*; and on ver. 2.

upon the sun;] In this latter group of *four*, the preposition is different:—"*upon*," not "*into*" as in the former group of *three.*

and it was given *unto him*] Or **it was given unto it**, *i.e.*, "**unto the sun**," on which the effect was produced, as on *the* "*sea*," and "*rivers*," *vv.* 3, 4—so De Wette, Bleek, Düsterd., Words., Alf. The phrase "**it was given**" simply intimates that "the penal results are due to the permission of God" (Words.):—cf. ch. ix. 5. Bengel and Hengst., however, more justly refer "*unto him*" to the Angel; see ch. vii. 2.

to scorch men with fire.] Were the article before "*men*" to be pressed, the sense would be "**the men** which had the mark of the Beast"—ver. 2; cf. ch. ix. 6. In this increased intensity of *heat* consists the plague:—for the contrast, see on ch. vii. 16; and cf. Isai. xlix. 10. Under the *fourth* Trumpet, ch. viii. 12, there is merely a diminution of *light;* the sun being joined with the moon and stars. "The fourth Vial is on the sun; as the sun was created on the fourth day; and as the sun was stricken under the fourth Trumpet."—I. Williams.

As relating to "*the sun*," this "*Vial*" also recalls the *ninth* Egyptian plague—see Ex. x. 21.

9. *And men were scorched with great heat:*] Or "**the men**," "**mankind**"—the art. occurring here as well as in ver. 8: cf. ch. viii. 11; ix. 20.

and **they** *blasphemed*] A note connecting this "*Vial*" with the *fifth* and *seventh* (*vv.* 11, 21), as one of the *four* "*Vials*" of the second group. Men blaspheme, as being conscious that the plagues come from God; they do not blaspheme under the *sixth* "*Vial*" (*vv.* 12–16) for there the judgment has not as yet fallen, but is merely *prepared.*

his vial upon the seat of the beast; and his kingdom was full of darkness; and they gnawed their tongues for pain,

11 And blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds.

12 And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river

the name of **the God**] Cf. ver. 11.

which hath **the power** *over these plagues;*] (See *vv. ll.*). The words "*these plagues*" are taken by some to mean the *four* "*Vials*"; and, hence, they divide the Seven into *four* and *three*:—but see ver. 11, under the *fifth* "*Vial*," which certainly refers back to ver. 2. All the "*Vials*" are meant.

I. Williams notes: "Light without Love. The sun burns; life itself is as death . . . They are 'tormented in the presence of the Lamb' (ch. xiv. 10). 'Vident intabescuntque.'"—p. 293.

10. And the fifth *poured out his vial*] See *vv. ll.* With many writers, the *second* group of the Vial-Visions begins here:—The *former* group of *four* having been poured out on the earth and on the sun, the *fifth* Vial (*vv.* 10, 11) is poured out on the throne of the Beast;—by the *sixth*, as the result of this, Satan (*vv.* 12–16) assembles the world for the last conflict against God;—under the *seventh* (*vv.* 17–21), Babylon, the seat of the anti-christian World-power, is destroyed.

upon **the throne** *of the beast;*] As actually seen (ch. xiii. 2) when given by the "*Dragon*;"—upon the real centre of his authority (cf. on ch. ii. 13). Understanding by the Beast the ungodly World-power in its collective character, his "**throne**" is situated in different places at different periods:—in Babylon of old (cf. Isai. xlvii. 1);—in Rome in the days of St. John;—and so on to the end of time: "This is as certain as that the Beast has Seven Heads" (ch. xiii. 1) . . . . "Wherever the throne may stand, it will be struck by the fifth "*Vial*" (Hengst.)—see on ver. 19. Ebrard here recalls the "Angel of the Abyss" under the fifth Trumpet (ch. ix. 11),—"the Destroyer" who has given his "**throne**" to the Beast as the representative of the World-power.

and his kingdom **was darkened**;] The ninth Egyptian plague (Ex. x. 21) is more literally repeated here than under the *fourth* "*Vial*;"—see ch. viii. 12; cf. Ps. cv. 28. Wisd. xvii. 21 supplies the comment on this verse, "Over them only was spread an heavy night, an image of that darkness which should afterward receive them."

and they gnawed their tongues for pain,] (On the prep., ἐκ, cf. ch. viii. 11, 13). The word rendered "*pain*" (πόνος) is found only in this passage, in ch. xxi. 4, and in Col. iv. 13:—see on ver. 11. This mention of "*pain*" or "distress" as the result of *darkness* naturally leads to the symbolical interpretation of *this* "*Vial*" and also of the *four* previous "*Vials*."

11. *And* **they** *blasphemed the God of heaven*] A title found elsewhere only in ch. xi. 13; in which place, in contrast to the present verse, repentance follows. To blaspheme God, as here, is the token of entire allegiance to the Beast—see ch. xiii. 6.

because of their pains and their sores;] See ver. 2. Under this *fifth* "*Vial*," the judgment of the *first*—and doubtless, those also of the *second* and *third* "*Vials*"—continues: the *fourth* "*Vial*" is but a different aspect of this plague.

and **they** *repented not of their* **works**.] See ver. 9; and ch. ix. 20, 21:—see also below, the note on ver. 21 as to the absence of any mention there of repentance.

12. And the sixth *poured out his vial*] See *vv. ll.*

upon the great river, **the** [**river**] *Euphrates;*] Cf. the *sixth* "*Trumpet*," ch. ix. 14; and see the note *in loc.* From beyond the Euphrates the hosts which invaded Palestine and resisted Israel used to come; and from that quarter Jerusalem, the type of the Church, was wont to be assailed; this imagery, therefore, symbolically represents the barrier, now to be removed, which opposed the progress of the ungodly World-power in its assault upon the Church. As to the source of the symbolism here, Hengst. strongly objects to the opinion of Eichhorn, Züllig, Heinrich, Stern, Hofmann, Ebrard, Words. (who quotes the authority of the ancient expositor Haymo), viz. that it is borrowed from the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, who effected his conquest of the city by diverting the waters of the Euphrates. In support of his objection Hengst. (following Forbes) urges that the Apoc. does not borrow from Herodotus and Xenophon, but from Scripture. To this the answer is obvious,—'Prophecy does distinctly foreshadow the action of Cyrus.' Of this there can be no doubt when one considers Jer. li. 31, 32, 36 (see the notes *in loc.*, and on Dan. v. 30); or compares Isai. xiii. (on which chapter see the concluding note). This historical fact, therefore, may safely be regarded as supplying the outlines of the present imagery. Of course the

Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared.

decisive war for which all the kings of the earth are gathered together (ver. 14) is not against a literal Babylon, but against the Church of God; and, as Bengel notes, "Ar-Mageddon lies in the land of Israel, and from the rising of the sun the way to it is over the Euphrates" (ver. 16).

and the water thereof was dried up,] Referring (see Jer. li. 36) to the means by which Cyrus captured the literal Babylon, A.D. 538 (Herod. i. 191; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5); see the notes on Dan. v.; and cf. Isai. xliv. 27, 28. Cyrus drained "*the great river*" from its bed, and thus prefigured the fall of the mystical Babylon. As further sources of this imagery the passage of the Red Sea, Ex. xiv. (cf. Zech. x. 10–12),—or of the Jordan, Josh. iv. 23—may be compared. The language of this verse, in fact, recalls more than one remarkable allusion in the former Scriptures to the people of God—e. g. Ps. cxiv. 3; Isai. xi. 15, 16; li. 10; Jer. l. 38.

that the way might be prepared for the kings which [come] from the sunrising.] See ch. vii. 2. That the destroyer of Babylon was to come from the East is constantly foretold—e. g. Isai. xiii.–xiv.; xli. 2, 25; xlvi. 11; and hence the imagery of this verse, whereby the destruction of the mystical Babylon is foreshadowed.

As to the meaning of these words there is a great conflict of opinion:—(1) Beda, I. Williams, Words., variously interpret that by "the Kings from the sun-rising" we are to understand the saints who are made "*kings*" by Christ and form the armies of heaven that follow Him (ch. xix. 14);—who are spoken of by Isaiah (ch. lx. 3);—of whom the Magi from the East (Matt. ii.) were the first fruits;—and who are to contend at Ar-Mageddon with the antichristian powers of the world let loose from the river Euphrates under the *sixth Trumpet* (ch. ix. 15, 16). With reference to this interpretation see the notes on ch. i. 6 and ch. v. 10.

(2) On the other hand, Bleek, Ewald, De Wette, Düsterd., Alf., include "*the kings*" here among "*the kings of the whole earth*" ver. 14; and, therefore, regard them as instruments of the Dragon, and the Beast, and the False Prophet (ver. 13), in leading men to war not against Babylon but against the saints,—see ch. xii. 17; xiii. 7.

(3) The rationalistic school, e. g. Bleek, De Wette, Düsterd., Reuss, Krenkel, identify these Eastern Kings with the "*Ten Horns*" or "*Kings*" of ch. xvii. 12, who are introduced here by anticipation (as the Beast of ch. xiii. is referred to in ch. xi. 7), and whose fate is hinted at in ver. 16, but not fully described until ch. xix. 19, 20. Their relation to the Beast is not cleared up until ch. xvii. 12. This explanation connects itself with the notion that Nero (see on ch. xiii. 3) will return as Antichrist, with the Parthians, to destroy Rome. For this the way is now prepared. According to this interpretation, the plague of the *sixth* "*Vial*" consists in the assembling these kings, and annihilating them at Ar-Mageddon (ver. 16).

(4) Ebrard interprets in a manner peculiar to himself:—He identifies "the kings from the sun-rising" with the "*four Angels*" in ch. ix. 14, 15; they are here called "*the* kings," as being known to the Seer since the *sixth* Trumpet; and they are called "*kings*" because Satan is so styled in ch. ix. 11. The host which follows these kings from the East is related to the locust-host under the *fifth* Trumpet (ch. ix. 1–11), as the power of *unbelief* to the power of *superstition*. The difference existing between the *fifth* and *sixth* Trumpets, and the *fifth* and *sixth* Vials, Ebrard takes to be that in the *former* God's judgments are inflicted on godless mankind as such; and that in the *latter*, they are inflicted on the kingdom of the Beast, or Babylon, the resuscitated Roman World-power (ch. xiv. 8).

(5) Hippolytus takes these kings to be servants of Antichrist; and explains that God in His wisdom smooths the way for them to come and worship Antichrist, and be his allies ("Ancolitus," *l.c.*, p. 27, see Note C on ch xii. 3).

(6) Andreas makes the Eastern kings to be Gog and Magog (ch. xx. 8).

The first of these interpretations may appear to be the most probable, if we compare the beautiful words of Isaiah (li. 10, 11):—"He hath made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over. Therefore the redeemed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing unto Zion." It is to be borne in mind, however, that the *sixth* Vial—and each "*Vial*" brings a "*plague*" upon *the ungodly*—is fully described in ver. 12, and is not continued in the verses which follow. In fact, as already observed, *vv.* 13–16 form an episode between the *sixth* and *seventh* Vials, herein resembling ch. vii. and ch. x.–xi. 14,—the shortness of this episode denoting the rapid approach of the End (cf. ch. x. 6, 7; see Hofmann, *l. c.*, ii. s. 362). The conclusion then seems to be that the drying up of the Euphrates recalls the destruction of Babylon, the seat of the ungodly World-

13 And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs *come* out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet.

14 For they are the spirits of

power, by Cyrus; and that this destruction symbolizes the judgment for which preparation is made under this "*Vial.*"

Mr. Charles Maitland refers in illustration to the statement of the heathen historian Justin, that Alexander the Great "went into Syria, where he was met by many kings of the East with mitres" (*Historia*, lib. xi. 10). And Mr. Maitland adds that in 2 Esdras xiii. 39–44 St. John's expression seems to be applied to "the ten Tribes, which were carried away prisoners out of their own land . . . over the waters." . . . "And they entered into Euphrates, . . . for the Most High then shewed signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over."—*School of Proph. Interpr.*, p. 70.

THE EPISODE (13–16).

13. *And I saw*] The formula introducing a new Vision (see on ch. xiv. 1; xv. 2).

[**coming**] **out of the mouth of the dragon,**] There is no participle here signifying "going forth," "proceeding," and this Düsterd. supplies from the verb expressed in ver. 14. The Cod. Sinaiticus reads ἐδόθη for εἶδον: "And **there were given from the mouth**" &c.

The Vision of ch. xiii. 2, 11 still continues:—see on ch. xx. 8, to which place this episode may look forward.

and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet,] On the expression "*out of the mouth*," cf. "the rod of his mouth" (Isai. xi. 4). The "*False Prophet*"—the second Beast of ch. xiii. 11—appears for the first time in this place, under this name (cf. ch. xix. 20; xx. 10); he represents the power which, under the semblance of being Christ's, really brings the Church under bondage to "the Prince of this World." It is to be observed that as St. John elsewhere (1 John iii. 8) speaks of "many Antichrists;" and as "Antichrist" represents "the Beast," so he elsewhere speaks of "many false prophets" (1 John iv. 1): see Note A, on ch. xiii.; and the note on ch. xiii. 11.

three unclean spirits,] The epithet "*unclean*" (cf. Matt. x. 1; Mark i. 26; Luke iv. 33) implies their demoniacal nature as described in ver. 14; and also refers to the form under which they appear.

as it were frogs:] (See *vv. ll.*). Such was their form in the Vision: and to the intuition of the Seer these three forms have the same reality as those of the Dragon and the two Beasts from whose mouths they proceed; or as the objects described in ch. ix. 1–11; or in ch. ix. 17 (Düsterd.). There may be a reference here to the second plague of Egypt, Ex. viii. 1–14. If we except that plague, and the references to it, there is no other mention direct or symbolical of "*frogs*" in Scripture (cf. Wisd. xix. 10). Commentators quote profane authors who take frogs to be an emblem of garrulity and of uncleanness—e. g. Cicero (*ad Attic.* xv. 16): see Züllig and Alf. *in loc.* Stern quotes Eucherius Bishop of Lyons (*Lib. form. spir. intell.*, c. 5) who interprets this verse of heretics "who dwelling in the slime of sensuality cease not to croak with empty garrulity." Frogs, notes Renan (p. 427), "designate conjurors and harlequins (les prestidigitateurs et les arlequins,—Artemid., *Oneirocr.*, ii. 15)." The frog, writes Volkmar, is the symbol of "magic." And so Mr. Maurice, who specifies Simon Magus: see Note A at the end of this chapter. "They seem to imply the pouring forth of wickedness of every kind, from the Devil and the world, and from that spiritual wickedness which usually attends on both."—I. Williams (p. 304). To inquire who or what is to be understood *historically* by these three unclean spirits, Düsterd. compares with the similar inquiry as to the "*four Angels*" of ch. ix. 14:—e. g. Grotius and Hammond apply to the contest between Constantine and Maxentius; the "*three unclean spirits*" being the "exstispicium, auspicium, et libri Sibyllini, quibus fidebat Maxentius";—Luther referred to Faber, Eck, and Emser "who croaked against the Gospel;"—Wolf and others to the Jesuits, Macchiavellists, and Spinozists;—Calovius to the Jesuits, Capucins, and Calvinists;—and so forth.

Burger contrasts with these forms of the "*unclean* spirits," the Dove, the form under which the Holy Spirit was beheld by John the Baptist—Luke iii. 22.

14. *for they* **are spirits** *of devils,*] Gr. **of demons**, see *vv. ll.* See on ch. ii. 10; and also the notes on ch. ix. 20; xviii. 2.

The symbolism of ver. 13 is here explained. Hengst. however (and so Ebrard and Bleek) takes this to be "a parenthetical remark," translating: "**For there are spirits**" &c., the words being a solemn preparation for ver. 15, as if it were "Watch and pray; for:"—"Nothing" he adds, "is better fitted to solve the enigma of the world's history, or to stir us up to watchfulness and zeal than the con-

devils, working miracles, *which* go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.

15 [c]Behold, I come as a thief. [c] Matt. 24. 43. Blessed *is* he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame.

16 And he gathered them to-

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viction that we have to contend not with flesh and blood, but against evil spirits (Eph. vi. 12)."

working miracles;] Or **signs**—the word always used by St. John—a means of seduction already ascribed to the "*False Prophet*" (ch. xiii. 13), and now to each of the three enemies of God: cf. Matt. xxiv. 24; 2 Thess. ii. 9.

which go forth unto] See *vv. ll.* for both the relative and the verb. For the preposition —Gr. **upon**—cf. John xix. 33. From the verb here Düsterd. supplies the participle omitted in ver. 13.

the kings of the whole world,] (Omit "*of the earth and*"—see *vv. ll.*) The evil influence falls upon the rulers of the "*world*" [Gr. "**inhabited earth**"] as representatives of their subjects who worship the Beast—see ch. xiii. 4, 8, 12; xiv. 9, 11.

Réville (*l. c.*, p. 121) explains that St. John includes under "the kings of the whole world," the "Kings from the Sun-rising" (ver. 12), and the "*Ten Kings*" or "*Horns*" of the Beast, ch. xvii. 12. Reuss refers in illustration of this verse to 1 Kings xxii. 20–23.

to gather them **together to the war**] See *vv. ll.*:—*i. e.*, 'in order to gather them together.' As to the constr., cf. ch. xii. 17.

For the details of "**the war**" we must look to ch. xix. 11, &c: see especially ch. xix. 19; and cf. Zech. xiv. 1–3. Two descriptions of this gathering are given, viz. in ch. xix. 17 and ch. xx. 8. For the relation of these "*kings*" to the "Kings from the Sun-rising" see on ver. 12. In ver. 12 the action of God preparing the way for His armies is symbolized (cf. Micah iv. 11, 12): the means whereby the Dragon musters his hosts are described here. We are naturally led by the analogy of the influence of evil spirits as described in the Gospels to compare the *effect* produced by the demons referred to in this verse, with the instances of *possession* of which we read elsewhere in the New Test.

of the great day of God, the Almighty.] See *vv. ll.* It is not stated by St. John against whom this war is waged; but the reference to the drying up of the Euphrates indicates that it is directed against Babylon.

Ebrard, from a comparison with Zech. xiv. 1–2 ("Behold the day of the Lord cometh . . . . I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle") concludes "that this last World-war, *after* the fall of Babylon, will seek to direct its power of destruction against Christ Himself and His Kingdom" (s. 437).

On the "*Great Day*," cf. Matt. vii. 22; Luke xvii. 24, 31; 1 Thess. v. 2, 4.

We have to note throughout the Apocalypse a secret gathering of armies as for some great war;—from the single mysterious Horseman in the *first* Seal (ch. vi. 2), to the assembling of the fowls of heaven (ch. xix. 17): "For the Lord God of Hosts hath a sacrifice in the North Country, by the river Euphrates" (Jer. xlvi. 10). The assemblage here is the signal for the Lord's Coming; and hence the exhortation in ver. 15, which is interposed parenthetically.

15. I. Williams finely says: "When the forces of good and evil are mustering for the last great conflict, in the midst of the sublime description, ... suddenly, for the pause and interval of one verse, the Spirit takes the reader aside and whispers"—

(*Behold, I come as a thief.*] See ch. iii. 3; and cf. Matt. xxiv. 42, 44; 1 Thess. v. 2; 2 Pet. iii. 10. Either Christ Himself is the speaker; or St. John breaks off his narrative to introduce, in Christ's own words (see ch. xxii. 7, 12, 20), a word of consolation amid the terrors which the mention of the "*Great Day*" excites:—compare ch. xiii. 9; xiv. 12.

keepeth his garments,] Compare ch. iii. 17, 18; vii. 14:—the reason is stated in the words which follow.

lest he walk naked,] On this figure see Isai. xlvii. 3; Ezek. xvi. 37; Hos. ii. 10; Nah. iii. 5. Hengst. explains the nakedness as denoting not the *guilt*, but the *punishment;* the exposure to the world that men lack what constitutes the Christian state.

and they see his shame).] Bleek draws attention to the unauthorized procedure of Beza, who, against all external evidence, effaces this verse here, and transfers it so as to precede ch. iii. 18. Referring to the tendency to confine what we read in the Apoc. to time and place, I. Williams writes that this verse seems to say: "Think not of this as of some great battle in which you are yourself unconcerned; you are yourself, O reader, now in the midst of that conflict of which you read."

16. *And he gathered them together*] So A. V. Or, **they** *gathered them together*]. (1) Bengel

gether into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon.

17 And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there

takes the sixth Angel, ver. 12, to be the nom. here (cf. ch. ix. 14);—Hengst., Ebrard, Burger take it to be "God, the Almighty," ver. 14 (cf. Joel iii. 2);—Ewald takes it to be the Dragon, who comes forward as the head of the "anti-christian trinity" introduced in ver. 13.

The Vulg. renders "*et congregabit illos.*"

(2) Düsterd., Bleek, De Wette, Words., Alf., take "*the three unclean spirits*" to be the nom. to the verb ("**they** *gathered them together*"), a neuter plural to a verb in the sing., as in ver. 14—the same verb, too, being repeated, and this verse resuming the narrative of ver. 14, for ver. 15 is, as above, a parenthesis. This seems to be the true constr.

(3) The Cod. Sinaiticus has the verb in the plural—see *vv. ll.*; and so the writer in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon* understands "*the Kings*" of ver. 12 combined with the Beast whose wound was healed (ch. xiii. 3): these, in confederacy with the "*Ten Kiings*" of ch. xvii. 12 (explained to mean the Ten Proconsuls), now assail and destroy Rome (see the note on ch. xvii. 12).

The aorist here is "proleptic."

into the place] The Cod. Alexandrinus (see *vv. ll.*) reads "**the river**," *i.e.*, the Kishon, Judges v. 19, 21;—see below.

which is called in Hebrew] Cf. ch. ix. 11; John v. 2; xix. 13, 17, 20; xx. 16.

Ar-Mageddon] In the Vulgate *Armagedon.* Or **Har-Magedon.**] See *vv. ll.* For the etymology see Note B at the end of this chapter. The name signifies The '*City*' or '*Mountain*' of Megiddo. Bisping (reading *Ar*) understands the *City*;—Bleek notes that the syllable *Har* refers to the position of Megiddo at the foot of *Mount* Carmel;—Reuss places it at the foot of *Mount* Tabor (Judges iv. 12)—see Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 334. We read in the Old Test. of (not "the *mountain*," but) the *plain* or *valley* (LXX., πεδίον, 2 Chron. xxxv. 22; Zech. xii. 11); or *waters* (Judges v. 19, see *vv. ll.*) of Megiddo, in the plain of Esdraelon,—"the great plain of Esdraelon" of Judith i. 8,—"The battle-field," writes Dean Stanley, "of Jewish history, and the chief scene of our Lord's ministrations. Bounded as it is by the hills of Palestine on both north and south, it would naturally become the arena of war between the lowlanders who trusted in their chariots, and the Israelite highlanders of the neighbouring heights. To this cause mainly it owes its celebrity, as the battle-field of the world, which has, through its adoption into the language of the Apocalypse, passed into a universal proverb."—*Sinai and Palestine*, ch. ix.

The plain of Esdraelon "has been a chosen place for encampment in every contest carried on in Palestine from the days of Nabuchodonozor, King of Assyria, unto the disastrous march of Napoleon Buonaparte from Egypt into Syria. Jews, Gentiles, Saracens, Christian Crusaders, and anti-christian Frenchmen, Egyptians, Persians, Druses, Turks, and Arabs, warriors of every nation that is under heaven, have pitched their tents on the plain of Esdraelon, and have beheld the banners of their nations wet with the dews of Tabor and Hermon."—*Clarke's Travels*, 4th ed., vol. iv. p. 268.

The plain of Esdraelon was of old the scene of four great battles, of which two (Judges iv.; vii.) were great victories, and two (1 Sam. xxxi.; 2 Kings xxiii. 29) were great disasters. Here in the remote past Deborah and Barak had annihilated the hosts of the Midianitish oppressors (Judges v. 19); and here in the latter days of the Jewish Kingdom, in battle with the overwhelming force of the Egyptians, Josiah received his death wound (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20).

As to the name "*Har-Magedon*," we know that Joel (iii. 2, 12) has described the scene of Divine judgments in imagery borrowed from Jehoshaphat's victory recorded in 2 Chron. xx. 22–26, although "the *valley* of Jehoshaphat—*i.e.*, the *valley* of "the judgment of Jehovah"—is nowhere else spoken of in Scripture: "The name is coined by Joel on account of its meaning, and for the purpose of recalling the historical association" (see the notes on Joel iii. 2, 12). Here, accordingly, the plain of Esdraelon, and the scene of Josiah's death, supply the symbol of the great final conflict, although *Har*-Magedon" is nowhere else spoken of. So profound indeed was the impression made upon the Jews by the defeat and death of Josiah, that the Prophet can describe the deepest affliction of Jerusalem by no stronger similitude than that of "the mourning of Hadad-rimmon in the valley of Megiddon" (Zech. xii. 11). It is remarkable too that this very passage in the prophet (Zech. xii. 10) is expressly applied to our Lord (see ch. i. 7; John xix. 37), the meaning of the symbolism, as Hengst. notes, being that what the enemies of the Church of old had once accomplished at Megiddo against Josiah, they would now again accomplish against Jesus. Hengst. also observes that this reference to the victory of Pharaoh over Josiah suits well the *Egyptian* character of the "*Vials.*"

came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done.

18 And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as was

"If," as Godet interprets (see on ch. xi. 13), "the antichristian Jewish Monarchy is hereafter to have its seat in the East, at Jerusalem, the rival of Rome, the choice of this battle-field, normal in Palestine, need not surprise us" (*l. c.*, p. 381).

Hengstenberg makes the sixth "*Vial*" break off "of necessity here"; the "*Seven Vials*" forming of themselves a separate whole, and the battle in ch. xix. 11, &c., being not a continuation, but only a particular phase of the present conflict.

Ebrard, after Bengel, concludes that the war, or great conflict with unbelief, now *begins;* that it is continued under the seventh "*Vial*" (ch. xvii. 14); and that it comes to an end in ch. xix. 19.

On the other hand, the conclusion seems plain that a *battle* at "*Har-Magedon*" is not described here; but, as in the *sixth* Trumpet-Vision, the gathering together of armies in preparation for a decisive struggle. The fact that St. John has employed a word (Har-Magedon) not found in connexion with any locality or historical event, of itself points to a figurative interpretation. Nor indeed are we to think of literal warfare. Under Judaism we read of a literal Egypt, of a literal Amalek, of clean and unclean animals; —in other words, we recognize the outward sign, the corporeal type. Under Christianity we can only see the broad line which will finally separate the righteous and the wicked.

17. *And* **the seventh** *poured out his vial* **upon** *the air:*] See *vv. ll.* (For reading the preposition **upon**, ἐπί, see the note on ver. 2). "*The air*," Bengel observes, is the laboratory of thunder, lightning, hail. We also learn from Eph. ii. 2, that "*the air*" is the region of the power of evil. The seventh "*Vial*" accordingly is poured out upon the throne of the "*Dragon*" (Satan), as the fifth had been poured out upon the throne of the Beast (ver. 10). The Devil is cast into the lake of fire *after* the Beast and the "*False Prophet*"—see ch. xix. 20; xx. 10.

and there **came forth** *a great voice out of the temple, from the throne,*] (Omit *of heaven*, see *vv. ll.*); the Codex Sinaiticus reads, "**of God**," in place of "*from the throne*,"—as in ch. xi. 1). Writers generally understand, the voice of God Himself, as in ver. 1: this, they think, the words "*from the throne*" confirm, as well as the brief and sharp import of the voice,—a result which may well be questioned:—see below. Burger suggests that the voice proceeded from that Living Being who, placed beside the throne (ch. iv. 6), gave the "*Seven Vials*" to the Angels (ch. xv. 7).

saying, It is done.] This announcement refers back to ver. 1,—'That is done which was commanded': compare Luke xiv. 22; Ezek. ix. 11; Vulg. *factum est;* and also ch. xxi. 6, where the verb is in the plural. Ebrard regards the phrase "*It is done*" as parallel to the expression of ch. xi. 15 "*is become*," under the *seventh* Trumpet, and as introductory to the End. Hofmann observes that as the *first* Vial was poured out upon the *earth*, so the *last* is poured out upon the *air*, denoting that the terrors of the revelation of Christ will thus appear spread out over the *universe;* and he takes the words to signify the close of the Vision beginning with ch. xv. 1 (ii. s. 363). Vitringa (p. 734) translates by the expressive term "FUERUNT"; the nominative to the verb being "the old heaven and the old earth which ignorance and superstition had brought into the economy of the Church;"—similarly Beza. Grotius, applying to Rome, interprets "Fuit Roma." I. Williams refers to our Lord's last words on the Cross, "It is finished," John xix. 30.

The "*Vials*" run out quickly, notes Bengel: the "*sores*" under the *fifth* are the same as under the *first;* and as the *first* comes after the reception of "*the mark of the Beast*," so the *seventh* introduces the judgment on Babylon. The "*Trumpets*" affected temporal kingdoms; and here the "*Vials*," which are in the same order, affect the Beast now invested with power over those kingdoms.

18. *And there were* **lightnings, and voices, and thunders;**] See *vv. ll.* Cf. ch. viii. 5; xi. 19:—the order in the latter text is exactly as here; there is also the *earthquake*, and, as below in ver. 21, "*great hail.*" On this Hengst. notes, in opposition to the writers who find in the Apoc. a continuous history: "The seventh Vial agrees exactly in its main features with the seventh Trumpet. Here again we have arrived precisely at the same point at which we found ourselves there."

since **there were** *men* **on** *the earth,*] Or, **since there was a man on**—see *vv. ll.*

so mighty an earthquake, [*and*] *so great.*] In the case of this earthquake there is no repentance such as followed that in ch. xi. 13—see ver. 21.

The action, notes Reuss (p. 383), now begins, and three conflicts follow: (1) The fall of Rome (ch. xvii., xviii.); (2) The conflict with

not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake, *and* so great.

19 And the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, *f* to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath. *f* Jer. 25. 15.

Antichrist (ch. xix. 11–21); (3) The defeat of Satan (ch. xx. 7–10). Hengst. observes that while the Seals and Trumpets have to do simply with godless *men*, the reference here, in *vv.* 19, 20, is to the God-opposing *powers of the world.*

19. *And the great city.*] For this phrase see ch. xi. 8; xvii. 18.

At this point there are different lines of interpretation:—(1) Düsterdieck writes: "From the connexion with ch. xiii., and from the context here, it undoubtedly follows that *the Great City* which is divided into three parts, is identical with 'Babylon the Great' (ch. xiv. 8), *i.e.*, with the capital of the World-kingdom which appeared in ch. xiii. under the form of the Beast from the sea (cf. ch. xvii.)": to the same effect Burger, and Bisping;—(2) Ebrard denies that the "*Great City*" is the same as "**Babylon the Great.**" We have here "*the Great City;*" and we first read of "*the Great City*" under its symbolical description as "Jerusalem"—although not "the geographical Jerusalem"—in ch. xi. 8, where it stands for the godless world absolutely. We first read of "Babylon" in ch. xiv. 8, where it stands for the World-power in its Roman form risen again after its overthrow, and organized anew under the name of Babylon by the "*False Prophet;*"—(3) Alcasar, De Wette, Ewald, Alf., decide that by "*the Great City*" or "Babylon" we are to understand Rome,—e.g. Alf. merely notes "Rome." Hengst. writes.: "That Babylon denotes *heathen* Rome has already been proved at ch. xiv. 8." "*Two Cities,*" he adds, "have in the Revelation the name of '*Great*,'—Jerusalem in ch. xi. 8, and Babylon, that is Rome, in all the other passages and very commonly, ch. xiv. 8; xvii. 18; xviii. 10, &c.";—(4) Andreas, C. à Lapide, Bengel, Hofmann, Stern, &c. (appealing to ch. xi. 8, see the note *in loc.*) identify "*the Great City*" with Jerusalem; I. Williams (p. 311), in the same sense, takes "*the Great City*" to be "*the Holy City*" defiled, of which only a tenth part falls in ch. xi. 13. So too, according to (the Arabic) Hippolytus, Babylon is here the symbol of sinful Jerusalem; and his entire explanation depends on the assumption that the destruction of Jerusalem is described (see Ewald's account of his lost commentary, *l.c.*, s. 10). Ribera (quoted by Stern, s. 362) notes that though this may seem to be said of Rome, nevertheless the Apostle clearly predicts in ch. xvii. that Rome is to be destroyed by the "*Ten Kings*" before the beginning of the reign of Antichrist, by whose aid Jerusalem is to become "*Great.*"

The signification of this verse seems to be that, understood in the most general manner, "*the Great City*" is the centre of the World-power where "*the* **throne** *of the Beast*" (ver. 10) is always to be found, whatever the forms of evil may be under which that power is exhibited—whether unbelief, or superstition, or sensuality; and that by "Babylon," *i.e.*, the great World-city as represented in the language of prophecy, the particular locality is symbolized where *the* **throne** *of the Beast* may exist at any one period of history:—it may be Rome as in St. John's day;—it may be Jerusalem;—it may be elsewhere at any subsequent time: see on ver. 10.

was divided into three parts,] Gr. "**became** *into three parts,*" from the effects of the earthquake—cf. ch. xi. 13. It is to be noted that this division "*into three parts*" is spoken of, in connexion with Jerusalem, by Ezekiel (v. 2, 12). The number *three* probably refers to the threefold exercise of Satanic agency spoken of in ver. 13—so Ebrard. Hengst. to the same effect understands the *three* powers that bore rule in "*the Great City,*" the Dragon, the Beast, "*the False Prophet;*" to each, as it were, a part. I. Williams takes the number "to indicate judgment on the Christian Church, inasmuch as the number *three*, and a *third* part, seems to mark the judgments on the Church under the Trumpets" (p. 311). Andreas saw in the "*three parts*" the Jewish, the Samaritan, and the Christian dwellers in Jerusalem (*l.c.*, p. 95);—Hofmann (ii. s. 368) refers to the *three* hills, Zion, Akra, Bezetha, on which Jerusalem was built: he seems to identify the earthquake here, with that in ch. xi. 13;—Beda understands heathens, Jews, heretics;—and Bossuet the division of the Roman Empire under Honorius, Attalus, and Constantine, A.D. 407–411.

and the cities of the nations fell:] Not only the great centre of the World-power, but every lesser stronghold of evil. The "*nations*" may mean the "Gentiles" (see ch. xi. 2), as opposed to the Church, "the Israel of God": or, if "*the Great City*" is taken to be Jerusalem (ch. xi. 8), "*the cities of the nations*" may be named in contrast to the City of the people of God.

Hengst. thinks that ver. 19 should end here.

20 And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found.

21 And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, *every stone*

At least, from here to the end of the verse the words are parenthetical; the fate of Babylon being reserved until ch. xvii.; xviii. Hengst. would extend the parenthesis to the end of ver. 20; perhaps rightly.

and Babylon the great] Babylon the Great, already introduced in ch. xiv. 8, is the locality where, at this crisis, "*the* **throne** *of the Beast*" is to be found.

In the land of Shinar the attempt was first made to array a World-empire against God (see Pusey on Zech. v. 11). Babylon, in its first form on the plain of Shinar, was the standing type of the idolatrous City. Shinar, as an ideal land of unholiness, is contrasted with Israel, "the Holy Land" (Zech. ii. 12). What was Nineveh under Sennacherib (2 Kings xix. 36) was Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 1). The type remains, whatever may be the site of the World-city.

was had in remembrance in the sight of God,] Cf. Acts x. 31. Of this "*the earthquake*" was the token of warning. See ch. xvii. 1–5.

to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.] Gr. **of the wrath of His indignation:**—see ch. xiv. 8, 10; xix. 15.

The fall of Babylon is, according to De Burgh, "the principal event of the *seventh* Vial"; and the mention of it in this place he regards as a mere reference to what was announced already in ch. xiv. 8,—the "*Vials*" themselves with chapters xvii.–xix. being no more than a detail of the "*Harvest*" in ch. xiv.; accordingly we find ch. xix. closing, like ch. xiv., with the Vintage, or "treading of the wine press."

20. *and* [*the*] *mountains were not found.*] Compare the imagery under the *sixth* Seal, and especially ch. vi. 14. This verse may be taken as resuming the direct narrative in continuation of the words "*the cities of the nations fell:*" or, perhaps, it is to be included in the parenthesis — Babylon corresponding to the "*Great City*," and the islands and mountains to the "*cities of the nations*"; for *islands* like *mountains* (see on ch. vi. 14) denote kingdoms: "The difference is merely this, that, in the designation of kingdoms by islands, respect is had only to their separate existence; while they are called mountains in so far as they exercise dominion over others" (Hengst.):—cf. ch. xvii. 9, 10, "*the Seven Heads are Seven Mountains*," and "*are Seven Kings.*"

"Islands and mountains," notes Burger, "disappear, but the earth remains. The case is different in ch. xx. 11."

21. **And great hail, [every stone] about the weight of a talent,**] See on ch. xi. 19—the *seventh* Trumpet. We can scarcely refer here (with Stern and Alf.) to the seventh plague of Egypt (Ex. ix. 18, &c.), which is renewed in the first "*Trumpet*," ch. viii. 7:—this hail is preternatural. Wetstein, Düsterd., and others refer to Diodorus Siculus (xix. 45) who speaks of hailstones each a *mina* in weight (an Attic *mina* is the sixtieth part of an Attic *talent*) as being something marvellous; and also to Josephus (*B. J.*, v. 6. 3), who tells of stones of the weight of a *talent* being hurled from the machines used in war. Hailstones are a symbol of Divine wrath (Isai. xxx. 30; Ezek. xiii. 11; cf. Josh. x. 11). This "*Vial*" seems to include all "*the great tribulation*" of ch. vii. 14; Matt. xxiv. 21.

cometh down out of heaven upon men:] Some press the article here, "**the men,**" as in *vv.* 8, 9,—viz., those who have "*the mark of the Beast*," see ver. 2.

and men blasphemed God] Or "**the men,**" as before; not "all men." Bengel notes that in *vv.* 9, 11, where also men blaspheme, it is added that they "*repented not.*" Of this nothing is said here; and he thence infers that the men were killed by the hail as the Amorites in Josh. x. 11. Hengst. interprets: "They no longer have time to repent; even when dying they can still blaspheme." This, however, scarcely follows from the text, which simply states that during this judgment men continued to blaspheme. Neither by the Vial-plagues here, nor by the Trumpet-plagues—see on ch. ix. 20—are men moved to repentance.

In ch. xi. 13, the effect of the judgment is different.

because of the plague of the hail;] On the prep. cf. ch. viii. 11.

is *exceeding great.*] From the fact that men continue to blaspheme; and also from the fact that in ch. xv. 1 we are told that with the "*Seven Vials*" the wrath of God shall be finished, Ebrard concludes that the seventh "*Vial*" does not end here. This Vial-plague he divides into two judgments: (*a*) The judgment on Babylon which occupies ch. xvii.–xviii.—chapters which merely expound ch. xvi. 19; (*b*) The judgment recorded in ch. xix. 11–21 (which, regarded from an opposite point of view, Ebrard calls "the marriage of the Lamb," ch. xix. 7). Be-

about the weight of a talent: and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

tween these two separate Visions ch. xix. 1–10 is the interlude. Ebrard adds in confirmation that as in ch. xvii. 1 it is "one of the Seven Angels which have the Seven Vials" who shows to the Seer the judgment on the Harlot Babylon; so in ch. xxi. 9, it is, in like manner, one of the same Seven Angels who shows him "the Bride, the wife of the Lamb," at the highest degree of her glory (*l. c.*, ss. 453, 489, 528).

Burger considers that the events, which are comprehended with such brevity and in so summary a manner in *vv.* 18–21, are, on account of their importance, repeated and again described more minutely in the chapters which now follow. Chapters xvii.–xix. are related to these verses, just as ch. xv.–xvi. are related to ch. xiv. 19, 20. This connexion of ch. xvii.–xix. to ch. xvi. 18–21 explains why, in ch. xvii. 1, it is one of the Seven Vial-Angels who interprets for St. John the events which are comprised under the *seventh* Vial-Vision.

According to Reuss, Rome is punished provisionally, by the "*earthquake*," but its inhabitants persist in their impenitence. In ch. xvii. the closing scenes of the drama are exhibited.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. XVI.

NOTE A ON CH. xvi.—THE VIAL-VISIONS.

The Ancient Expositors:—

In the remarks introductory to ch. xvi., as also on ch. viii. 6, some notice has been taken of what St. Irenæus has said respecting St. John's references to the Plagues of Egypt among the judgments announced in the Visions of the Trumpets and the Vials. He observes (iv. 30, p. 268) that the departure of Israel from Egypt "typus et imago fuit profectionis Ecclesiæ, quæ erat futura ex Gentibus: . . . . siquis, autem, diligentius intendat his quæ a Prophetis dicuntur de fine, et quæcunque Joannes discipulus Domini vidit in Apocalypsi, inveniet easdem plagas universaliter accipere Gentes, quas tunc particulatim accepit Ægyptus."

For the reference of Victorinus to the Vials, see Note A on ch. ix., the substance of his interpretation being that the Vials are a final and more intense pouring out of the Trumpet-plagues. On ch. xv. 1, he merely writes:—"Semper enim ira Dei percutit populum contumacem septem plagis, id est perfecte, ut in Levitico (xxvi. 24) dicit, quæ in ultimo futuræ sunt cum Ecclesia de medio exierit." And of those who stand on the "Glassy Sea": "Id est, super baptismum suum stabiliter in fide constitisse, et confessionem in ore suam habentes, exsultaturos in regno coram Deo."—*l.c.*, p. 62.

Prosper of Aquitaine (circ. A.D. 440, *ap. Max. Bibl. Patr.*, t. viii., *De Dim. Temp.* c. xi.) refers to ch. xvi. 13:—the "*three frogs*," not mentioned by any earlier writer, he understands to be three unclean spirits, which will go through Asia, Africa, and Europe, "qui et signis persuadeant Antichristum ipsum esse Christum."

Andreas makes the Vials to signify: (1) The ulcer of conscience—perhaps, too, an outward ulcer corresponding to that of the soul;—(2) The wars of Antichrist will stain the waters with blood;—(3) The second Vial is repeated. The Altar (ver. 7) at times stands for Christ, at times for Angelic powers;—(4) They who delay to come to God are constrained by the burning heat to repent;—(5) The Kingdom of Antichrist will be darkened, and deprived of the Sun of Righteousness; (6) Gog and Magog will come from Scythia; and Antichrist will cross the Euphrates from Persia to which the Tribe of Dan (whence springs Antichrist) was exiled, and with the aid of Kings and chiefs, will inflict on men bodily and spiritual death. (The unclean spirits (ver. 13) are likened to "*frogs*,"—διὰ τὸ ἴωδες αὐτῶν καὶ βορβόρωδες, καὶ ἀκάθαρτον, καὶ πρὸς τὰς διύγρους ἡδονὰς ἑρπυστικὸν τῶν πονηρῶν δυναμέων.);—(7) The Seventh Vial indicates convulsions, as once at Mount Sinai—Heb. xii. 27. "The Great City" is Jerusalem (πόλιν δὲ μεγάλην, οὐ πλήθει . . . ἀλλ' ἐν θεοσεβείᾳ . . . . τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπολαμβάνομεν.—*l. c.*, p. 95).

Modern Expositors:—

Speaking generally the early writers had referred the Vials to the future times of Antichrist. In more modern expositions we find the usual variety—"Preterist," "Historical," "Anti-Papal," "Futurist," and "Allegorical."

I. (*a*) *Ordinary "Preterists"*:—

De Lyra saw in the Vials the events from the time of Hadrian to Godfrey of Bouillon (ob. A.D. 1100).

Grotius placed under the first *six* the events from Trajan to Constantine, and under the *seventh* the conquest of Italy by the Ostrogoths:—e.g. he takes the darkness (ver. 10) to mean the diminished splendour of the Roman Empire. The division of the City

into *three* parts (ver. 19) he explains to mean the demolition by Totila (A.D. 544) of the *third* part of the walls of Rome.

Bossuet reads in the Vials the history of Valerian and Gallienus;—Wetstein that of Vitellius and Vespasian, applying ver. 2 to the sickness in the army of Vitellius; ver. 3 to the revolt of the fleet; and understanding the "three parts of the City" in ver. 19 to be "Vitelliani, Flaviani, et populus Romanus."

Stuart: "The persecuting power of the unbelieving Jews ceased in the main with the destruction of Jerusalem. Hence, the tempest and earthquake which lay that place in ruins are the finale of the First *Catastrophe*" (ch. vi.–ch. xi. 19). The Second *Catastrophe*, or the destruction of the Roman persecuting power is contained in ch. xii.–ch. xix. The Vials in general follow the course of the Trumpets; and all "is a succession of annoyances." The *fifth* Vial affects the throne of the Beast,—*i.e.*, his Capital; the *sixth* brings in an overwhelming foreign enemy; the *seventh* paralyses the power of the Beast,—*i.e.*, persecution is arrested when Nero dies.

(*b*) *Rationalistic "Preterists"*:—

Volkmar's explanation rests on the Nero-Fable:—(1) The first Vial brought the pestilence in the time of Nero,—see Sueton. *Nero*, c. 39;—In (2) and (3) "the blood of saints and prophets" (ver. 6), is avenged;—(4) The conception of an Oriental. The scorching power of the sun torments sinners;—(5) This Vial is poured out on the throne of the Beast, the throne of Nero; the perplexity following whose death is typified by "darkness"—"Keiner vor sich sah, was kommen sollte";—(6) The Kings of the Parthians combine with the returning Nero against Rome, in the first place (cf. ch. xvii. 16), and then against Zion (ch. xix. 19). The "*frogs*," by their seductive or magical words, urge on the world to acknowledge Nero as the sole possessor of the throne of the Cæsars, viz. (i.) Satan offers the "*Ten Kings*" the sovereignty of the world (ch. xiii. 2; xvii. 16; Luke iv. 5, 6); (ii.) The chief Antichrist, the Beast, declares that he has received that throne as its sole legitimate occupier (ch. xiii. 2), and allures the "*Kings*" by the promise of glory to lend him their power (ch. xvii. 13); (iii.) The "*False Prophet*" (who according to Volkmar is St. Paul,—see on ch. xiii. 11), urges them, by an alleged doctrine as from God, to assist the returning Nero to destroy Rome, (ch. xiii. 15; Rom. xiii. 1–3);—(7) This Vial represents in symbol the final Judgment.

Reuss (*Christ. Théol.*): The first *four* Vials are poured out on the four parts of the Apocalyptic universe—earth, sea, rivers, sky; and this is summed up, as in the first *four* Seals and Trumpets, by describing the effect upon men of these plagues, viz. unbelief;—The *fifth* Vial is poured upon Rome;—The *sixth* on the Euphrates, making way "for the armies of the East, led by the Emperor Antichrist against Rome" (*l.c.*, 379);—The *seventh* introduces the voice which proclaims that the time of waiting is passed.

Renan adds nothing special to this exposition of Reuss: "The cycle of preludes," he proceeds, "is completed: nothing more remains than to see the judgment of God unfold itself. The Seer makes us first assist at the judgment of the greatest of all the guilty—the City of Rome (ch. xvii.)"—p. 429.

II. "*Historical*" *Expositors*:—

According to Bullinger in the first *six* Vials, the history is given of events from A.D. 1494 to his own time, A.D. 1516:—Brightman counted the first *three* from the date of Ferdinand and Isabella to his own time, A.D. 1590;—Mede, considering the Vials to predict events by which the Papal power has been diminished, interprets the *first* Vial as fulfilled in the history of the Waldenses and Albigenses; and the *second* in the Reformation. There his exposition of this Vision ends; and he considered the remaining *five* Vials to be unfulfilled when he wrote, *circ.* A.D. 1600;—According to Bengel (see on ver. 17):—The *first* Vial concerns Asia. The *second* Europe. The *third*, Africa, especially Egypt. The *fourth*, "*upon the Sun*," the whole world. The *fifth*, "*upon the throne of the Beast*," affects the Beast's devotees, apostate Christians. The *sixth* affects the nations near the Euphrates,—the Turks, if not already destroyed: the Mohammedan "Kings of the East" do not bring the plagues but rush into them. By this time the Dragon and the Two Beasts are leagued together, and each sends forth a spirit of his own which obscures every idea of God and gathers "*Kings*" to the service of their respective masters (ver. 12). The *seventh* concerns Antichrist and is coincident with the great plague with which the *seventh* Trumpet ends. The last raging of Antichrist lasts for three and a half common years, from 1832 to 1836, the earthquake of ver. 18 reducing the earth to a state fit for the good things which are to follow (see Introd. § 11, (b), IV.).

III. "*Anti-Papal*" *Expositors*:—

Vitringa: (1) In the *first* Vial he sees the Waldenses detecting the ulcers of the Church;—(2) In the *second* the wars of the Popes and the Emperors (A.D. 1211—A.D. 1506): but the age of Lewis the Bavarian (Cent. xiv.) is the time chiefly indicated, when God avenged "sanguinem innocuorum Albigensium . . . . non longe ante illud tempus effusum" (p. 705);—(3) Then comes the vengeance taken by Ziska and Procopius for the blood shed in accordance with the de-

crees of the Council of Constance (A.D. 1414);—(4) The calamities inflicted on Italy, towards the close of Cent. xv., by Charles VIII., Lewis XII., and Francis I.;—(5) The darkness cast over the Papacy by the Reformation;—(6) The Euphrates means the Kingdom of France exhausted or dried up by the wars of Lewis XIV., and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; so that opportunities are given to "the Kings from the sun-rising," *i.e.*, kings of a purer faith, to complete the work of the Reformation (p. 724); the "*three frogs*" signifying the Order of Jesuits (p. 728), and Ar-Mageddon, or the "Mountain of destruction," the scene of the Christ's future conflict;—(7) The effect of the *seventh* Vial on the air is not clearly told; but it doubtless has the same effects as the *fourth* and *fifth*, and thus signifies the obscuration in the mystical heaven of that earth over which the Beast claims to rule.

Bishop Wordsworth:—(1) The Vials of God's wrath for the desecration of Holy Things [*viz.* the enforced celibacy of the Clergy; the ministry of the Confessional; &c.] have been poured on the Papal Empire, and have produced a loathsome disease like the boils of Egypt;—(2) The *second* Vial is explained by ch. xvii. 1, the "*sea*" being "*the many waters*" of ch. xvii. 1, 15;—(3) The *third* "foretold calamities to be inflicted on the *resources* of the Papacy;"—(4) "The meridian glory of this spiritual Empire has scorched the people of the Romagna and of Italy by the glare of its rays;"—(5) As in the *fourth* Vial "the usurpations and corruptions of the Papacy have already produced a baneful harvest of Infidelity and Blasphemy," so in the *fifth*, "they *did not repent* from their deeds; but their hearts were hardened like that of Pharaoh, Ex. x. 27;"—(6) "The tide of the Papal Euphrates, which has long impeded the march of the *Kings of the East* ["the Saints"—see on ver. 12], is already ebbing and will one day be dried up, and open a way for them;"—(7) The *last* Vial brings with it a judgment on the mystical *Babylon*, which is the *Capital City* of the Empire of the Beast. Yet the *Beast itself*, and its ally the *False Prophet*, will *not be destroyed* with the fall of Babylon; and will be arrayed against Christ, in the conflict of Ar-Mageddon.

Elliott:—(1) The *first* Vial is the outbreak of social and moral evil which marked the French Revolution of 1789: this "*sore*" is traceable to the corruptions of the Papal system, the symbolic ulcer being a plague springing from the symbolic Egypt (ch. xi. 8), Papal Rome;—(2) As under the *second* Trumpet the Vandals fell upon the maritime provinces of Rome, so under the *second* Vial, England destroyed the maritime power of the countries of Papal Christendom;—(3) The *third* denotes the French Revolutionary wars along the rivers Rhine, Danube, Po;—(4) The darkening the Imperial sun of Papal Christendom by the abolition in 1806 of the title "Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire;"—(5) The solution of the great question 'when do the 1260 years (ch. xi. 3) come to an end?' is involved in the meaning of the *fifth* Vial (see Note B on ch. xi. 2). The Popedom-favouring Code of Justinian was first promulgated A.D. 529–533; and it was superseded by new *anti*-Papal Codes which originated from the French Revolution of 1789–1793:—the full outpouring of the *fifth* Vial taking place when, in A.D. 1809, the Pope's temporal authority over the Roman States was abolished by Napoleon;—(6) Under the *sixth* Vial, the Euphrates, representing the same Turkish powers as under the *sixth* Trumpet (ch. ix. 13), is "dried up." During the French Revolution the Turkish Empire remained comparatively uninjured; but in A.D. 1820 Moldavia, Wallachia, Greece, emerged from it as Christian principalities; nor has the drying up yet ceased. The Future must interpret the prophetic words "that the way of the Kings from the East (perhaps the Jews) might be prepared."

At this point Elliott drops the veil.

Tyso, as before, gives a list of "Historical" expositors of the Vials:—

Vials.	De Lyra.	Mede.	R. Fleming.	Daubuz.	Frere.	G.S. Faber.	Th. Scott.	Cunningham.	Keith.
	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	Began A.D.
1	Pope Adrian I.—772 .	1160 [see above]	1517	1000	1792	1792	Not yet poured out .	1792	1789
2	Charles the Great—800		1566	1096	1793	1792		The others are synchronical and will end about A.D. 1840	1793
3	Charles the Great—800		1617	1226	1796	1792			1796
4	Pope Leo III.—800 .		1648	1227	1800	1804			1800
5	Emperor Otto—962 .		1794	1251	1815	1808			1814
6			1848	1315	1820	1821			1820
7			1900	1517	1830				

Mr. Thos. Scott (on ch. xv. 1) writes thus:—

"This chapter introduces the Seven Vials, all of which fall under the seventh Trumpet, as the Seven Trumpets were included under the seventh Seal: for they contain 'the seven last plagues' in which the wrath of God is filled up . . . . These plagues must, therefore, be coincident with the last Woe-Trumpet [ch. xi. 14], in great measure at least." No writer, adds Mr. Scott, "as it appears to me, has yet (A.D. 1815) succeeded in fixing the time when the 1260 years of the reign of the Beast will end:" "None seem to have *proved* that they will terminate more early than A.D. 1840; while many think they will not end till A.D. 2000. But whether sooner or later, it seems probable that the time is not arrived: and, therefore, that 'the pouring out of the Vials,' has not yet begun."

IV. "*Futurist*" *Expositors*:—

Todd considers the Vision of the "Seven Vials" to be supplemental to that in ch. xiv., and to presuppose it. It begins after the beginning of the former Vision (see ch. xv. 2), and ends "at a period short of the termination of the former Visions, bringing us at its conclusion, not to the great Day of final account, but to the fall of Babylon, and the consequences of that event which are immediately to usher in the Day of Christ's Coming" (ch. xi. 19–21).—p. 75.

De Burgh writes thus of the Vials: "I need not state that I consider them one and all as unfulfilled."—p. 299. "The Kings of the East" in the *sixth* Vial are "the Jewish people." "The event predicted is the general restoration which synchronizes with the Second Coming of their Messiah, and the downfall of the Anti-Messiah. One point, I think this mention of the Euphrates confirms, namely, that the restoration from Babylon was never completed." The people returned and the Temple was rebuilt, but no return was there of the things which alone constituted the boast of the nation; and yet this we are told is the restoration which forms the burden of prophecy" (p. 303). As to the relation of the Vials to the preceding Visions, he agrees with Todd; and adds: "And now at length [viz. at the *seventh* Vial] we are come to that place in this prophetical Book from whence all expositors are agreed (?) that the prophecy is as yet unfulfilled."—p. 307.

V. "*Allegorical*" *Expositors*:—

I. Williams: (1) As the first Seal called forth the elect from impenitent Jerusalem; and as the first Trumpet called out the true Israel of God from the ruins of Israel and of Rome; so the *first* Vial is poured on those Christians who had worshipped the Beast or his image;—(2) The second Seal was on the *land* of Judea, the *second* Vial is on the *sea* of the nations: there is a "dividing of the waters from the waters" (Gen. i. 6);—(3) "The fountains of waters" are the Scriptures, "the rivers" are the doctrines that flow from them; but now (as under the third Trumpet Arianism turned the waters into "wormwood") "the rivers and fountains are converted, like the river of Egypt, into blood" (p. 290);—(4) As the fourth Trumpet denoted the spiritual darkness which preceded Mohammedanism, in the *fourth* Vial "there is neither moon nor stars, neither Church nor saints, but the sun with no genial, but burning heat:" "in systems of rationalism, socialism, and spiritual republicanism, the Author of life and healing is held in blasphemy;"—(5) This cannot be limited to heathen or Christian Rome, or to the mystic Babylon; it may mean the Egyptian darkness on the throne and kingdom of the Beast. The period of the *fifth* Vial is the more entire reign of Antichrist;—(6) As the previous Vial was full of darkness, in the *sixth* Vial "is seen, as it were, a streak of Eastern light dawning upon that night: the Coming from the rising of the sun. But only faintly alluded to, for all the Vials speak of judgment;"—(7) The *seventh* Vial seems to be the utter overthrow of Satan: nothing is there stated but all is finished—*γέγονε*.

NOTE B ON CH. xvi. 16.—AR-MAGEDDON, HAR-MAGEDON.

Ἁρμαγεδών, "Har-Magedon," Heb. הר מגדון *i.e.*, "*Mountain* of Megiddo." The reading Ἁρμαγεδών, Heb. עיר מגדו, gives "*City of* Megiddo." On מגדו Gesenius notes, "fort. locus turmarum, a גדד, גדוד." The derivation given by Drusius is followed by many: "חרמה = *excidium*, et גדהון = *exercitus*, or *turmæ illorum*."

For the name *Megiddo*, standing alone, see Josh. xii. 21; Judges i. 27; 1 Kings iv. 12; ix. 15; 2 Kings ix. 27; xxiii. 29.

In the LXX. we find as follows:—Judges v. 19, *ἐπὶ ὕδατι* Μαγεδδώ. In Zech. xii. 11 (בבקעת מגדון, *i.e.*, "in the *valley* of Megiddon") *ἐν πεδίῳ ἐκκοπτομένου*;—2 Chron. xxxv. 22 (the Hebrew again denoting "in the *valley*") *ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ* Μαγεδδώ;—2 Kings xxiii. 30 (as the Hebrew), *ἐν* and *ἐκ* Μαγεδδώ. St. John has given (in Har-Magedon) the Greek equivalent of "*Mountain* of Megiddo" (הר מגדון, see Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*, ch. ix.[1]); or of "*City* of Me-

[1] "Even if the aspirate were omitted," notes Dean Stanley (*ibid.*) "it is analogous to the case of Ar Gerizim." And in his note on ch. v. he writes: "The meeting with Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 17, 18) is expressly stated in the fragment

giddo" (עֵר מגדון). The former of these two significations (which gives the *spiritus asper*, ἁρμαγεδών) agrees with the interpretation given by Andreas (see also Arethas, *ap.* Cramer, *Catena*, pp. 420, 552), τὸ δὲ Ἁρμαγεδὼν διακοπὴ ἢ διακοπτομένη ἑρμηνεύεται (*l.c.*, p. 93). This falls in with the rendering by the LXX. of Zech. xii. 11; and means "the *cutting off* of an enemy," agreeing with the derivation given above after Drusius. In that explanation, in place of חרמה, the word חרם is suggested—a word which is rendered in Mal. iv. 6, "a curse," or, as Gesenius translates, "*devotio* rei ad internecionem:" in Hab. i. 16, 17, it means "a net." Referring to Judges v. 19, and 2 Chron. xxxv. 22, (LXX.) Grimm writes: "Verum enimvero quum illæ duæ clades factæ esse dicantur ἐπὶ ὕδατι et ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, non intelligitur quid sibi velit *mons* Megiddo, qui alius esse non potest nisi *Carmel*. Quapropter equidem longe facilius et probabilius *L. Capellum* conjecisse censeo, Ἁρμαγεδών = Ἁρμαμεγεδών compositum esse e חרמא, *excidium*, et מגדון." For other explanations see the *Critici Sacri*.

Ewald (s. 293) considers it "beyond any doubt" that Rome is meant by Ar-Magedon, for it is to Rome that the "*Kings*" are gathered together (ch. xiv. 8; xvii. 16); and therefore, according to ch. xiii. 18, we must calculate by the Hebrew letters. Now the letters of Ar-Magedon (ארמגדון) give as their sum 304, which number is also given by "Rome the great," "*Romah hagedolah*" (רומה הגדולה): "*therefore* every good thinker and calculator can most accurately ("aufs genaueste") know what place is really meant" (s. 294).[1] In proof he notes that the Rabbins count יבא שילה (Gen. xlix. 10), and find it equal to משיח, or Messias, making up 358. Ewald is followed (with a difference) by the writer in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon* (art. *Apokalypse*) who writes: "*Hamargedon*, more correctly *Hamargedol*, for the word is a Cabbalistic anagram for '*Roma haggedola*,' '*Roma Magna*.'"

Had the etymology of the word "Har-Magedon" any significance, it would doubtless have been translated now by St. John, as he has translated *Abaddon* in ch. ix. 11; although some writers think that the expression "in the Hebrew tongue" clearly refers us to the etymology:—Thus De Wette adopts the meaning assigned by Drusius, "the destruction of their troop;" and he supposes that ver. 12 is to be completed from ch. xvii. 16, the Kings of the East (*i.e.*, of Parthia) marching with Nero to Rome, and after its destruction returning with the kings of the West to Palestine. To the same effect Renan (p. 428):—In all this symbolism the Seer describes "an infernal plan (1 Kings xxii. 20, &c.) conceived between Satan, Nero, and that counseller of Nero who has already figured under the form of the second Beast." In Har-Magedon Renan admits the reference to Zech. xii. 11; but, he adds, "the particular enigma of the name Har-Magedon is for us undecipherable." Züllig sets aside the reference to the battle-field near Megiddo (except as a paronomasia); he dwells upon the meaning of the syllable *Har*, which denotes *a mountain*, and he takes *Magedon* to signify "an assemblage of warlike hosts:"—he accordingly combines the *Mount* of Olives (Zech. xiv. 4) with (Joel iii. 2) "the *valley* of Jehoshaphat;" and this scene beside the walls of Jerusalem (see 2 Kings xxiii. 13, *Marg.*), he takes to be "Har-Magedon"—"the mountain region, where these hosts assemble." Nearly to the same effect is the explanation of Vitringa (p. 731). Dr. Pusey too (on Joel iii. 2, 12) comparing Matt. xxv. 30, 31 with Joel iii. 12, and adopting the opinion that Christ is to descend to Judgment "over this valley of Jehosophat," would place the valley between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives, "uniting as it were Mount Calvary and Olivet,"—in other words, understanding Joel to mean the locality known in our Lord's time as "the valley of Kidron." It is to be noted, however, that not until after the time of Eusebius (*Onomast.*, p. 52:—κοιλὰς Ἰωσαφάτ) was this spot known in Christian literature as "the valley of Jehosophat."—see Winer, *R. W. B.*, *art. Josaphat*.

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of Theodotus, preserved by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* ix. 22), to have occurred in 'Ar Gerizim,' the 'Mountain of the Most High.' It is clear that this, as in the analogous case of Ar-Mageddon, is simply the Greek version of 'the mountain of Gerizim.'"

[1] Ewald grants that the word may come from הר מגדון, although the *Mountain of Megiddo* is not found in the O. T. If so Mount Tabor would suit Judges v. 19.

CHAPTER XVII.

3, 4 *A woman arrayed in purple and scarlet, with a golden cup in her hand, sitteth upon the beast,* 5 *which is great Babylon, the mother of all abominations.* 9 *The interpretation of the seven heads,* 12 *and the ten horns.* 8 *The punishment of the whore.* 14 *The victory of the Lamb.*

[Ver 1 *om.* μοι.—ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν. Ver 3 γέμοντα [or γέμον τὰ] ὀνόματα.—[After ver. 3 P inserts ver. 18 which is also retained in its proper place: the scribe has here copied the commentary of Andreas (*l. c.*, p. 97) where ver. 18 is quoted]. Ver. 4 ἦν περιβεβλημένη, πορφυροῦν κ. κόκκινον.—τὰ ἀκάθαρτα τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς [So 1. The form ἀκαθάρτης in T. R. troubled Bengel, Wetstein, and Matthæi; but it is a formation of Erasmus without any authority (Delitzsch, s. 42)]. Ver. 8 τὸ θηρίον.—[A reads ὑπάγει, see ver. 11].—τὸ ὄνομα [cf. ch. xiii. 8].—βλεπόντων.—ὅτι ἦν.—καὶ παρέσται [T. R. has καίπερ ἐστίν, and is followed by A. V. ("*and yet is*"); and by Luther, ("wiewohl es doch ist"): but this reading has no authority. It results from Er. having so printed the text of 1 which distinctly exhibits καὶ πάρεστι, this accentuation rendering the reading of Er. impossible. The Vulg. seems to omit the words, merely giving, "Videntes bestiam quæ erat, et non est;" but it continues at ver. 9, "*Et* hic est sensus," there being no καί in the text. Griesbach notes, "καὶ παρέσται. ὧδε ὁ νοῦς. *Et hic est sensus*, Vulg. Aeth." Mede on καὶ παρέσται says: "Sic lego cum ed. Complutensi, Primasio, et Syro interprete" (p. 524). Bengel notes that καίπερ is nowhere used by St. John; and never elsewhere in the N. T. except with a participle]. Ver. 10 *om.* καί before ὁ εἷς. Ver. 13 διδόασιν. Ver. 16 καὶ τὸ θηρίον [So 1 reads; but Er. changed this into the ἐπὶ τὸ θηρίον of the T. R., after the Vulg. "*in bestia*"]. Ver. 17 τελεσθήσονται οἱ λόγοι [So 1 reads; but Er. without any authority changed his text into the τελεσθῇ τὰ ῥήματα as adopted in T. R.].]

The Seventh chief Vision of the Revelation Proper (ch. xvii. 1—xxii. 5) begins here:—see the remarks introductory to ch. xv.

This series of Visions extends to ch. xxii. 5; and now takes up the Vision of the "*Seven Vials*" (ch. xv. 1–xvi. 21) where the *seventh* Vial seemed to close. The appearance on the scene in the first verse (as in ch. xxi. 9) of "*one of the Seven Angels which had the Seven Vials*" (see on ch. xvi. 21) connects this Vision with that which precedes; just as the introduction of one of the Four Living Beings in ch. xv. 7, when the "*Seven Angels*" enter, connects the Vial-Visions with ch. iv. 1—the Vision with which the Revelation Proper opens. Again, as the *seventh* Trumpet (ch. xi. 15–19) is followed in ch. xii.–xiii. by the Visions which exhibit the history and character of the "*Woman*"—*i.e.*, the Church, the Dragon, the Beast, and the "*False Prophet*," so now the *seventh* Vial is followed by a Vision in which the Seer beholds the destruction of the Harlot (ch. xviii.)—introduced in direct contrast to the Church—and of the same *three* enemies of God (ch. xix. 20; xx. 10). This enmity had been manifested in bloodshed, persecution, seduction, and blasphemy (see ch. xvi. 6; xiii. 7, 12; xiv. 8; xvi. 9, 11, 21): and here, in ch. xvii.,—a chapter which is introductory, and which alone in the Apoc. is of direct interpretation,—this enmity is represented, in ver. 3, under the two connected forms of the antichristian World-power or Beast, and the antichristian World-city or Harlot — the seat of the Beast's authority.

Babylon had already been introduced in ch. xiv. 8, and ch. xvi. 19; but not until now is the import of the symbol explained. In *vv.* 15–18, the Angel unfolds why, and by what means, the Harlot receives the judgment which is described in ch. xviii. The Beast had, in like manner, been already introduced in ch. xi. 7 and ch. xiii. 1; and now, in this introductory chapter, the import of this symbol also is declared (*vv.* 8–13), as well as why and by what means (ver. 14) the destruction of his power is to be accomplished. And thus the sequel is described of the "Seven plagues which are the last," wherein "is finished the wrath of God" (ch. xv. 1). After the destruction of the *three* great enemies of God, follows the universal Judgment (ch. xx. 11–15); and then—announcing that evil shall not triumph for ever—follow the glories of the New Jerusalem (ch. xxi. 1–xxii. 5).

CHAP. XVII.—THE HARLOT AND THE BEAST.

For the meanings assigned to Babylon or the Harlot, viz. I. (*a*) Rome Pagan, as in St. John's day; (*b*) Rome which shall become Pagan hereafter;—II. Rome Papal;—III. Jerusalem;—IV. the World-City or seat of the World-power, wherever that power may be concentrated at any period of history,—see on ch. xiv. 8; xvi. 19; and Note B at the end of this chapter. For the meanings assigned to the Beast, viz. (1) The Roman Empire in St. John's day;—(2) The Papacy;—(3) The World-power of which Rome is the symbol;—(4) The World-power, all reference to Rome being excluded;—(5) The fulfil-

AND there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither; I will shew unto

ment of the symbol by Nero,—see the remarks introductory to ch. xiii.; and also Notes D and E at the end of this chapter.

According to Ebrard (in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.*) it is not until now that Babylon—the false Lamb of ch. xiii. 11, or the Papacy in its ecclesiastical character—is presented as the Harlot, or Apostate Church: see the remarks introductory to ch. xiii. The Reformers, Ebrard thinks, were in error when they identified this Babylon with the Antichrist of Daniel (ch. vii.), and of St. Paul (2 Thess. ii.); because Antichrist (see *vv.* 8, 11) is rather identical with a kingdom of open apostasy wherein even the semblance of Christianity is cast off,—an infidel ruler who is to execute judgment on the Harlot, or Babylon:—see *vv.* 13, 16, 17.

As Bengel notes, ch. xvii. is divided into three parts by the three addresses of the Angel, *vv.* 1, 7, 15: (1) The Harlot and the Beast;—(2) The signification of the symbolism;—(3) The Judgment of the great Harlot.

THE HARLOT (1–6).

1. *And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials,*] See ch. xv. 1, 7. Which of the "*Seven*" is left undetermined, cf. ch. vi. 1:—Eichhorn decides that it is the *first;* others say the *seventh*, as Babylon, under the *seventh* Vial (see ch. xvi. 19), is here the theme. As the judgment on Babylon is now minutely described, one of the Angels who have the "*Vials*" is, not unnaturally, the ministering Angel employed; but it does not thence follow whether the Vision of this chapter, which is altogether explanatory, comes after, or precedes, or synchronizes with the Vial-Visions:—see on ch. xv. 1; xxi. 9. Bengel decides that the "*Vials*" have now been poured out;—Hengst. decides that the "*Vials*" are still full.

It is also to be noted that as one of the "*Seven Angels*" now shows to the Seer the "**Harlot**;" so, in ch. xxi. 9, one of the same group shows to him the "*Bride*."

and spake with me, saying,] Omit "*unto me*"—see *vv. ll.*

Come hither,] As in ch. xxi. 9 (cf. John xi. 43) the adverb (δεῦρο) is here used, not the verb "*Come*," as in ch. vi. 1, 3, 5.

I will show thee *the judgment*] As Düsterdieck points out, "*the judgment*" is not described in this chapter—nay, in ver. 16 we are clearly told that it is still future. It follows in ch. xviii. The "**Harlot**" is here exhibited, not as judged, but as existing in her antichristian form: and this is required, because the special Vision of the World-city, as distinguished from the World-power in general, is a new revelation.

Hengst. would regard the judgment of the "**Harlot**," as the proper theme of ch. xvii., where *the* "*wilderness*" (ver. 3) denotes her *desolation*, and where the symbol is explained in ver. 16. Her guilt had been already told, not only in ch. xiv. 8, but in ch. xiii. 7, 8 where the Church is persecuted by the Roman power—the *sixth* Head of the Beast: "The great Harlot is only so far different from the *sixth* Head, as this Head denotes the Roman *power*, while the Harlot is the *City* of Rome."

of the great **harlot**] *I.e.*, Babylon (ver. 5) which had been already referred to in ch. xiv. 8; xvi. 19; and which, as explained in ver. 18, is "*the Great City*," or heathen Rome personified,—in other words, the chief centre of the God-opposing World-power, "*the throne of the Beast*" (ch. xvi. 10). Why Babylon, Rome, the World-city of any period, is called "*the great* **Harlot**" is clear from ch. xiv. 8. This idea is expressed more fully in ver. 2.

We are to observe that St. John does not introduce here the idea of "adultery," which is founded on the fact of "marriage" (cf. Ezek. xvi. 38; xxiii. 37, 45), or covenant-relationship. In Scripture, indeed, the term 'adultery' is never applied to a heathen kingdom" (see on ch. ii. 22):—in such a case the term "**harlot**" is used, signifying that seductive influence or crafty policy which seeks to draw others into subjection. The expressions "harlot" and "fornication" are used in this sense in the Old Test. with reference to World-cities—e.g. in Isai. xxiii. 15–18 to Tyre; and in Nah. iii. 4 to Nineveh. On this latter text Dr. Pusey writes: "Mostly, idolatries and estrangement from God are spoken of as *whoredoms*, only in respect of those who, having been taken by God as His own, forsook Him for false gods. But Jezebel, too, of whose offences Jehu speaks under the same two titles ['witchcrafts' and 'whoredoms'] (2 Kings ix. 22) was a heathen. . . . Of this sin, World-Empires, such as Nineveh were the concentration. Their being was one vast idolatry of self and of *the god of this world*" (*l. c.*, p. 387). As to St. John's usage, the words of Rev. ii. 14 are decisive; and so is his further use of the word "*fornication*" in connection with Jezebel in ch. ii. 20, 21. Hence it follows that there is no difficulty whatever in applying the term "**harlot**" to the world at large; or to a Pagan city; or,

thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters:

2 With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and

as stated above, to the godless centre of the World-power—the World-City.

This result nevertheless is warmly contested; and the chief reason assigned is this, that "harlotry symbolizes *uniformly* the apostasy of God's Church" (Auberlen, *l. c.*, p. 279). The word "harlot," writes Words., is used "at least *fifty times* to describe the spiritual fornication, that is, the *corrupt doctrine* and *practice* of the *Churches* of Israel and Judah;" or as Alf. notes: "In eighteen places out of twenty-one where the figure occurs, such is its import," viz., to be the prophetical emblem of "God's Church and people that had forsaken Him." . . "In three places only is the word applied to heathen cities: viz. in Isai. xxiii. 15, 16 to Tyre; and in Nah. iii. 4 to Nineveh:"—see also I. Williams, pp. 314–320.

The *general* use of this figure in the O. T. is not disputed. The question merely is, what is the sense here? and to this an answer has been given above. Auberlen indeed asserts that "'Harlot' means, in the whole Old and New Test., the apostate Church of God" (p. 278); and again: "It is not only a church here, and a church there; but Christendom as a whole, even as Israel, as a whole, had become a Harlot. The true believers are hidden and dispersed; the invisible Church is within the visible" (p. 290).

It is hard to understand how such statements can be made in the face of the Lord's promise, "Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world,"—especially hard is it if we remember how the Church is described when she appears again after ch. xii., as the "Bride," as the "New Jerusalem" (ch. xix. 7, 8; xxi. 2, 9, 10; xxii. 17; cf. John iii. 29). Nor does the imagination of an "invisible" Church get over the difficulty,—"The Woman is the *invisible* Church; the Harlot is the *visible* Church" (Auberlen, p. 276); for our Lord has also said "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid" (Matt. v. 14).

By applying this passage to '*a* Christian church' (I. Williams, p. 318; Words.), or to '*an* apostate and faithless church' (Alf.), such contradictions may, of course, be avoided. The possibility of an application to some section of the Christian body is at once to be admitted—in the sense of Matt. xiii. 47–50: and thus Words. contrasts what he regards as a description of "*a* faithless Church" (ch. xvii. 1, 3), with "the words which describe the faithful Church in glory (ch. xxi. 9, 10)." As stated on ch. xvi. 19, the forms of evil symbolized by the World-city or "Harlot" may be unbelief, or superstition, or sensuality; in any of which sins a section of the Church Catholic may share with the God-opposing world:—but it is not in accordance with Scripture to speak, with Auberlen, of "the apostate Church of God."

Burger mentions this singular misapprehension, merely for the purpose of indicating "to what arbitrary interpretations want of attention to the connexion of the Apocalyptic symbols, and the prepossessions of a lively imagination can lead" (s. 263).

that sitteth **on** *many waters;*] (See *vv. ll.*). This is said of Babylon in Jer. li. 13.

The wealth of Babylon was caused not merely by the Euphrates, "but by a vast system of canals" (see on Jer. li. 13). Hengst. points out that "*waters*" "in the symbolical language of Scripture are an image of *prosperity*" (Hos. xiii. 15); and in Ps. cvii. 33, 34, it is "said in reference to Babylon, he causes the waters of her well-being and prosperity to become dry:"—for an allusion to this type see ch. xviii. 17.

The meaning which the imagery of this verse symbolizes is explained in ver. 15:—the "Harlot" "sitteth on many *nations*," cf. ch. xiii. 3, 7, 12, 16. Nah. ii. 8 is usually explained to mean the large population of Nineveh. Bleek's comment on this place, however, is that as the site of Babylon was on the Euphrates, so that of the "New Babylon," Rome, is on the Tiber. And this, he adds, excludes the opinion of Zullig that Jerusalem is meant.

2. *with whom the kings of the earth* **committed** *fornication,*] The "*kings*" represent their subjects (as in ch. xvi. 14) who yield to the seductions of the great World-city.

Understanding the passage literally, writers (e. g. Vitringa, p. 752; Words.; &c.) often ask, "If this be pagan Rome, who and what are these '*kings*,' and what is indicated by her having been the object of their lustful desires?" Alford answers for this school: "I do not hesitate . . . . to maintain that interpretation which regards papal and not pagan Rome as pointed out by the Harlot of this Vision." On a different principle, Renan replies: "The Herods, Tiridates king of Armenia, &c., all eager to visit Rome, there to give festivals, to pay her their court" (p. 430); and to the same effect, Hengst. concludes: "Rome [the pagan city of Rome] is 'the great Harlot' that allures the *kings* into this commerce, as it is said of Tyre in Isai. xxiii. 17." See Note B at the end of this chapter.

and they that inhabit *the earth* **were**

the inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.

3 So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness: and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured

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made drunken] (The verb, κατοικέω, with an accus. and without a preposition following, is found only here in the Apoc.; cf. Acts xix. 10, 17:—for the usual form, viz. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, see ch. iii. 10. The verb is placed absolutely in ch. ii. 13). The imagery of this passage is applied to Babylon in Jer. li. 7; see ch. xiv. 8. Both clauses of the verse are combined in ch. xviii. 3.

3. **And** *he carried me away*] Cf. ch. xxi. 10.

in the Spirit] See on ch. i. 10. The Vision of ch. xvi. 19 is now to be explained; and for this end a new spiritual condition of the Seer, and a new scene are required; compare ch. iv. 2.

into **a wilderness**:] So Wordsworth and Düsterd. render with due attention to the absence of the article.

Many (e. g. Andr., Ewald, De Wette, Hengst., Bleek, Düsterd.) see in these words a reference to the approaching, but still future (see on ver. 1) desolation of the "Harlot" (ἔρημον, ἠρημωμένην, ver. 16; ch. xviii. 2, 17, 19). Hence we can understand why the "Harlot," in all her magnificence, is beheld by the Seer in "**a wilderness.**" In Jer. l., li., it is denounced that Babylon shall "become a desolation." In Isai. xxi. 1, Babylon, on account of her approaching desolation, is called "the desert of the sea." What is said here of Babylon, holds substantially in respect to every World-power that is opposed to God, and treads in her footsteps (Hengst.). It is to be observed, also, that in this single instance in the New Testament, do we find the word signifying "*wilderness*" without the article (cf. ch. xii. 6, 14). This fact indicates that we cannot identify this locality with the wilderness in ch. xii. 6, 16; and also proves (see below) that the "*Woman*" of ch. xii. is not to be identified with the "Harlot" here. On the other hand, Alford maintains that "*the* wilderness" is the true rendering, observing that "it may be questioned whether the expressly indefinite rendering, '*a* wilderness' is ever justifiable."

By the word "*wilderness*" in this place Beda understands "divinitatis absentia;"—Cocceius that part of the world where, in St. John's day, persecution and idolatry prevailed;—Vitringa (p. 755) sees a reference to Isai. xxi. 1, "the desert of the sea," and also to ver. 15, where the "*waters*" of ver. 1 are explained to mean "*peoples*;" and he takes the word to signify, as in Ezek. xx. 35, "the wilderness of the people;"—Bengel notes: "Europe, especially Italy;"—Words.: "She is a *Great City*, and yet in a wilderness," *literally*, the Roman Campagna; *spiritually*, "Rome is not like a fruitful field of the Lord, but may be compared to a *wilderness*."

and I saw a woman] The absence of the article here, and its insertion in ver. 15 ("*the* **Harlot**") are parallel to the absence of the article in ch. xii. 1, and its insertion *vv.* 4, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. In fact the "*woman*" or "**Harlot**" here is not to be identified with, but is rather to be contrasted with, the "*Woman*," or the Church, in ch. xii.,—just as *a* "wilderness" in this verse is not "*the* wilderness" in ch. xii. 6, 14. Auberlen, however, as already stated, regards the "*woman*" in both places to be the same: "The Harlot," he writes, "as described in ch. xvii. . . . . is identical with the Woman who, we saw in ch. xii., is a symbolical representation of the Church of God in the world. This Woman has become a harlot" (p. 274). And he would explain the omission of the article before "*Wilderness*," "*Woman*," "*Beast*," by saying that while identical with "*the* Wilderness" (ch. xii. 6, 14), *the* "Woman" (ch. xii. 1) and *the* "Beast" (ch. xiii. 1), yet, in a sense, these terms are not identical:—"The heathen world, the Church, and the World-power, have undergone great changes, so much so that John can scarcely recognize them, and sees '*a* Beast,' '*a* Woman,' '*a* Wilderness'" (p. 277). As to this result see on ver. 1; where the restriction to "*a* Church" has been noticed:—e.g., I. Williams says: "To the wilderness the Apostolic Woman had fled, and now we are carried there and see her not; but instead the purple Harlot" (p. 321): he also notes that "the Apocalypse carefully abstains from using the name of 'Jerusalem' for this false Church" (p. 320).

sitting *upon a scarlet-coloured beast*,] The Beast now presents some features different from those described in ch. xiii., because the "**Harlot**," or World-city, is expressly to be distinguished from the Beast, or World-power. "This Beast is introduced as if a new appearance: but its identity with that mentioned before, ch. xiii. 1 ff., is plain as the description goes onward" (Alf.). Henceforward he is always spoken of as "*the Beast*:" and the war in *vv.* 12–14, is evidently that which is described in ch. xix. 19; and ch. xix. 20 can refer only to ch. xiii. There is no foundation for the opinion of Ebrard and Züllig—summed up in Note C on ch. xi. 7—that the Beast of ch. xiii. 1 is not the Beast

beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns.

4 And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and [1]decked [1] Gr. *gilded.*

of this chapter. The differences in the details depend on the circumstances peculiar to each description; and a *formal* identification is omitted here because the Seer dwells in this clause not on the Beast, but on the "*woman*" who sits upon him. The Beast is now indicated in a cursory manner, though in terms sufficient to mark the connexion with ch. xiii. The full description is reserved for ver. 8, &c.

"*Scarlet-coloured:*"—The three colours of the Tabernacle were *blue, purple,* and *scarlet* —see the note on Ex. xxv. 4.

The word κόκκινος is derived from *coccus*, the *Kermes berry* (as it was supposed); but the *Kermes* (Arab. *little worm*) was *an insect* found in Asia, the *Coccus ilicis* of Linnæus. They were long taken for the seeds of the tree on which they live; and before the introduction of cochineal, *Kermes* was the most esteemed drug for dyeing scarlet.—See Brande and Cox, *Dict. of Science*, art. *Kermes;* Pliny, *H. N.* ix. 41; xvi. 8.

The description of the Harlot's attire in ver. 4 (cf. ch. xviii. 16) suggests the choice of this colour. Grotius, De Wette, and Züllig refer the colour not to the Beast itself but to its trappings. Many identify this colour with that of the "*Dragon*," "red as flame" (πυρρός, ch. xii. 3; cf. ch. vi. 4), whom the Beast serves: they see in it a symbol of the blood which he sheds (ch. xi. 7; xvi. 6)—a sacrificial colour: compare Heb. ix. 19.

full of names] Either a case of irregular apposition (cf. ch. iv. 1); or (taking the participle as a neuter sing.), **full of the names**—a note of identification with ch. xiii. 1; or again we may render, **names full of blasphemy**: see *vv. ll.* For the construction (which differs from the usage elsewhere—see ver. 4; ch. iv. 8; xv. 7). Düsterd. refers to Phil. i. 11; Col. i. 9, and on this latter text Professor Moulton (*l. c.*, p. 287) notes: "This constr. of πληροῦσθαι is followed by γέμον in Rev. xvii. 3, 4. In modern Greek, words of *fulness* may take an accus."

of blasphemy,] See on ch. xiii. 1, where the Beast bears the "*names*" merely on the "*Seven Heads:*" the "*names*" have now spread over the whole body, doubtless owing to the fact that the influence of the "**Harlot**" is superadded. Züllig considers that the "*names*" were embroidered on the scarlet cloth which covered the Beast.

seven heads and ten horns.] Here and in ch. xiii. 1, the Beast presents the characteristic features of the "*Dragon*" in ch. xii. 3. The "*Heads*" are now seen without diadems; a circumstance which supports the explanation that rejects the application to personal "*Kings.*" An old writer has observed that the Beast reappears from the Abyss (see on ch. xi. 7) without his diadems, as though, in this last stage, he would symbolize rather the violence of popular rage, than the prescriptive sanctity of monarchical supremacy. Düsterd., who upholds the twofold reference to "*mountains*" and to literal "*kings*," considers that this omission is supplied by the royal attire of the Harlot (ver. 4) who is seated on the Beast (see on ver. 10): and he attaches no definite historical meaning to the number Ten of the Horns in *this* chapter, explaining their introduction now as merely intended to identify the Beast here, with the Beast of ch. xiii. 1:—see on ver. 7.

Dante applies *vv.* 1–3 to the Church of Rome under Nicholas iii. (A.D. 1277), Boniface viii. (A.D. 1294), and Clement v. (A.D. 1305). Pope Clement transferred the Papal See from Rome to Avignon, where it remained in what Italian writers call its "*Babylonian Exile*" (A.D. 1309–1378):—

"The Evangelist you Pastors had in mind,
When she who sitteth upon many waters
To fornicate with kings by him was seen;
The same who with the Seven Heads was born,
And power and strength from the Ten Horns received,
So long as virtue to her spouse was pleasing."—
Inferno, xix. 106—111, Longfellow's transl.

Avignon is here the seat of the Papacy; and Dante—so his commentators tell us—understood by the "*Seven Heads*," the Seven Sacraments (or Virtues) of the Church, and by the "*Ten Horns*" the Ten Commandments —see Note B at the end of this chapter.

4. *arrayed in* **purple and scarlet,**] The colours significant of sovereign rule; and thus the colours of the robe of mockery in John xix. 2; Matt. xxvii. 28; cf. ch. xviii. 12, 16. The "*scarlet*" may also indicate her "blood-stained" garments—see ver. 6. The form of the word rendered "*purple*" (see *vv. ll.*,—an adject. for a subst.) is peculiar to St. John, and is found in the New Test. only in ch. xvii. 4; xviii. 16; John xix. 2, 5. The form generally used occurs in ch. xviii. 12.

The Tyrian purple dye (Ezek. xxvii. 7, 16) "was obtained from two little shell-fish, the *Buccinum* and *Murex*—the former being found on rocks near the shore, and the latter in deeper water—on the Phœnician coast." (Brande and Cox, art. *Murex*). Purple was one of the three colours of the Tabernacle:

with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication:

5 And upon her forehead *was* a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND [1] Or. *fornications.*

—see the Note on Ex. xxv. 4; and Note A on ch. xxi. 20.

and decked] See *Margin*:—the participle is carried on to the nouns which follow.

precious stones and pearls,] Gr. "**precious stone**," in the sing.; see the note on ch. xv. 6. Cf. the description of the king of Tyre, Ezek. xxviii. 13; and also what is said of Jerusalem, Ezek. xvi. 10–18. On the word "*pearl*" here, and in ch. xviii. 12, 16; xxi. 21, see Note A at the end of this chapter.

having in her hand *a golden cup*] Cf. the application to Babylon of the phrase "a golden cup," Jer. li. 7; and the note on ch. xiv. 8.

full of abominations, and **of the unclean things**] (As to the accus. after γέμων, see on ver. 3). The accusative "**the unclean things**" is coupled with the genitive "*abominations*," "after the Hebrew idiom, in order to avoid the threefold genitive:"—so Ewald, Hengst., and De Wette. Lücke (s. 461), and Düsterd. take the accusative, "**the unclean things**," to be parallel to the accusative, "*a golden cup*," both depending on "*having*" (cf. ch. xviii. 12), viz. **even the unclean things**:—see *vv. ll.* So also Stuart and Züllig, who translate—"**even the impurities.**" Alf. thinks that the constr. is changed in order to mark a difference between the more abstract designation of the contents of the cup as "*abominations*," and the specification of them in the concrete as "**the unclean things.**"

All actions to be condemned are called "*abominations*,"—cf. ch. xxi. 27; Luke xvi. 15.

of her fornication,] Cf. ch. xviii. 3. Hengst. understands not the abominations of idolatry, but only political enormities,—that artful policy by which Rome reduced the nations to impotence.

I. Williams would understand "false and hypocritical Christianity" (p. 324): the generation against which our Lord testified as "adulterous" (Matt. xii. 39) had no idol worship; the "idolatry" spoken of by St. Paul (Eph. v. 5) is "covetousness."

5. *and upon her* **forehead a name** *written,*] *I.e.*, "**having** (see ver. 4) **a name written;**" as was customary with harlots—see Wetstein and De Wette ("Nomen tuum pependit a fronte."—Seneca, *Controv.* i. 2; cf. Juv. *Sat.* vi. 123). Hengst., however, says, "Not a title, but the expression of her nature. The *name* consists of a whole sentence, to which, substantially though not formally, ver. 6 belongs." For the contrasted name borne by the servants of God, see ch. xiv. 1.

MYSTERY,] Or, as explained below, **A mystery.**] As rendered in A. V., MYSTERY is the first element of the proper name, and so C. à Lapide, Vitringa, I. Williams, Hengst., Bleek, Words., Alf. The name on the forehead of the High Priest (Ex. xxviii. 36, 37)—the ineffable NAME—was a mysterious secret; so here the Harlot's character is known to God only. Her name is "Mystery," and "Confusion"—so "Babylon" is interpreted; a character now added to the "*names of blasphemy*" borne by the Beast. Words. notes: "Her title is *Mystery*, a *secret* spell, bearing the semblance of *sanctity*."

On the other hand, Züllig, De Wette, Ebrard, Düsterd., Auberlen interpret **A mystery,**—the word standing in apposition to "*name*," and denoting the enigmatical sense in which the title that follows is to be taken—as if "a preliminary *nota bene*" (Düsterd.): it may be compared with the word "*spiritually*," in ch. xi. 8, or with the note of attention, "*Here is wisdom*" (ver. 9; ch. xiii. 18). The *three* ideas—"*mystery*," "*spirituality*," "*wisdom*"—are combined in 1 Cor. ii. 7, 10, notes Auberlen (p. 275); and he adds that the word Mystery (used on one occasion only by Christ, Matt. xiii. 11) "always, and without exception, designates a subject which is hidden to the unassisted reason and eye of man, and can only be seen by a special Divine revelation (cf. Rom. xi. 25; xvi. 25; 1 Cor. ii. 7–10; xv. 51; Eph. iii. 3–5). See on ch. i. 20; x. 7:—in fact "mystery" is the antithesis to "revelation," see ver. 7.

Reuss, referring to ch. xi. 8, explains the Harlot's name of "Mystery" as meaning '*allegorically*,' "because it is to her that the prophecies of the Old Test. against Babylon are referred: by her proper and historical name she is called Rome." To the same effect Burger, who explains that her name is said to be "a Mystery," in order that we may not think of the historical Babylon on the Euphrates.

Stuart notes: "Why not translate '**a name written mysteriously,**' accus. adverbial?"—viz., "BABYLON THE GREAT (the mother of harlots and of the abominations of the earth):"—the parenthesis being "an exclamation of the author, and not a part of the inscription."

ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

6 And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration.

7 And the angel said unto me,

BABYLON THE GREAT,] See ch. xiv. 8; xvi. 19, where this, the Harlot's, title has been already introduced as the concrete representative of the collective World-kingdom.

Babylon is a mystery, notes Hengst., as still continuing "*Great*" after Christ appeared, and still retaining power to persecute the Saints—see ver. 6.

See Note B at the end of this chapter.

THE MOTHER OF the HARLOTS] This title repeats, in another form, the imagery of ver. 4. Düsterd. observes that the word "*Mother*" signifies that she has made her *daughters*—"*the cities of the nations*" (ch. xvi. 19)—to become Harlots also, and drunken with her cup, thus filling the world with her cruelty (ch. xiii. 7, 14; xiv. 8, 11). I. Williams, who refers the prophecy to Jerusalem, writes: "Aretas, in speaking of the City of Rome as signified by Babylon, adds, 'In all this the prophetic saying is suitable, *As is the mother, so is the daughter*' (Ezek. xvi. 44). But it is remarkable that the proverb which this Greek writer refers to is spoken, not of Babylon, but of the Ancient Jerusalem, in that very chapter which forms the basis of this analogy or figure in the Apocalypse" (p. 329).

Züllig regards Nineveh as the type here of the Harlot—see Nah. iii. 4–7; and he notes: "In the Apoc. a name, by a favourite usage, is divided into several words. Cf. ch. iii. 14, and especially ch. xix. 11."

AND of the ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.] De Wette explains that the Harlot is the type of all nations which practise idolatry. Hengst. understands "political enormities;" "not false religious zeal, but despotism," see ver. 6. The sins of the World-city—unbelief, superstition, sensuality—are all included under the Harlot's title.

6. *drunken with the blood of the saints,*] *I. e.*, "by reason of (ἐκ) the blood"—see ch. viii. 11; xvi. 10, 11. To this corresponds the scarlet colour of the Beast, and of the Harlot's attire—*vv.* 3, 4. For the metaphor, compare "Ebrius jam sanguine civium, et tanto magis eum sitiens" (Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 28, *ap.* Wetst.). For the fact, cf. ch. xvi. 6; xviii. 24.

of the martyrs of Jesus.] Cf. ch. ii. 13. "*The Saints*" do not really differ from the witnesses, or "*Martyrs of Jesus;*" but the latter description states more plainly that the testimony of Jesus which the Saints have borne has been the cause of their death: cf. ch. i. 2, 9; vi. 9. The language, notes Hengst., is changed in order to heighten the guilt of Rome. Of course "the *Two* (typical) Witnesses" of ch. xi. are not meant.

and when I saw her, I wondered **with a great wonder.**] For the idiom, cf. ch. xvi. 9. The reason for the Seer's "wonder" the Angel explains, in ver. 7, to be "*the mystery of the Woman and of the Beast that carrieth her.*"

Writers explain these words variously. Bengel: Because so powerful a Beast carries and serves a woman;—De Wette and Züllig: Because St. John, as in ch. v. 4, did not understand the symbolism;—Hengst.: Because the Roman power remains still unbroken after Christ has come, see on ch. xiii. 3;—Ebrard (comparing the "wonder" in ver. 8): Because the Beast, already seen in ch. xiii., reappears in a form so different;—Auberlen: Because a change so extraordinary has passed over the Woman; "the impression made on John may be expressed by the words of Isai. i. 21: 'How is the faithful city become an harlot!'" (p. 277); and he contrasts with this feeling of "wonder" which the Seer exhibits nowhere else [but see ch. v. 4], the expression of gratitude and joy manifested in ch. xix. 9, 10; xxii. 6–8. To the same effect, I. Williams. Alford, also, for the most part, adopts this opinion of Auberlen; but he altogether fails to answer the objection of Düsterd. that neither in the text itself, nor in the Angel's explanation (ver. 7), is an allusion made to the identity of the "*Woman*" of ch. xii. and the "**Harlot**"; or to this as the reason for St. John's wonder. Alf. replies that the silence of the Angel is "just what we might expect, if the fact of identity were patent:"—but that the identity does not exist has been already shown on ver. 1. Wordsworth (after Vitringa, p. 764) explains,—Not because Heathen Rome persecuted the Saints, but because a Christian Church calling herself "the Mother of Christendom," *i.e.*, the Church of Rome, should be "drunken with the blood of the Saints."

The Seer is now to behold the mystery of evil more closely; and the continued conflict of the Church with the "Prince of this world" is to be more distinctly revealed. Daniel (vii. 1–7) had already symbolized, under the image of *four* Beasts, the four successive World-empires: and, borrowing from Daniel's figurative language, St. John has composed the symbol of *one* Beast, with "*Seven Heads*" and "*Ten Horns*," designed to typify, throughout all time, the antichristian

Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns.

8 The beast that thou sawest was,

World-power. This form, Satan, in his character of "Prince of this world," has assumed in ch. xii., where his hostility to the Church of God is described; and under this form, as the actual World-power, the embodiment of Satan's influence is represented in ch. xiii. In ch. xvii. is added, as the contrast to the *Church*, the symbol of the "Harlot" representing the local centre, or World-city, whence the antichristian spirit is to be diffused at any particular period;—and the special features of this symbolism are now developed by the Angel.

It is to be noted that up to this point the Seer beholds in a Vision the actors in the events that follow. The events themselves are not presented here in a Vision: the Angel predicts them.

THE ANGEL INTERPRETS (7).

7. The interpretation given by the Angel (see ver. 1), like the Vision itself which is to be interpreted (*vv.* 1–6), is directed to the two chief figures—to that of the Beast in *vv.* 8–14, and to that of the Harlot in *vv.* 15–18: the latter interpretation is divided from the former by the customary formula "*And he saith unto me*," ver. 15.

Wherefore didst thou **wonder?**] See ch. vii. 13,—the Angel does not now pause for a reply. Hengst. compares Matt. xiv. 31: he regards these words as a reproof to St. John who is prone to dwell upon what is visible; see also Mark vi. 6, and the verb in John vii. 21. This may well be doubted,—see on ver. 6.

the mystery] The mysterious signification of the symbolism:—cf. on ver. 5; and ch. i. 20.

of the woman, and of the beast] Note the articles—"*the* Woman," "*the* Beast, of ver. 3."

We have here the two chief forms introduced in this section (*vv.* 7–18) which, though typifying different objects,—the World-*city* and the World-*kingdom*,—are essentially connected together (cf. ver. 3). Hence St. John speaks of but *one* mystery—*the mystery of the Woman and of the Beast;* treating in the first place of the more general subject, "the mystery of the Beast" (*vv.* 8–14); and then of the more special subject, "the mystery of the Woman" (*vv.* 15–18).

Hengst. would explain:—"The mystery of the Harlot is that she is made desolate (ver. 15); of the Beast that it goes into perdition (*vv.* 8–11). The mystery of the Beast is indicated here rather than fully disclosed, this being reserved for ch. xix. 20. . . . We have properly to do in this place only with the judgment on the Harlot—see ver. 1."

I. Williams observes that it is rather of the *Beast* on which the "*Woman*" sits than of the "*Harlot*" that the Angel speaks; as if this her connexion with the Beast, was what explained "*the mystery.*" St. John does not wonder at all at the Beast, but much at the Woman: and it is twice repeated that all but the elect shall wonder at the Beast—ch. xiii. 3; xvii. 8. To wonder at the Beast is the part of the wicked; to wonder at the Woman is the part of the Seer himself (p. 332).

that carrieth her,] The token of the intimate connexion between the two forms already represented in ver. 3. On the verb here, see on ch. ii. 3.

the seven heads] To the "*Seven Heads*" *two* interpretations are given by the Angel:—(1) They are "*Seven Mountains*" on which the Woman sits (ver. 9); (2) They are "*Seven Kings*" (ver. 10).

and **the** *ten horns.*] See on *vv.* 9, 12. The imagery of ch. xiii. is resumed. There is no mention here of diadems as in ch. xiii. 1, where the Beast is seen in the full exercise of his demonic power. The "*Ten Horns*" have not yet—so far as *this* Vision has proceeded—surrendered their kingly power to the Beast (see *vv.* 12, 13), and, hence, the diadems are absent.

THE MYSTERY OF THE BEAST (8–14).

8. *was, and is not;*] This fact is three times insisted upon—here; at the end of this verse; and in ver. 11. The words "*is not*" are generally allowed to signify the *reception* of the deadly wound by one of the "*Heads*," as stated in ch. xiii. 3. Observe,—what the Angel here explains refers to the Beast, not to the wounded "*Head*," which, indeed, in ch. xiii. is put for the whole Beast: see the note on ch. xiii. 3.

and is about to come up out of the abyss,] This fact is implied in the last words of this verse; and is also implied in ver. 11, where it is said that the Beast will reappear in the person of an *eighth* "King." It is thus that the *healing* of the "**death-stroke**" (ch. xiii. 3) is now expressed,—the wound of one "*Head*" being ascribed to the whole Beast, because, as Lücke notes, the antichristian character of the Beast culminates in this one "*Head*"—cf. ch. xiii. 3, 12, 14 (see, however,

and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder, whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world,

the objection of Ebrard quoted in the note on ch. xiii. 3). The Beast—the symbol of the ungodly World-power in its universal form—is here the symbol of the Roman Empire. The paganism of the world had received its fatal wound from the sharp sword of the Archangel (ch. xii. 7), and absolutely from—the Cross of Christ (Col. ii. 15). The material fabric of the Empire had already been rudely shaken. Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 11) describes the year 69 as full of the gravest dangers,—as being "annum reipublicæ prope supremum;" and then the torrent of the barbarian hordes broke in. "The shattered, pillaged, dilapidated Empire," however, as Sir F. Palgrave writes (see on ch. xiii. 3), "was still one state, one community:" and thus the godless World-power, as especially noted in ch. xiii. 14, still "*lived*." Heresy and unbelief and worldliness, moreover, sprang up to trouble the Church also:—and so time has gone on; and never has revived paganism been more combative than in the nineteenth century.

Here it is to be further observed that St. John speaks in this passage of the revival of the Beast as *about to be*, not as present when he wrote. The "*not being*"—which has "its ground in the atonement of Christ"—is to be regarded, notes Hengst., as continuing during the *coming again* and renewed *being:* this may be inferred from ver. 11. The Beast now returns, not only from "*the sea*" but "**out of the Abyss**" (see on ch. ix. 1), whence it has drawn new antichristian strength—see ch. xi. 7. He now appears scarlet-coloured, a symbol of bloodguiltiness; and the "*names of blasphemy*," formerly written only on his "*Horns*" (ch. xiii. 1), now cover his whole body (ver. 3).

Wordsworth notes: "The Beast *was*, in its Imperial form, and *exists no longer* in *that* shape; having received a *deadly wound*, and being *killed* in that respect; and is *about to ascend* out of *the Abyss; i. e.*, in this new form in which it *will* be described" (see on ch. xiii. 3). Ebrard, on the other hand, argues that the Angel speaks as in ver. 10 from the standpoint of the time in which he converses with St. John—"the Beast *was*, and *is* not:" he, therefore, speaks of a power which, in the days of St. John, belonged *to the past*, and consequently not of the Roman power which did exist in the days of St. John: whence it follows that the Beast of ch. xvii. typifies a power different from that typified by the Beast of ch. xiii. (see on ch. xi. 7; xiii. 1). The latter, or World-power in its Roman form, has arisen from "*the sea*" of the nations—from the commotions of the world's history; and, although taken into the service of Satan in his character of "Prince of this world," has *not* been *directly* produced by Satan. The Beast of ch. xvii., on the other hand, ascending "out of *the Abyss*," is the type of a World-power whose origin *is directly* and immediately the work of Satan, and therefore a result of direct demoniacal influence (s. 458 ff.):—but see above on ver. 3.

According to Andreas (*l. c.*, p. 99) the Beast is Satan, borne from the Abyss by Antichrist to destroy men. Beda takes the Beast to be Antichrist, who is to reign at the end of the world.

and **to go** *into perdition.*] See *vv. ll.* If we read as in ver. 11, the translation is, **and he goeth into perdition** (cf. John xvii. 12; 2 Thess. ii. 3)—to return whence he came forth. Ch. xix. 20 is the commentary.

These words seem to be added parenthetically, in order to support the children of God under the prospect to which they must look forward.

shall wonder.] Namely at the reappearance of the Beast just described (cf. ch. xiii. 3, 8, 12),—as stated more fully at the end of the verse, "*when they behold.*"

[they] whose name hath not been written in the book of life] See *vv. ll.*; Gr. **upon** [*ἐπί*] **the book** [or **roll**] **of life**: see ch. xiii. 8, where we have "*in* [*ἐν*] the book of life;" and where the parallel with ch. xxi. 27 is more exact.

For "*the book of life*" see on ch. iii. 5.

from the foundation of the world,] See Matt. xxv. 34; a text which supports the natural connexion of these words with the verb "*written*,"—the article which should regularly connect them with "*the book of life*" not being inserted. Alf., however, notes: "It is by no means certain, in the loose Greek of the Apoc., whether these accuracies must be insisted on;" and, relying on ch. xiii. 8, he connects with the words immediately preceding.

when they behold the beast,] The participle in the genitive; see *vv. ll.*:—"Perhaps" an "example of the gen. absolute with the subject omitted;" cf. Matt. i. 18 (Moulton's ed. of Winer, p. 736);—or the gen. constructed with the relative clause (De Wette);—or a case of attraction agreeing with "*whose.*"

when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is.

9 And here *is* the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth.

The cause of the Seer's "wonder" is now explained:—

how that he was,] As in John ix. 8; not "*which was*" as A. V. Words. notes that the neuter (ὅ, τι) is not used by any writer of the New Test. as a *relative*, except when followed by ἄν—cf. Luke x. 35; John ii. 5; Col. iii. 17. Winer (s. 44) gives as doubtful cases John viii. 25; Acts ix. 27; 2 Cor. iii. 14: see also on 1 Cor. xvi. 15 Moulton's ed. of Winer, p. 781.

and is not, **and shall come.**] (See *vv. ll.*). The Cod. Sinait. reads "**shall come again,**" πάλιν. Gr. "**and shall be present**"—words which are equivalent to "**is about to come up out of the Abyss.**" Note that the other words of the first clause, "*was and is not*," are repeated. Bengel points out the contrast between this title of the Beast, and that of our Lord in ch. i. 4, "*Which is and which was, and which is to come*" (see *in loc.*); and also notes the correspondence of the verb "**shall come**" (παρέσται), with the established expression (παρουσία) of the Evangelists (Matt. xxiv. 3); of St. Paul (2 Thess. ii. 1, 8); of St. James v. 7; of 2 Pet. iii. 4—to denote the Lord's Second Coming. The same term is likewise used to denote the *coming* or *presence* of the "man of sin" in 2 Thess. ii. 3, 9. This correspondence Düsterd. denies, because the term παρουσία does not occur in the Apoc.:—but see 1 John ii. 28. That *Presence* of Christ is described in ch. xix. 11.

Differently:—Men wonder, continues Ebrard (s. 460), that this World-power destroyed long before the time of St. John is to reappear. The Beast from the "*sea*" *existed* during the mystic three and a half years after the Ascension (ch. xii. 5, 6); consequently it existed in the time of St. John; and the wounding of its *sixth* Head the Seer beheld as still future. On the other hand, this Beast of ch. xvii. had already gone "into the Abyss" when St. John lived, and was to reappear long after St. John's time. *This* reappearance, accordingly, has nothing to do with that healing of the Roman "*Head*" of the World-power in ch. xiii.

Godet admits that his interpretation which places Israel as one of the "*Seven Heads*" of the Beast (see on ch. xiii. 1, 3) does not suit political history;—but that it suits "the religious history of humanity, which is that of John" need not be proved. Until its dispersion by the Romans, A.D. 70, Israel "*was*" the first of peoples: but then it suddenly disappeared from the rank of nations—it "*was, and is not;*" but it "*will come again:*" "This Israel, to human eye annihilated, will yet revive to be the supreme expression of the revolt of humanity against God the Creator" (pp. 365–367)—to be Antichrist.

For the interpretation which applies the symbolism to Nero, see below on ver. 11; and above on ch. xiii. 3.

Marlorat (A.D. 1550) and other Protestant writers, adopting the reading of the *Textus Receptus* (see *vv. ll.*), interpret: Heathen Rome is passed away; and, *although* Papal Rome *is* there (καίπερ ἐστίν), its world-rule *is nothing* in itself (οὐκ ἔστι):—see Introduction, § 8. Züllig also retains the reading of T. R.,—which has no authority whatever,—and gives as the solution of the enigma ("das Lösewort des Räthsels") the word *Edom* (ii. s. 319): see on ver 9, and Note D.

9. Here is *the mind which hath wisdom.*] (The "*And*" of A. V.—and of Wiclif, Tyndale, Cranmer, but not Geneva—does not exist in the Greek: it is perhaps taken from the Vulg.: see *vv. ll.* on ver. 8).

Or render, **Here is the meaning** (ὁ νοῦς).

That the explanation itself is a "*mystery*" is clear from this formula, which is to the same effect as that which introduces "*the number of the Beast*," ch. xiii. 18:—the sense being that the interpretation of what follows belongs only to an understanding gifted with wisdom. Ewald explains, "Here is the meaning of this enigma;"—others (Grotius, Herder, &c.), "Here is the sense full of wisdom, the deep mysterious import of the symbol;"—Stuart thinks that this verse should end at the word "*wisdom:*" he refers "*Here*" to what precedes—special sagacity is required in order to understand what the writer has said about the Beast.

The Seven Heads (9–11).

The seven heads] See ch. xii. 3; xiii. 1.

The absence of "diadems" in ch. xvii. may be explained by the following reference to "*mountains.*" The reference to "kingdoms" or royal powers is supplied by the description in ver. 4 of the regal magnificence of the "Harlot." Kingly rule was symbolized by "diadems" in ch. xiii. 1.

are seven mountains,] *I.e., signify, represent* "*seven mountains*":—cf. on ch. i. 20.

It is important to observe the merely passing notice, in this one place, of the "*Seven Mountains.*" It is thus indicated in the slightest manner how Rome, the "Urbs septi-

collis" of the period ("Septem urbs alta jugis, toto quæ præsidet orbi," Propert. iii. 11, 57—a line which combines the statements of vv. 9, 18), was the City in which the World-power was concentrated in the days of St. John. The obviousness of this allusion supplies an answer to the assertion, often made, that St. John always veils under obscure language (e.g. "*the number of the Beast*") his references to Rome and her rulers, for the purpose of avoiding the hostility of the heathen. The hills here are doubtless real hills, while the "*waters*" in ver. 15 are symbolical: but this is no reason why the hills or "*mountains*" should not have a further meaning. A reference so slight as this cannot possibly be looked upon as exhausting the proper or full meaning of the Apostle's words; and the interpretation of this most obscure passage depends on our fully understanding the symbol. It requires no divine "*wisdom*" to see in this place the City of Rome on the Seven Hills; nor can a geographical notice so common (see Note C at the end of this chapter) come up to the sense of the words, "*Here is the mind which hath wisdom.*"

Now it is contrary to the analogy of Scriptural symbolism to understand by "heads" *literal* "mountains." A "mountain" is regarded (like the expression "sea," or "earth," in Ps. lxv. 6–9; Hab. iii. 10) figuratively, as the seat of power. In Dan. ii. 35 the "stone" becomes "a great mountain;"—Babylon is so described in Jer. li. 25;—and both *stone* and *mountain* are prophetic names of Christ, see Gen. xlix. 24; Isai. xxviii. 16; Zech. iv. 7 (cf. Matt. xxi. 44). Mountains generally signify in symbolical language the seats of gods and kings, especially of false gods and godless potentates who require to be humbled (see the note on Isai. ii. 2). The overthrow of the World-kingdoms by the Kingdom of God is represented by the same image in Isai. xli. 15. In Hab. iii. 6 the "mountains" are compared to the "nations." The hill or mount is often the symbol of a place of strength:—e.g. the Mountain of holiness, the Mount of God, Mount Sinai, Mount Zion. In fact, to suppose the coincidence of a seven-hilled city to be the primary meaning here, would not suit the style of the Apocalypse.

And thus two explanations are given by the Angel: "*Mountains*," as symbolizing seats of power; and "*Kings*," as representing what kings represent, *i.e.*, kingdoms—the former explanation being given first, inasmuch as the figure "*Mountains*" was more familiar to the readers of prophecy; and then both figures are identified as "*Kings*" in ver. 10. "The '*Mountains*' stand in the same relation to the '*Kings*,' as, in ver. 15, the '*waters*,' where the Harlot sitteth, stand to the '*peoples*:'—as little as the 'waters' are to be taken literally, so little are the 'mountains'" (Auberlen, p. 270). This remark answers the objection of Düsterd. that, on the interpretation here adopted, one symbol, "*Heads*," first typifies another symbol, "*Mountains*;" and that thus by a double process we attain to what is properly intended, viz. "*Seven Kings*." The symbolic reference, however, to Rome preserves the natural import of "*Mountains*;" while "*the many waters*" (ver. 1), and the "*Seven Heads*" or "*Mountains*" (vv. 5, 9) on which the Harlot sits receive their respective explanations in vv. 15, 10. The difficulty has arisen from not bearing in mind that two symbols, the Beast and the Harlot, are here intermingled; and that what is now to be explained is their mutual relation. That the expression "*Seven Mountains*" points to the City of Rome, seated on the Palatine, Quirinal, Aventine, Cælian, Viminal, Esquiline, and Janiculan hills—in St. John's age the capital of the Universal World-empire to which the imagery points—need not be questioned. This result, indeed, is plainly indicated in ver. 18.

Wordsworth observes that the drawing together of the "*Seven Mountains*" into the circle of the Roman city is combined by Roman Poets with the drawing together of the World's kingdoms into the domain of the Roman Empire:—

> "Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
> Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces."
> *Georg.* ii. 534.

This interpretation, however, of the "*Seven Mountains*" is not undisputed:—

I. Williams observes that as the Babylon, the Jerusalem, the Sodom and Egypt of the Apoc., and also the Mount Zion and mountain of Jerusalem (ch. xiv. 1; xxi. 10) are not to be taken literally but spiritually, it might seem that Rome too, or the City on Seven Hills, is also to be so taken. We should thus understand, not the local city of Rome, but the principle of worldly greatness and ambition. "The Harlot sits on seven hills and on many waters: as the *waters* are not literal, why should the *hills* be?" The Greek interpreters conclude that "the Seven Heads and Seven Hills on which the Universal Babylon is seated are seven places pre-eminent in power, on which the kingdom of the world is established,—Nineveh, of the Assyrians; Ecbatana, of the Medes; Babylon, of the Chaldeans; Susa, of the Persians; the kingdom of Macedon; the ancient Rome; and the new Rome." With these they connect as Kings,—Ninus, Arbaces, Nebuchodonosor, Cyrus, Alexander, Romulus, and Constantine (p. 337). While I. Williams, however, argues that "there would be no reason, according to the analogy of the

10 And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, *and* the other is

Apocalypse, to conclude that Rome is here literally intended," he nevertheless adds: "Still it must be allowed that the prophecy does in some awful manner hover, as with boding raven wing, over Rome" (*ib.*).

Züllig (s. 319 ff.) gives the meaning "in these two words,—The City is Jerusalem, its Kingdom is Edom" (see Note D). Every scholar knows that Rome was built on Seven Hills and was the mistress of the world: but Rome is nowhere thought of in the Apoc.; while everything in it revolves round Jerusalem. The proof rests on Ps. lxxxvii. 1: "His foundation is in the holy mountains." Many towns besides Rome can boast of their seven hills—Constantinople, Scutari, Brussels, Bamberg, &c.; but Jerusalem especially can boast of the sacred number *Seven*—four larger and three smaller groups, viz.: (1) The highest and greatest, to the south, Zion; (2) to its north, through the Tyropœum, Akra; (3) the Temple-mount, Moria, on the East; (4) to the north of Moria, Bezetha. Among these larger lay the group of three smaller hills—the *four* and *three* of the Apoc.: (5) Ophel, Neh. iii. 26, 27; [see the notes on 2 Chron. xxvii. 3; Isai. xxxii. 14, and Smith's *Bible Dict.* in voc.]; (6) the hill of the Castle Antonia; (7) the hill of the three towers, Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne.

Lakemacher (quoted by Bleek, *l. c.*, s. 89) names, Zion, Akra, Moria, Bezetha, and the three points of the Mount of Olives. Abauzit, Hartwig, Hasenberg, Herder, &c. also understand Jerusalem,—see Bleek, s. 88.

Krenkel (*l. c.*, s. 75) expresses concisely the usual opinion:—Where, he asks, was there a city which, in Cent. i., united all these tokens, but Rome? The *purple* (ver. 4) denotes her Imperial power;—the *scarlet* her thirst for blood;—she is styled a "**Harlot**" after the manner of the Old Test. Prophets (see Isai. xxiii. 15, 17);—she is called spiritually *Babylon* (ch. xiv. 8), as Jerusalem is called Sodom and Gomorrah (ch. xi. 8), so far as she vies with her elder sister on the Euphrates, in hatred towards the people of God. What, then, can the Beast on which she sits denote but the Roman World-power?

on which the woman sitteth.] Gr. "**where the woman sitteth on them**"—a Hebrew union of the relative "where" with the demonstrative "on them:" cf. the use of the "relative pronoun," in ch. xii. 6, 14.

10. And they are *seven kings;*] As well as "*Seven Mountains*";—see on ver. 9, where it is shewn that "mountains" symbolize seats of power, a fact which connects the symbol "mountains" with the symbol "kings." "Kings" again (cf. ver. 12) represent not individual rulers, but "kingdoms." See Dan. ii. 38: "Thou [viz. *king* Nebuchadnezzar] art this *head* of gold;" on which follows: "And after thee shall arise *another kingdom*:"—cf. Dan. vii. 17, 23, where *kings* and *kingdoms* are used as equivalent. See also Jer. xxv. 11: "These nations shall serve the *king* of Babylon seventy years,"—viz. Nebuchadnezzar and his four successors (cf. the note on Jer. xxvii. 7). And thus a "*king*" represents a "*kingdom*," and does not, in prophetical imagery, denote an individual "*king*." In 2 Esdras xii. 22, 23 there is an instance of this;—and we may also refer to ch. xiii. 1, where the explanation is given of the "*Seven Heads*." Here accordingly, the "*Seven Heads*" of the Beast signify (i.) the Seven Hills of Rome,—which are introduced both to indicate the then existing embodiment of the World-empire and to render more clear the reference to World-kingdoms,—and (ii.) Seven great World-monarchies, each in succession impersonated as a "*King*," who in his day is representative of the antichristian World-power. All this might and all this energy are now beheld concentrated—under the mystic signature "*Seven*"—in the one symbol of the Beast; and this, it is important to bear in mind, is not Rome, nor the Roman Empire, but a general symbol of secular antichristian power. (We may also render as A. V.).

With reference to the opinion that the "*Seven Kings*" are *personal* rulers it is to be noted once more that the symbolism of ch. xvii. cannot be understood apart from the symbolism of ch. xiii. Now in ch. xiii. 1 the "diadems" form one of the most prominent features of the description; while the exclusive application of the diadem to signify *kingly* authority—as proved in the supplementary Note D on ch. ii. 10—precludes any reference in the Apocalypse to the Roman Cæsars before the time of Diocletian. Indeed the applicability of the title "*king*" (βασιλεύς), in any form, to the early Roman Emperors is contrary to all history.

Some account of the various interpretations assigned to the symbol of the "*Seven Kings*" is given in Note D at the end of this chapter.

the five *are fallen,*] *I. e.*, the five World-empires anterior to Rome. As Alford notes: "*Egypt* is fallen, the first Head of the Beast that persecuted God's people (Ezek. xxix.; xxx.);—*Nineveh* is fallen, the bloody city (Nah. iii. 1–19);—*Babylon* is fallen, the great enemy of Israel (Isai. xxi. 9; Jer. l.; li.);—*Persia* is fallen (Dan. x. 13; xi. 2);—*Grecia* is fallen (Dan. xi. 3, 4)."

According to Rationalists the *five* fallen "*Kings*" are the *five* Emperors beginning

not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space.

11 And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and

with Augustus and ending with Nero;—Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, come between Nero and Vespasian whom Düsterd. makes to be the *sixth* Head; and these *three* he indicates by *three* of the "*Ten Horns*," cf. ch. xii. 3; xiii. 1;—Renan, counting from Julius to Claudius, considers Nero to be still alive ("Néron, qui est à la fois la Bête et un des sept rois, n'est pas mort en réalité,"—p. 433).

Others interpret allegorically; or understand the successive forms of government over Rome, &c. In no case, however, do such interpretations preserve the natural meaning of the verb in this passage; as it becomes necessary to assign to it the forced sense "have passed away," or "are dead," for which it would not be easy to find a precedent. In Scripture "*fallen*" is said of cities or kingdoms; as, e.g. in ch. xiv. 8; Isai. xxi. 9; Jer. li. 8; Amos v. 2.

the one is,] (Omit "*and*"—see *vv. ll.*). *I. e.*, the *sixth* World-Empire, or the Imperial power of Rome, as it existed in the days of St. John. So Hengst., and Auberlen; and so even Godet, who makes the *fifth* "Head," now fallen, to be Israel (see on ch. xiii. 1).

According to Stern the *sixth* "Head" is the Roman Cæsar, when St. John wrote; and this Head bore the "death-stroke" (ch. xiii. 3) which Christianity inflicted;—according to Vitringa, this *sixth* "Head" is Pope Paul III. (A.D. 1534–49);—according to Mede, the form of government by Emperors;—according to Rationalists, generally, Galba;—according to Renan, Nero, whom St. John erroneously believed to be still alive;—according to Lücke and Düsterd., Vespasian;—according to Züllig, Herod of Chalcis, who received back the dignity of king from Claudius, A.D. 44.

From this interpretation Züllig concludes that the date of the Apocalypse is to be placed under Claudius, between A.D. 44 and A.D. 47, the year when Herod of Chalcis died: and so Lakemacher, *Obs. Phil.*, x. 5, 6: see Introd., § 4, a. Similarly the rationalistic school regards this verse as fixing the date under Galba, A.D. 68; just as ch. xi. 2 is taken to prove that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem (see Scholten, *l.c.*, s. 44)—the Head "smitten unto death" of ch. xiii. 3 being Nero, the *fifth* Cæsar.

the other is not yet come;] (Omit "*and*"). *I. e.*, the *seventh*, or antichristian World-power which is to succeed to the power of pagan Rome:—in other words the World, in the broadest sense of the word, as opposed to the Church. The principle of Auberlen has been already discussed on ver. 1,—namely that the Head of the Beast which had been "smitten unto death" (ch. xiii. 3) was this *seventh* "Head," and that it "represents the Christian State and its Christian civilization"—"Christianity has become worldly, the world has become Christianized; this is the fundamental type of the Christian era" (p. 299). Alford accepts this result: he regards "this *seventh* 'Head' as the *Christian Empire* beginning with Constantine." If, as his agreement with Auberlen implies, he regards the Empire, so far as it was Christian, as representing the existing form of Antichrist, this conclusion is self-condemned.

Wordsworth (see on ch. xiii. 3) takes this *seventh* Head to be the Imperial power of Germany "which rose upon the ruins of the Italian kingdom;" and so Burger, who illustrates by the title "the Holy Roman Empire";—Launoy and others understand the Papacy as succeeding the Empire;—A school of Roman Catholic writers (cf. Stern above) understand 'A new heathen power to rule in the last age of Christianity from Rome as a centre;'—According to Vitringa, it is Pope Paul V. (1605–1621).

The *seventh* World-empire, notes Ebrard (s. 468), which is to come between the Roman Empire and Antichrist, is made up of the "*Ten Kings*" or Kingdoms of ver. 12;—Godet (see on ch. xiii. 1) takes the *seventh* "Head" to be a new power which is hereafter to absorb all the fragments of the Roman Empire;—Keil (*l. c.*, p. 279) concludes that if the *sixth* sovereignty is the Roman, then by the *seventh* we may understand the World-powers of modern Europe that have come into its place.

According to the rationalistic school generally, this "*Head*" is Otho or Vitellius;—According to Lücke and Düsterd., Titus;—According to Renan, Galba, "who is old and feeble; he will soon fall" (p. 432).

and when he cometh, he must continue **a little while.**] *I.e.*, "**must needs**" "by God's decree,"—see on ch. i. 1. On the phrase "**a little while**" (ὀλίγον—cf. on ver. 12), observe that there is no noun here expressive of "time," or "season" as in ch. xii. 12; xx. 3; the language is indefinite, the words "*must continue*" alone being emphatic. The stress is laid on the fact of *some* endurance, not on its being but short (see 1 Pet. i. 6; v. 10). Ebrard refers to the "*one hour*" of ver. 12;—and the rationalistic school apply the phrase to the short duration of the reigns of Galba, or Titus. There is however good reason in the opinion of Hofmann and Hengst.

is of the seven, and goeth into perdition.

12 And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, which have re-

that we are to understand a duration such "that by means of it the Church should be exercised in patience."

Auberlen, carrying out his idea of the apostasy of the Church (see on ver. 1), considers that it is only the *seventh* Kingdom (or the Empire springing from the Germanic Tribes) which became a *Christian* World-kingdom, and that this is meant by the "**death-stroke**" in ch. xiii. 3: "This expression, combined with *he must continue a* **little while**, reminds us that the Germanic nations were to remain only for a short space heathenish, beast-like, anti-christian; that the *seventh* Head was soon to receive its wound." But "the Christian Germanic world apostatizes from Christianity. . . . A new heathenism breaks in upon the Christian world" (*l. c.*, p. 300). In other words, the *wound* which the Beast had received when the German Tribes were converted to Christianity, has now been *healed* by their apostasy.

The explanation of the "*Seven Heads*" given in ver. 9 referred merely to the relation of the "**Harlot**" to the Beast; the explanation here concerns the "*Heads*" themselves, but says nothing as to the judgment of the "**Harlot**" in the last times:—ver. 10 is the preface to ver. 11, which tells "who the Beast is, and specially, how he is related to the Seven World-kingdoms" (Ebrard s. 463).

11. *And the beast that was, and is not,*] As spoken of in ver. 8, and as seen in ver. 3. Neither here nor in ver. 8 do these words indicate the age of St. John: they merely serve for a token of the Beast at the time of his appearing.

The beginning and the end of this description, taken from ver. 8, point attention to the fact that the subject of both verses is the same.

is himself also an eighth,] The absence of the article gives the sense, "**an** eighth," not "*the* eighth,"—not one of a series already named; and therefore not, as Rationalists insist, "*one* of the Seven." Further still, as the gender of the numeral proves, he is "an eighth *King*;" not *one* of the Seven Kings, but the result, as it were, or outcome of them—see below. In the person of this *eighth* "King" the Beast himself is embodied. It is he in whom the Beast from the Abyss (ch. xi. 7), which now "*is not*," will appear again.

There is considerable difficulty in determining who this *eighth* "King" is to be; and we may notice a similar ambiguity in the case of the "Little Horn" in Daniel. Rationalists, who see in the *eighth* "King" the returning Nero, triumph especially in their interpretation of "*the number of the Beast*," ch. xiii. 18,—"Nero-Cæsar;" and on the "Nero-Fable" see Note E at the end of this chapter. Züllig, who would fain apply the Nero-fable to his theory of the Edomite kings, admits that history affords no trace of an expectation of the return of one of the banished Herods, as an *eighth*, after Agrippa II.:—see above on ver. 10, and Note D at the end of this chapter.

On the "*eighth*" King, see Note F at the end of this chapter.

and is of the seven;] Cf. John xv. 19; xvii. 14; 1 John iii. 12—"**cometh of the seven;**" not, "is *one* of the seven," as Mark xiv. 69; Luke xxii. 58; Acts xxi. 8; Col. iv. 9, to which meaning St. John's usage is directly opposed. In such a sense he always prefixes the numeral (εἷς) which is wanting here—see ver. 1; and also ch. v. 5; vi. 1; vii. 13 (cf. *vv.* 4–8); xv. 7; xxi. 9; John i. 41; vi. 8, 70; vii. 50; xi. 49; xii. 4; xiii. 23; xx. 24. This fact removes another foundation from the rationalistic argument for the reappearance of Nero.

and **he** *goeth into perdition.*] The fate of the Beast in ver. 8 is again denounced; and the language of 2 Thess. ii. 3 is again recalled.

The object of the rationalistic interpretation, under its most moderate form, may be stated thus after Düsterdieck:—Assuming that St. John *did* write the Apoc., Rationalists seek (1) to prove, from internal evidence, that the Fourth Gospel was not written by the same author; and they seek (2) to discredit the whole Christian Revelation by representing an Apostle of Christ, in this his acknowledged work, as a political partizan (see Renan *passim*), and a myth-bewildered fanatic (see Note E). Düsterdieck, indeed, refuses to allow that St. John believed the Nero-fable; but he explains with care that he regards the prophetical element of the Apocalypse to contain "nothing magical," "no *mantik*" element, but to be merely "*ethical*:"—"The *natural* assumption," he writes, "for the ethical genesis of the prophecy, was, in the case of John, the same as in the case of Josephus, when the latter promised the Empire to Vespasian and his son Titus, before Vespasian had himself resolved to assume the Imperial power (*B. J.*, iii. 8)." The British and Syrian campaigns had proved to all how superior were Vespasian and his sons to men like Otho and Vitellius. That Titus ("the *seventh* King") should reign but for a short time; and that his brother Domi-

ceived no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast.

tian, "proceeding from the Seven" (and the *eighth*), should appear as an incarnation of the Beast from the Abyss, easily followed from natural reasons. The character of Domitian was well known: in the words of Eutropius he proved himself to be "exitiabilis tyrannus" (*H. R.*, viii., 1); and St. John might "naturally expect" that the danger always at hand while Titus reigned ("fratrem insidiari sibi non desinentem,"—Sueton., *Titus*, 9) would be realized in his being dethroned by his brother. Further still:—While the Apostle's common sense "naturally" led him to predict that the reign of Titus was to follow that of Vespasian, and to be of short duration, "John has been mistaken," adds Düsterd., "when he expected that the Roman World-empire would come to an end with Domitian. This singular error undoubtedly proves a certain imperfection of prophetic genius in the author of the Apocalypse, but does not in any way deprive him of it altogether" (s. 514).

Volkmar (s. 251) justly scoffs at this idea of "ethical inspiration" as a defence of "the canonical character" of the Apocalypse. Admit, indeed, under any form, the rationalistic interpretation of the Book, and, almost before the ink was dry with which St. John wrote, the facts of history had falsified his predictions.

The Ten Horns (12–14).

12. *And the ten horns* **that** *thou sawest are ten kings,*] On the meaning of the word "*Kings*," see on ver. 10; and on the symbol "*Horns*," as well as on the symbolical significance of the numbers "Seven" and "Ten," —the former denoting *totality* in the abstract, the latter *completeness* as regards the world,— see on ch. xii. 3; xiii. 1; and Introd. § 11, a.

The "*Horns*" are probably to be regarded as borne by the *seventh* "Head" (see on ch. xii. 3), or *seventh* phase of the godless World-power. The "*Ten Kings*" symbolize the collective powers of the earth.

Burger suggests that if *Seven* expresses *progressive* development in time, *Ten* expresses contemporaneous perfection: — the "*Ten Kings*" therefore are to be contemporaneous.

Hengstenberg takes the number *Ten*, applied here to "*Kings*" or Kingdoms, to be a *round* number:—they are not individual Kings, as is plain from the whole character of the Apoc., which *never deals with individuals*, but always represents the future in its most general features. The "*Heads*" denote World-monarchies, of which there was always but *one* at a time.

The Roman Empire, writes Dean Vaughan, is the Beast's *sixth* Head; and like the former will pass away. The *seventh* Head is a mere cluster of *Ten Horns*. The end of Rome shall be not a conquest, but a dismemberment—not *one* Kingdom, but *Ten* Kingdoms (ii. p. 166). The Horns (he adds on ch. xix. 11) denote *division*, not *concentration;* this power is known by a plurality, not by a unity of crowns and thrones. To the same effect Bossuet, "C'est un caractère assez remarquable, que d'un seul empire il se forme tant de grands royaumes." On this principle the "*Ten Horns*" denote the kingdoms of the earth,—be their number what it may,— ending in the State-system of "the Last Times," which is completely under the rule, and at the command of Antichrist.

which have received no kingdom as yet;] Hengstenberg would render "**had not yet received kingdom**," or "**dominion**:"—the matter in hand concerns not nations with their respective governments, but the combination of the *Ten* as the reigning power on the theatre of the world's history;—Ebrard explains *not yet* by the existence, when St. John wrote, of the Roman Empire, the *sixth* World-power, on the fall of which the "*Horns*" become the *seventh:* see on ver. 10;—Grotius understands "not *as yet* within the limits of the Roman Empire;" but this restriction is not mentioned in the text.

The words "*no kingdom as yet*" may intimate that what is spoken of is a something to arise subsequent to the ten horns on the Beast in Daniel, with which the "*Ten Horns*" here have been erroneously identified: "For the Beast itself is the 'Little Horn' that arises among those ten of Daniel (vii. 8), uprooting *three*, and therefore not co-existent with the *Ten*" (I. Williams p. 346).

Andreas, however, recognized here the ten horns, or Kings whom Daniel also saw. Of these Antichrist will slay *three*, and reduce the rest to his rule.

Bengel, with the codex A, reads "**not**" (οὐκ for οὔπω); and explains, *have not received*, because they have given it to the Beast (ver. 17). Burger (see above) also favours this reading: and he would interpret in connexion with the words, "*for one hour*," which follow:—'They are *kings*, indeed, but *vassal-kings* merely, dependent on the Beast;—*kings*, for they are clothed with royal power;—but only "*as kings*," for they have not received an actual kingdom. They enjoy their authority, moreover (see below), for a very short time—the 3½ years of Antichrist's supremacy; see Dan. vii. 20–25.

but **they** *receive* **authority** *as kings,*] By the expression "*as Kings*," Hengst. under-

13 These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast.

14 These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: [a]for he is Lord of lords, and [a] 1 Tim. 6. 15. ch. 19. 16.

stands the plenitude of regal power:—"*as Kings* that reign, not merely over their own subjects, but over the world;"—Words., on the contrary, takes it to denote "the *precariousness* of their power;"—and so Düsterd.: "Their Kingdom is not real, full, regal power; but as being transient, is represented *as if* it were royal power" (cf. ch. ix. 3);—Alf. thinks it represents "the reservation of their kingly rights in their alliance with the Beast;"—Auberlen would refer it to the absence of the "diadems" in ver. 3, indicating "that the Ten Kingdoms into which the Germano-Sclavonic world is to be divided, will lose their monarchical form in the end" (p. 302).

for *one hour*,] (On the accus., cf. ch. ix. 5, and also Matt. xxvi. 40). Shortness of duration (see ver. 10) is denoted here:—"especially" writes Words. as "compared with the power of the Beast's contrast, the Lamb, which is *not* for *an hour*, but for ever. On this use of '*hour*,' cf. 2 Cor. vii. 8; Gal. ii. 5; 1 Thess. ii. 17; Philem. 15." See also ch. viii. 1; and cf. ch. xviii. 10:—why their authority is thus brief is told in ver. 14. Hengst. notes that history confirms this sense of *short duration*; for the first appearance of the German Tribes almost coincides with their conversion to Christianity.

Vitringa and Elliott give a different explanation—"**at one and the same time with**:" see ch. iii. 3, "*thou shalt not know what hour* (ποίαν ὥραν) *I will come upon thee.*" If St. John had meant "a short time," notes Vitringa (p. 776), he would have written πρὸς ὥραν (John v. 35; 2 Cor. vii. 8; &c.), or πρὸς καιρὸν ὥρας (1 Thess. ii. 17), or χρόνον ὀλίγον (Acts xiv. 28):—compare too ch. xii. 12. I. Williams also suggests: "They shall come into existence together with the Beast, as they enter into the description of the Beast when St. John first sees him rise from the sea (ch. xiii. 1)." The Vulg. renders "*una hora accipient post bestiam.*"

It seems more natural to understand "a short time,"—it may be the brief duration of Antichrist's reign at the End: cf. Matt. xxiv. 22. In ver. 17 the duration of their authority is limited to the time required for fulfilling "the words of God."

Volkmar as a Rationalist thus explains this verse: "They have not yet received Imperial power; they are at present, under the *sixth* (and *seventh*) "Head," merely simple Prefects of the Provinces; but—united to the *fifth* "Head" (Nero) when he returns to Rome as the *eighth*—these provincial rulers will exercise authority similar to the Imperial, though but for a short time," when the Emperor avenges himself on Rome (ver. 16);—and Renan: "The limited period for which the Proconsuls and Imperial Legates of the Ten chief provinces, who are not true Kings, receive their power from the Emperor" (p. 433).

with the beast.] *I. e.*, in alliance with him. As to the meanings assigned to the "*Ten Horns*" see Note D at the end of this chapter.

13. *These have one* **purpose**;] Or "*one mind*," as A. V.

and their power and authority they give *unto the Beast.*] See *vv. ll.*, and note the present tense, though the future is signified:—cf. 1 Macc. viii. 4. (On the reading of T. R., διαδιδώσουσιν, see Introd., § 8). The expression of ver. 12, "*with the Beast*" is enlarged upon in this verse; and then the unity of purpose of the "*Ten Kings*" and the Beast is referred to in ver. 17:—they are to war (1) with the Lamb, and (2) with the Harlot (*vv.* 14, 16).

Ewald notes, "the Satanic Nero-purpose;"—Renan writes: "If we could admit a *retouching* of the Apocalypse after the event ('des retouches *post eventum*') we might suppose a reference here to the attempts of the generals to re-establish the Neronian régime (Tac., *Hist.* ii. 71, 95; Sueton., *Vitell.* 11; Dion Cass. lxv. 4, 7). I have made many efforts to see whether Otho might not be the *second* Beast (ch. xiii. 11), or '*False Prophet*,' which would explain ch. xiii. 12, 16, 17; but *vv.* 13–15 resist such an interpretation" (p. 488).

Ebrard anticipates an objection:—"How can the Ten Kingdoms receive power '*with the Beast*' and yet, as the *seventh* World-power, precede the Beast who is the *eighth*"? The answer is to be found in the Book of Daniel. As in Dan. vii. 8 the 'Little Horn' arises among the other ten (and therefore while they exist), so the Beast rises, in his inchoate state, while the "*Ten Horns*" rule. They rule "*for one hour with the Beast*," who then appears alone and independently as an "*eighth*" World-power (s. 470).

14. *These* **shall war** *with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them,*] This result is the reverse of that stated ch. xi. 7; xiii. 7. It points, by anticipation, to ch. xix. 11–21

Lord of lords, and King of kings;] Cf. ch. xix. 16; 1 Tim. vi. 15; and also Deut. x. 17;

King of kings: and they that are with him *are* called, and chosen, and faithful.

15 And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.

16 And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.

Ps. lxxxix. 27; Dan. ii. 47; vii. 14. Not the Lamb only, "*shall overcome them;*" the same verb is to be carried on to the next clause,—

and they [also shall overcome] that are with him, called *and chosen and faithful.*] *I. e.*, the armies in heaven are to share in overcoming the "*Ten Kings*" (ch. xix. 14). "*The armies which* **are** *in heaven*" consist of those who, having been "**called** *and chosen*" on earth, in their Baptism, "to fight manfully under Christ's banner," have continued His "*faithful* soldiers and servants unto their lives' end:"—cf. on ch. iii. 22. Hengst. considers that the mention of "*the called*," &c., as instruments of Christ's victory, proves that the victory can be no bloody and destroying one; but one to be gained, through the peaceful mission of the Church, by the weapons specified in Eph. vi. 11–17. See on ch. xix. 14.

Bengel renders as does A. V.: "*they that are with Him are called*," &c. There seems, however, no reason why such a statement should be made here; the other rendering, too, is far more natural:—The Redeemed are represented as sharers in the victory; they must also be represented as sharers in the conflict: cf. Eph. vi. 10–17. Indeed these words supply a distinct echo of Pauline doctrine. In its theological sense—"nemo vocat nisi Deus"—"*called*" is found in the writings of St. John only here and in ch. xix. 9; "*chosen*" only here and 2 John 1, 13; and for "*faithful*," cf. ch. ii. 10; John xx. 27; 3 John 5.

THE MYSTERY OF THE WOMAN (15–18).

15. *And he saith unto me,*] A new clause; see on ver. 7. The judgment of the "**Harlot**," the chief figure in this Vision (see ver. 1), is now to be set forth. This judgment could not be comprehended without a previous insight into the relation between the "**Harlot**" and the Beast; and without understanding what the Beast symbolizes.

The waters which thou sawest, where **the harlot** *sitteth,*] On the Beast beside the waters.

are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.] This authoritative explanation of the symbol of "*the waters*" is in strict harmony with Isai. viii. 7; cf. Ps. xviii. 4, 16; cxxiv. 4. All inhabitants of the earth are thus symbolized (cf. ch. xii. 3, 8, 12, 16), for all serve the "**Harlot**"—see ver. 18. In such enumerations as this the number *four* is employed—"the signature of the *earth*"—see ch. v. 9; vii. 9; x. 11; xi. 9; xiv. 6.

Ebrard interprets: The Angel of ver. 1 gives this explanation, because the same Rome, which now appears as a "**Harlot**," had appeared in ch. xiii. 1 as the Beast from *the sea;* and hence, the meaning of "*the sea*" or "*the waters*" from which that Beast arose is now added. On this interpretation of Ebrard, see Note C on ch. xi. 7.

16. *And the ten horns which thou sawest,* **and the beast,**] (See *vv. ll.*). The alliance of the "*Ten Kings*" with the Beast—of the collective powers of the earth with the embodiment, at this particular time, of the principle of evil—is described in *vv.* 12, 13. (A *nom. absolute:* as *persons* are intended, the pronoun which follows (οὗτοι) is *masculine*).

these shall hate the **harlot,**] The reference is to what is still future:—the moving cause is God (ver. 17), the immediate occasion is not revealed, but the World-city, in which the resources of the godless World-power are concentrated, is to become an object of hatred to the former subjects of the "**Harlot.**" "I will raise up thy lovers against thee" (Ezek. xvi. 37; xxiii. 22) was of old the denunciation against spiritual faithlessness: and subsequent history affords many an example of the enmity that arises at times between World-rulers and World-cities Cf. Zech. i. 19: "These are *the horns* which have scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem."

and shall make her desolate] See on ver. 3. Note the contrast to ver. 4, and to ch. xviii. 16.

and naked,] This symbolism is based on Ezek. xvi. 35–39; xxiii. 22, 29:—"and shall leave thee naked and bare."

and shall eat her flesh,] The token of extreme hostility—see Psalm xxvii. 2; Micah iii. 3; cf. Jas. v. 3. Düsterdieck explains this figure as referring to the symbol of the *Harlot;* and the burning, in the next clause, as referring to the symbol of the *City* in ver. 18. Wordsworth understands the *carnal* element of her power, as distinguished from the spiritual.

and shall burn *her* **utterly** *with fire.*] See ch. xviii. 8, 18; and cf. Gen. xxxviii. 24; Ezek. xvi. 41.

17 For God hath put in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree,

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Alf. considers that the distinction drawn by Düsterd. cannot be pressed; cf. Lev. xx. 14; xxi. 9:—it cannot positively be said that nothing more than the burning of the *City* is now intended.

We thus see the severance of the World-power from the World-city, together with the destruction of the latter by the former—an event which marks the beginning of God's judgments on the antichristian World-power. So important a feature of the Divine scheme is this event, that ch. xviii. is devoted to the unfolding of its details.

I. Hengstenberg interprets:—The nations of the Germanic race are intended "who were destined by God to avenge the cause of Christ upon the persecutor Rome;" and he quotes St. Jerome in proof of the sufferings which Rome endured at the hands of Alaric, and the Barbarian invaders generally. So Grotius, Bossuet, Elliott and, generally, on the same principle, Dean Vaughan, who writes:—"The wild beast has *Seven Heads*, and Rome is the *sixth*. Rome therefore will pass away. But how? The prophecy answers, The *seventh* Head is a mere cluster of *Ten Horns*. The Roman Empire will have no one successor. Its end shall not be a conquest, but a dismemberment . . . : not one kingdom, but *Ten* Kingdoms. Diverse in all else, these *Ten* Kingdoms shall make common cause against their one predecessor. The very Beast on which Rome has for so long triumphantly ridden shall shake her off, shall turn upon her, shall aid the *Ten Kings* in her spoliation and destruction. Thus in this form . . . . shall the last of the *Seven Heads* rise into vitality, and the last of the Seven Empires begin its reign. And there shall be none later than that *seventh:* there shall be no more World-Empires. *Six* single powers, and then Antichrist, and then the End:—see 1 Thess. ii. 3, 8" (ii. p. 167).

II. On the other hand Words. uses this passage as another proof that the "Harlot" cannot be *Heathen* Rome; for it is certain that the Heathen *City of Rome* was not destroyed by any powers that grew out of the Empire of Rome" . . . . "The *Horns* of the Beast, *i. e.*, some Powers that have grown out of the Roman Empire, will one day be alienated from the Papacy:"—"The Harlot City," writes Tertullian, "is to receive its deserved retribution from the *Ten Kings*, which will grow out of the dismemberment of the Roman Empire" (*De Res. Carn.* 25). "The ruin of Papal Rome will not be effected by Protestant Nations, but by Papal Princes and People rising against her." To the same effect Vitringa (p. 780). I. Williams interprets generally of "a Christian Church, not keeping her faith:"—"Rome and Jerusalem," he adds, "were united in putting Christ to death, and in persecuting His Church; but Rome rose against Jerusalem, and burnt it with fire—itself surviving; so the Beast and the *Ten Kings* are combined with the Harlot in persecuting Christ's witnesses and saints for a time, but rise afterward against her, and destroy her with fire. . . . . Ancient idolatrous Rome slew Christ and his saints, and then proceeded to *make desolate, destroy*, and *burn* the harlot Jerusalem" (p. 354). And more generally still, Auberlen: "The Church which, instead of witnessing against the apostate World-power, committed fornication with it, shall be judged by that very World-power. The time will come when worldly rulers . . . . shall make the Harlot desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire, to designate the fulness of carnality into which the Church is sunk" (p. 318). See above on ver. 1.

III. Godet writes:—Babylon is the capital of the universal monarchy which Antichrist will found (see on ver. 11). Seated on Seven Mountains it is certain that Babylon denotes Rome. It is then at Rome that the residence of the Jewish Monarch is first to be: "But how can a Jew forget the mortal blow that his nation has formerly received from Rome? . . . . God has made use of Rome to chastise Israel; He is about to make use of Israel to judge Rome. It is the old antagonism between Jew and Pagan—the most profound antithesis of history—which now attains to its supreme crisis. Rome is reduced by triumphant Israel to the actual state of Nineveh or of Babylon. After this act of vengeance, Antichrist will go to establish, as we have seen (ch. xi. 7, 8), at Jerusalem, his natural capital" (p. 374). Here takes place the struggle of the Beast with the "*Two Witnesses*," and the conversion of Israel, already restored politically. This is what is revealed in the "*Little Book*," in ch. xi.

IV. Rationalists in general interpret this passage as referring to the return of Nero and his allies to take vengeance on Rome. E.g. Reuss (*Hist. of Theol.* p. 383): "Heaven will not defile itself by direct contact with 'the mother of Harlots,' the modern Babylon. This shall be chastised by the king it has rejected—by Nero the Antichrist returning at the head of the armies of the East." Renan seems rather disposed to ascribe what St. John writes here ("le pamphlet du chef des Églises d'Asie") to his having witnessed the submission of the generals of the armies in

and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled.

18 And the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

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the different provinces—Vindex, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Mucianus, Vespasian, &c.—to the central authority in order to reconstitute the Empire. They humiliated Rome by depriving her of the sole right of disposing of the Empire ("evulgato imperii arcano posse principem alibi quam Romæ fieri"—Tacit. *Hist.* i. 4); and they went so far as to threaten to stop her supply of food,—see Joseph. *B. J.* iv. x. 5, &c. (p. 434).

17. *For God* **did put** *in their hearts*] The aorist is proleptic:—cf. ch. xvi. 16. The moving cause of the unexpected fact predicted in ver. 16 is now assigned: the immediate cause is not revealed. Here the influence proceeds from God, see ch. xviii. 8;—in ch. xvi. 14, 16, it proceeds from the "*three unclean spirits.*"

to perform his purpose,] The Vulgate ["Deus enim dedit in corda eorum ut faciant quod placitum est illi"], Stuart, Züllig, Hengst., Words., Alf., Burger, understand "to perform unconsciously *God's* purpose, while they appear to accomplish their own" —see ver. 13. Bengel, De Wette, Düsterd., Bisping, understand "the *Beast's* purpose,"—it is God who has impelled them to unite with and serve the Beast. Appeal is made to the expression "*until the words of God,*" &c., below; and also to the unsuitable connexion of the "Divine purpose" and the "human purpose" in one clause:—we might, however, rather expect to read "the Beast's," not "His purpose," if such a meaning were intended; see the repetition of the word "*Beast*" below. Reuss does not decide: Ils feront *son* dessein (de Dieu ou de la bête.")."

and to **perform one purpose,**] Or translate "**to do his mind, and to come to one mind,**]. The words of ver. 13 repeated.

and **to** *give their kingdom unto the beast,*] For the interpretations which have been assigned to these words, see on *vv.* 13, 16.

until the words of God **should be accomplished.**] See *vv. ll.* This clause corresponds to the first words of the verse. "*The words of God*" in this place may be compared with "*the mystery of God*" in ch. x. 7. According to Burger, "*The words of God*" here signify, "the prophecies which in the Old and in the New Test. treat of these Last Days." The action of the "*Ten Kings*" has not only its *end* in the fulfilment of "*the words,*" *i.e.*, the expressed will of God; but also its *limit*:—when they have thus acted their power is over, see ver. 12. Ebrard on ch. xix. 9 expounds: Antichrist, the Beast from the Abyss, allied with the "*Ten Kings*" shall exercise unlimited rule, as the "*eighth*" World-power (ver. 11), until the "*words of God*" shall be fulfilled through the Marriage of the Lamb.

The mighty influence of the world-ruling City becomes oppressive to Antichrist. He will be sole ruler: "World-ruler and World-city must always be found together; the despotic military influence of the one, and the democratic commercial influence of the other—Communism and Cæsarism—must always be united, if there is to be one form of World-power. But if this result is attained, the internal contrast between both regularly emerges. World-ruler and World-city part in twain, from the very nature of things, and in the first instance to the disadvantage of the World-city. Historical examples of how results of this nature come to pass are conspicuous in ancient and modern times: e.g. the conflicts between the Emperors and the *Urbs*,—between Paris and its Cæsars" (Kliefoth, *in loc.*).

18. **the great city, that** *reigneth*] Gr. **that hath a kingdom**] The present tense defines the period to be the time when St. John wrote. Expositors of every school generally agree that Rome Pagan, or Rome Papal, or Rome under both aspects, is intended here,—see on ver. 9. Whatever applications may be made of this prophecy, and wherever the concentration of the World-power may be placed at any period of history, it is plain that when St. John wrote Pagan Rome was such a City as this verse describes. Here we have one of the leading subjects of modern controversy; and some of the results may be mentioned in this place:—

"Papal Rome," writes Hengst., "has never had for the Papacy the same importance which heathen Rome had for the Roman Empire. The Pope has never been, like the Emperor, only the representative of Rome, so that the dominion might be attributed not to him but to Rome, as is done here." He quotes in proof:—

> "Terrarum Dea gentiumque Roma,
> Cui par est nihil, et nihil secundum."
> (Martial.)

"Per omnes quotquot sunt partes terrarum et Domina suscepta et regina" (Amm. Marcell.). So too the same Temple was erected to Rome and to Augustus; Hadrian

erected a Temple in the city to Rome herself; &c.

Ebrard explains:—Not "*the Great City*" of ch. xi. 8; for that was destroyed by the earthquake (ch. xvi. 18, 19), before "*the one hour*" of ver. 12. In ch. xi. 8; xvi. 19, "*the Great City*" is a type; here it is the exposition of a type, being what the "*Woman*" signifies; and a type cannot be explained by a type. The actual "*City*" here corresponds rather to one of the three parts into which that typical City was divided by the earthquake—see on ch. xvi. 19; for the "*Woman*"—Babylon, or the City of Rome—is become in these last times, since the earthquake, no longer a Kingdom, but the seat of the power of the "*False Prophet*" (s. 474.)

Dean Vaughan writes: "The Babylon of St. John's time, the Babylon to which this prophecy primarily refers, was the great Roman Empire . . . . One of the chief uses of Prophecy would have been lost if that application had not been thus clear and decisive . . . . To promise the Church under Domitian deliverance from the yoke of the Papacy, would have been to mock, and not to console" (ii., p. 201).

Bishop Wordsworth argues that the full extent of the prophecies of the Apocalypse here, and in ch. xviii., concerning the fall of the Great City, were not fulfilled by such events as the capture of Rome by Alaric, or the assaults of the different Barbarian nations. Nevertheless, when the Imperial power of Germany was broken, and the Bishops of Rome after Gregory VII. acquired a spiritual and temporal sway under the titles which the Popes now "assumed of *Sovereign-Pontiff* and *Supreme Head* of the *Universal Church*, Vicar of Christ upon Earth and '*Ruler of the World*,' he stood in a more lofty eminence than had ever been attained by the Cæsars": "Therefore," he concludes, "since it is generally agreed that these prophecies concern *Rome*, and since they were *not* fulfilled in *Heathen* Rome; and since they concern Rome as she was to become after she had ceased to be Heathen; and since, after she had ceased to be Heathen, she became in course of time subject to the Bishop of Rome, and has continued to be subject to him for many hundred years; therefore, our conclusion is, that they concern Rome as the capital City of the Bishop of Rome, and of the Papal World" (p. 251).

In order to repel the application to the Papacy, many Roman expositors also apply what is said of the destruction of Rome, to the future—to Rome again become Pagan: "This is the hypothesis," observes Bishop Wordsworth, of "Suarez, Viegas, Ribera, Lessius, Menochius, C. à Lapide, and others, particularly Dr. Manning in our own day" (*ib.*). Thus Stern (s. 374) writes:—"Babylon is really the City of Rome, not only, however, according to the old-heathenish, but also according to the new-heathenish signification of the World's history. So long as Rome maintains Christianity, so long God forgets, humanly speaking, her ancient guiltiness. But in the last times of the New Test. World-history, many inhabitants of the Roman obedience will abandon their holy Catholic faith; will unite with the revolutionists of all lands; nay, unmeasured wickedness will rear its throne in Rome, after the Holy Father with his faithful Bishops and Priests and the pious believers shall have been hunted into the desert." And Bellarmine (*De Rom. Pont.* iv 4.): "Tunc etiam summus Pontifex Romanus Pontifex dicetur et erit, licet Romæ non habitet, sicut accidit tempore Totilæ." It is irrelevant to urge in reply to such an interpretation the discordance between it and the conclusions of other schools of Roman theologians who consider that these prophecies were fulfilled in ancient Heathen Rome:—it can only be said that, like all Futurist expositions, its acceptance or non-acceptance rests on some preconceived theory.

The use of the present tense in the expressions "The Woman *is*," "which *reigneth*," is urged by many (e.g. De Wette, Düsterd.) as proof that, by "*the Great City*," Rome only—the capital, when St. John lived, of the World-empire typified by the Beast—can be meant. But, as Bengel notes, we must rather interpret these present tenses from the standpoint of the Vision (cf. ch. iii. 12; xi. 7), as signifying, not the City which now rules the world in the days of the Seer, but as the seat where the World-power is concentrated at each crisis of history; especially in the days of Antichrist—to which time, however, the words need not be restricted. How the World-ruling City may be called in the last times, we do not know; how at any previous time, we need not absolutely determine.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. XVII.

NOTE A ON VER. 4—ANCIENT PEARLS.

Pearl—Μαργαρίτης: *Margarita:* and later *Margaritum*—seems to have been known from the earliest times to the Asiatic Greeks in consequence of their intercourse with the Persians, ever its greatest admirers. Among the motives impelling Cæsar to

attempt the conquest of Britain was the fame of its pearl fisheries. Pearls in the ancient world held the highest rank among precious stones, and for an obvious reason —their beauty is entirely due to Nature. being susceptible of no improvement from art.

As no two Pearls were ever found exactly alike, this circumstance gave origin to the name '*Unio*' (unique). But in Low Latin, '*Margarita(um)*' and '*Perla*' became a generic name; '*Unio*' being restricted to the fine, spherical specimens—see King, *The Natural Hist. of Precious Stones*, pp. 258–267. "*Unio*," used as a noun *masc.*, denotes *a single large pearl* (*pearl* in *Hoch-deutsch* is *perala*), see Pliny, ix. 35, 112, 123;[1] Senec. *De Ben.* vii. 9; Mart. viii. 81, 4; xii. 49, 13. Shakspere uses *union* for *pearl* in Hamlet, v. 2.

NOTE B ON VER. 4—BABYLON (p. 469).

Tertullian seems to have been the first of the Fathers who transferred the name Babylon to Rome:—"Sic et *Babylon* apud Joannem nostrum Romanæ urbis figuram portat, proinde et *magnæ* et regno *superbæ* et *sanctorum debellatricis*." *Adv. Jud.* c. 9;—see also *Adv. Marc.* iii. 13. "Et *prostituta* illa civitas a *decem regibus* dignos exitus referat."—*De Resurr.* c. 25. "Illa civitas valida, quæ *super montes septem* et plurimas *aquas præsidet*, cum *prostitutæ* appellationem a domino meruisset, quali habitu appellationi suæ comparata est? Sedet certe in *purpura* cum *coccino* et *auro* et *lapide pretioso*." *De Fem. Cult.* c. 12:—cf. *Scorp.* c. 12.

St. Irenæus understands by Babylon the *Roman* Empire which is to be divided among the Ten Kings:—

"Manifestius adhuc etiam de novissimo tempore, et de his qui sunt in eo decem regibus, in quos dividetur *quod nunc regnat Imperium*, significavit Joannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi, edisserens quæ fuerint decem cornua, quæ a Daniele visa sunt. . . . et reliqui subjicientur ei et ipse '*octavus*' in eis; et '*vastabunt Babylonem, et comburent eam igni, et dabunt Regnum suum Bestiæ*'" *Adv. Hær.* v. 26, p. 323.

St. Jerome styles Rome, though Christian, *Babylon*:—"Cum in Babylone versarer, et purpuratæ meretricis essem colonus, et jure Quiritum viverem," &c.—*Lib. Didymi de Sp. Sancto*, Præf. t. ii. p. 105.

On Isai. xxiv. 7, 8, he also writes:—"Atteretur . . . . spiritualis Babylon, quæ sedet in septem montibus purpurata, cujus supplicia in Apocalypsi Joannis legimus." t. iv. p. 332.

And on Isai. xlvii. 1 (*ib.*, p. 549):—"Licet ex eo quod juxta LXX scriptum est, *filia Babylonis*, non ipsam Babylonem quidam, sed Romanam urbem interpretantur, quæ in Apocalypsi Joannis et in Epistola Petri, Babylon specialiter appellatur."

And once more writing to Marcella:—"Lege Apocalypsin Joannis, et quid de muliere purpurata, et scripta in ejus fronte blasphemia, septem montibus, aquis multis, et Babylonis cantetur exitu, contuere. '*Exite*,' inquit Dominus, '*de illa, populus meus*,'" &c. (*Rev.* xviii. 4). *Epist.* 46, t. i. p. 206. (The object of this Epistle is to persuade Marcella to leave Rome, and to take up her abode in Palestine). See on 1 Pet. v. 13.

In the Middle Ages Rome is not seldom styled "the Western Babylon" (see the references to this fact by Mr. Chas. Maitland, *l. c.*, p. 299, &c.). As already stated the Papacy, while in Avignon, was regarded by Dante as fulfilling Rev. xvii. He is followed by Petrarch, who writes: "Babylon, feris Rhodani ripis imposita, famosa dicam an infamis meretrix, fornicata cum regibus terræ? Illa quidem ipsa es quam in spiritu sacer vidit Evangelista. Illa eadem, inquam, es, non alia, sedens super aquas multas, sive ad littora tribus cincta fluminibus," &c.—*Epist. sine Titulo*, xvi. (xx.)—See Cary's note on the *Inferno*, xix. 106–111.

It was a principle with the later Reformers to identify Babylon, in the character of the Harlot, with the Apostate Church. Calvin (*Institt.* iv. 2, 12; vii. 21, 25; 9, 4) concluded that all the notes of Babylon, which he identifies with Antichrist, were to be found in the Papacy. Nevertheless he distinguished (iv. 2, 12) Roman Catholic Christendom from the Papacy existing in it. He concedes as to the former, "ecclesias apud eos esse non inficiamur;" maintaining, however, that the Papacy itself was an antichristian institution.

Among the Lutherans it is a recognized doctrine that the Pope "is the veritable Antichrist" (*Art. Smalc.* iv.). And Turretin (A.D. 1703) writes: "Constans est omnium Reformatorum et Protestantium fides Antichristum illum magnum esse Papam Romanum."—*Comp. Theol.* 16, 15, Contr. 1.

In opposition to this Protestant interpretation there arose in the Church of Rome a school of expositors (Ribera, 1591; Viegas, 1601; Alcasar, 1614; &c.) which adopted the formal principle of the Reformers, viz. the

[1] Pliny writes: The worth or quality of Pearls lies wholly "in candore, magnitudine, orbe, levore, pondere, haud promptis rebus in tantum ut nulli duo reperiantur indiscreti, unde nomen *unionum* Romanæ scilicet imposuere deliciæ." He tells of one Clodius, who "singulos *uniones* convivis absorbendos dedit;" adding how "Ælius Stilo Jugurthino bello *unionem* nomen impositum maxume grandibus margaritis prodat."

identification of Babylon with Rome, but who inferred from 2 Thess. ii. that Antichrist will be a man living in the last times, and who is symbolized by the Beast of ch. xiii. This school assumed that the interval between the Ascension of Christ and the appearance of the personal Antichrist is passed over in the Apocalypse, which only contains a prophecy concerning "the three and a half years" before Christ's Second Advent; and by this period they understood three and a half common years. Turretin (*l. c.*, 16, 15, 1) thus characterizes this school:—"Pontificii Antichristum fingunt hominem singularem et unicum, ortum ex tribu Dan, qui se pro Judæorum Messia venditans, spatio trium annorum cum dimidio, templum Hierosolymitanum instaurabit, universum orbem subiget, Henochum et Eliam redivivos trucidabit, totum Christianismum evertet, seipsum in templo restaurato proponet adorandum, ac tandem a Christo in monte Oliveti, ex quo paraturus sit ascensionem in cœlum, occidetur." To this effect, with minute variations, Stern[1] and Bisping interpret the Apocalypse.

Note C on ver. 9—The Seven Mountains.

The applicability of the symbol of the *Seven Heads*, as denoting *seven mountains*, to the City of Rome, is obvious. Rome was ordinarily styled "the Seven-hilled City,"—ἡ πόλις ἡ ἑπτάλοφος,—"Urbs septicollis." She was celebrated as such in an annual national festival, the *Septimontium*. Thus Varro (*ob.* B.C. 28) writes: "Dies Septimontium nominatus ab his septem montibus in queis sita Roma est."—*De ling. Lat.* iv.; and Plutarch: τὸ Σεπτιμούντιον ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἑβδομον λόφον τῇ πόλει προσκατανεμηθῆναι, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἑπτάλοφον γενέσθαι.—*Probl. Rom.* p. 280. See also Tertullian *De Idol.* 10; *Ad Nationes*, ii. 15.

"Of the seven hills, the Quirinal and Viminal are styled *colles*, whilst the others, though without any apparent reason, are called *montes*. It cannot depend upon their height, since those called *colles* are as lofty as those dignified with the more imposing name of *montes*; whence it seems probable that the difference originated in the ancient traditions respecting the Septimontium."—Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Geogr.* ii. 721.

[1] Stern writes: "Most of the expositors of the Apocalypse and many of the Fathers are of opinion that in the 17th and following chapters the downfall of *heathen* Rome is predicted. Already the Jews were wont to apply the name *Babylon* to Rome, which they hated so bitterly:—see Schöttgen, *Hor. Hebr.* pp. 1050, 1125. Babylon in the Last Days Stern identifies with "das abgöttisch gewordene Rom" (s. 382).

To give a few quotations out of many:—

Virgil:—

"Illa inclyta Roma, . . .
"Septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces."
Æn. vi. 783.

Cicero:—

"Hoc tu indaga, ut soles; ast hoc magis: ἐξ ἕστεως ἑπταλόφου."—*Ad Attic.*, vi. 5.

Horace:—

"Di quibus septem placuere colles."
Carm. Sæc. 7.

Tibullus:—

"Carpite nunc tauri de septem montibus herbas."—ii. 5, 55.

Ovid:—

"Sed quæ de septem totum circumspicit orbem
Montibus imperii Roma deûmque locus."
Trist. i. 4, 69.

Martial, celebrating the view from the Janiculum, writes:—

"Hinc septem dominos videre montes
Et totum licet æstimare Romam."—iv. 64, 11.

Claudian:—

"Aurea septem-geminas
Roma coronet arces."—xii. 19 (ed. Gesner).

Prudentius:—

"Divûm favore cum puer Mavortius
Fundaret arcem septicollem Romulus."
Peristeph. x. 412.

See, *in loc.*, Wetstein, Wordsworth (*Sequel to Letters to Gondon*, xi.), Alford.

Note D on ver. 10—The Seven Heads and Ten Horns.

The "Seven Heads" (or "Kings") are variously understood (see on ch. xiii. 1):—

I. As Seven *Kingdoms*:—a. (1) Egypt, (2) Assyria, (3) Babylonia, (4) Medo-Persia, (5) Græcia, (6) Rome, (7) The Roman Empire reconstituted after the Barbaric invasions:—so Auberlen, Keil (*On Daniel*, Engl. tr. p. 279), Hengst., Alford. Stern partially accepts this classification: he omits Egypt, and divides (4) into Media as the *third*, and Persia as the *fourth* Kingdom,—the *seventh* "Head" being a new heathen power which in the Last Days is to rule the nations from Rome.

b. (1) Assyria, (2) Babylonia, (3) Persia, (4) Macedonia, (5) Syria under Antiochus Epiphanes, (6) Rome, (7) The "Ten Horns" of ver. 12 combined into a *seventh* Apocalyptic World-kingdom:—so Hofmann, and Ebrard.

c. (1) Babylonia, (2) Medo-Persia, (3) Macedonia, (4) Syria, (5) Egypt, (6) Heathen Imperial Rome, (7) "The Imperial power of Germany:"—so Words. The same principle of interpretation was adopted by Andreas (for

whom the *seventh* World-kingdom began with Constantine, and the *eighth* is the Kingdom of Antichrist), Beda, N. de Lyra.

d. For Godet's opinion, see on ch. xiii. 1.

II. As the Seven *forms of Roman government*, Republican and Imperial:—i. (1) Kings, (2) Consuls, (3) Decemviri, (4) Military Tribunes, (5) Dictators, (6) Emperors, (7) The rule of Odoacer. So Calovius, whom Vitringa (p. 771) calls "Anonymus;" adding that Launoy—who also understood by the "Kings" the forms of government at Rome—substituted for Odoacer, the series of Popes who, before they gained temporal power, had constituted the *seventh* King, and after they gained it, became the *eighth* King of ver. 11. Mede understands the same forms of government, but regards the "False Prophet" (ch. xiii. 11) or Roman Bishop as the *seventh:* "the last Head of the Beast is indeed but the *seventh*, yet in some respects is an *eighth* [see ver. 11]," for the *Sixth* Head, or rule of the Cæsars—that "which *was*" in St. John's day—"declined at length to a *Demi-Cæsar* confined to the West, which being in some sort diverse from the former, takes the *seventh* place, and makes the "False Prophet" the *eighth*. But being, as in name, so in substance, the same *Cæsar* with the former, 'the False Prophet' (in whose time the Whore rides the Beast) is still in order the *seventh*. The 'False Prophet,' beginning his dominion as soon almost as the *Demi-Cæsar*, is therefore in order of time the *seventh* as well as he;"—though the *Demi-Cæsar* is soon gone, the 'False Prophet' still survives, succeeding him as it were an *eighth* (*Opp.* pp. 524, 922). ii. To the preceding may be added: "Septem capita esse septem illos montes [scil. Romæ], et etiam septem Reges, quo numero intelliguntur omnes Romani Imperatores."—Bellarmine (*de Rom. Pont.* iii. 5). iii. Vitringa notes (see above on the interpretation of Calovius): "Longe magis mihi arridet systema Anonymi" (p. 773); but he proceeds to suggest a new interpretation, viz. that the "Seven Kings" of the mystical Babylon, or the seven more eminent Popes, are intended by the "Seven Heads" of the Beast,—that is to say, before the Reformation, Gregory VII., Alexander III., Innocent III., Boniface VIII., John XXII.;—and after the Reformation, Paul III., and Paul V. (see also his note on ch. xiii. 1, p. 592). iv. Akin to this is the following interpretation,—the "Seven Kings" denote the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, Rome, Gaul, Spain; so Cocceius.

III. Allegorical explanations:—a. The Seven capital vices—the pride of the lion, the avarice of the tiger, the luxury of the bear, the gluttony of the wolf, the envy of the serpent, the anger of the viper, the sloth of the ass: so Tirinus on ch. xii. 3 (*Comm. in S. Script.*, 1632, vol. iii. p. 581); but he also explains the Dragon's Heads as further denoting "septem sibi famulantes reges et regna:" see his notes on ch. xiii. 1; xvii. 9;—b. On the same principle Alcasar (*l. c.*, p. 678), understands the Seven Christian persecutions.

IV. The literal explanations: The "Seven Heads" are Seven *personal* Rulers—literally Seven "Kings, or Emperors of Rome."

Mr. Maurice, as a "Preterist," makes Nero the *fifth* Emperor; Galba is the *sixth* ("*the one is*"); Otho, the *seventh* ("*is not yet come*"): "When Nero died, it seemed as if the wild Beast into which imperial government had transformed itself, was extinct; Vitellius ['*the eighth*'] would show that it lived and breathed" (*l. c.*, p. 326).

This *principle* is accepted with one consent by the rationalistic school. The *idea*, however, is by no means original:—see the interpretation of St. Hippolytus, as given in Note C on ch. xii. 3; and also the method of Victorinus (see below Note E), which was applied in a manner equally arbitrary by Hammond and Grotius. This interpretation received a more systematic application in 1781 from Corrodi, a Swiss theologian in his "Histoire du Chiliasme;" and through Eichhorn (in 1791), and Bleek (in 1820) it has become the leading feature of rationalistic exegesis. Among modern rationalists, Renan (as formerly Wetstein) gives the interpretation in a form somewhat modified. He makes the series of the Roman Cæsars to begin with Julius (see Note C on ch. xiii. 3); but the order of the Emperors is taken by the vast majority to be:—(1) Augustus, (2) Tiberius, (3) Caligula, (4) Claudius, (5) Nero, (6) Galba, (7) Otho, (8) Vitellius, (9) Vespasian, (10) Titus. The forms of the literal interpretation may, accordingly, be classified; and thus the "Seven Heads" are as follows:—

(a.) The *five* before Domitian,—(1) Galba, (2) Otho, (3) Vitellius, (4) Vespasian, (5) Titus; then (6) Domitian, (7) Nerva;—so Victorinus. (b.) The Emperors counted from the Cæsar who first opposed Christianity,—(1) Claudius, (2) Nero, (3) Galba, (4) Otho, (5) Vitellius, (6) Vespasian, (7) Titus, (8) Domitian;—so Hammond and Grotius:—"He begins from Claudius," writes Grotius, "because Tiberius and Caius had no knowledge of the Christians: and, as Ezekiel always computes times from his own deportation, so John also counts the Emperors from his" (*in loc.*). (c.) Assuming that Nero must be the *fifth* Head,—the Head "smitten unto death" (ch. xiii. 3),—and that the Apocalypse was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, *i. e.*, between the end of Dec. 69 and the spring of the year 70,

under Vespasian (who is, therefore, the *sixth* "Head")—Lücke, Bleek, and Düsterd. decide on counting thus, (1) Augustus, (2) Tiberius, (3) Caligula, (4) Claudius, (5) Nero, (6) Vespasian, (7) Titus, (8) Domitian. Nero they argue died June 9, A.D. 68. Galba was now recognized as Emperor by the Senate, and was assassinated January 15, A.D. 69, on which day Otho was proclaimed. Otho put an end to his own life on April 17, and was succeeded by Vitellius, who was slain Dec. 21. The "*Principate*" of Vespasian, however, dated from July 1, A.D. 69, on which day "the Legions swore to him at Alexandria" (see Merivale, *l.c.* vol. vi. p. 477). The three short reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, Lücke regards as a mere *interregnum*, and as not deserving a place in the list of Emperors. This *interregnum*, accordingly, following the suicide of Nero, "the *fifth* King," the last of the line of the Cæsars, constituted the "death-stroke" of ch. xiii. 3. The "healing" of the wound was effected by Vespasian, "the *sixth* King," who restored the full power of the Roman Empire by founding the new dynasty of the Flavii. The sole proof of this theory offered by Düsterd. consists in the words with which Suetonius begins his life of Vespasian: "Rebellione *trium principum* et cæde incertum diu et quasi vagum imperium suscepit firmavitque tandem gens Flavia." This passage, however, by the mere application of the title "*Principes*" to the three—Galba, Otho, and Vitellius—distinctly recognizes the right of each to the name of Emperor (see Introd. § 4, b). Thus Ovid contrasts Romulus with Augustus:

> "Vis tibi grata fuit; florent sub Cæsare leges:
> Tu Domini nomen, Principis ille tenet."
> *Fast.* ii. 142.

The title of "*Imperator*" conveyed the idea of the ruler's military capacity; the title of "*Princeps*" conveyed the idea of the highest civil pre-eminence (see Merivale, *l. c.*, iii. p. 452). And consequently as Julius is the *first* (see Note C on ch. xiii. 3), and Nero the *sixth* Emperor, so Galba (as Renan allows) must be regarded as the *seventh*. This theory, indeed, of Lücke and Düsterd. has been devised in order to preserve some slight authority for the Apocalypse as a prophetical Book (see on ver. 11); but it is utterly extinguished by the light of history.

(d.) On the rationalistic principle pure and simple, the "Seven Kings" are the Seven Cæsars beginning with Augustus,—Nero being thus the *fifth:* Galba is the *sixth*, and his advanced age indicates that a new reign is close at hand. 'Every one in the year 68 must have known' that Galba's successor, the *seventh* "King," would be either Otho or Vitellius; and as St. John 'believed' (see ch. xiii. 5) that the world was to come to an end in three years and a half, the reign of this *seventh* must be of short duration. Then comes the *eighth*, or Nero returning from the Abyss as Antichrist:—so Volckmar, *in loc.*; so Ewald; and also, De Wette, Credner, Guericke, Réville, Scholten, Krenkel, &c. Reuss lays down the principle of this school: "The Beast is the seat of the 'Woman'; consequently something local—an Empire which has 'Seven Kings' at its head (*sept têtes*):"—the reigning Head, the *sixth*, is Galba.

Renan, who understands history, argues differently;—although he too accepts the "Nero-fable" ("cette idée, mère de l'Apocalypse," p. 351), namely, that the dead Nero was to return as Antichrist;—and he concludes: The "Seven Heads" are the Seven Emperors from Julius Cæsar to Galba. Galba, the *seventh*, reigns for the moment, but he is old and feeble. The *sixth*, Nero, who is at the same time the Beast and one of the "Seven Kings," is not dead according to popular belief; he will reign again (the final catastrophe being only three and a half years distant); he will thus be the *eighth* King; and will then perish (p. 433):—On the "Nero-fable," see Note E.

(e.) Stuart regards it as indifferent whether we begin with Julius or Augustus; *i.e.*, whether Nero or Galba is the *sixth:* St. John only seeks to cover the ground till the close of the persecution then raging; and Otho's short reign would make no difference (*l. c.*, p. 325).

(f.) That no eccentricity of interpretation should be wanting, Rinck (s. 62) combines the principle of Hammond and Grotius (see above b.) and the arbitrary hypothesis of Lücke (see above c.), with the Nero-fable;—He begins with the Emperor whom he assumes to have been the first persecutor, (1) Caligula; then come (2) Claudius, (3) Nero, (4) Vespasian, (5) Titus, (6) Domitian, (7) Nerva—and Nero revived is to be regarded as a prophetical and indefinite *unit* ("Eins") for all the Cæsars who follow until the subversion of the Roman Empire.

V. The hypothesis of Züllig is still more eccentric: The Beast is Edom—that is to say, false Judaism. In 1 Chron. i. 43–50, we find the names of eight kings of Edom. The *fourth* is named Hadad; and, consequently, the *eighth*, who is also named Hadad, "is *of* the [previous] Seven" (see ver. 11);—or, perhaps, in the catalogue of Gen. xxxvi. the name should be always written *Hadar* (as in ver. 39, where the Hebrew ד is put for ת);—or, again, it might be *Harad*, the root of the name *Herod*. Now the Herods sprang from Edom; and we have accordingly, in these *eight* kings, types of the new Edomite kings over Israel,—viz. (1) Herod the Great,

(2) Archelaus, (3) Philip, (4) Herod Antipas, (5) Agrippa I., (6) Herod of Chalcis, (7) Agrippa II. (Acts xxv. 13), whom Josephus (*B. J.*, iii. 17) and Justus of Tiberias (*ap.* Phot. *Cod.* xxxiii.) name as the *seventh* and last of these kings, who reigned until A.D. 100 (see Winer *R. WW. B.*, art. *Herodes*). This conclusion is shared by Herder and Wetstein; who regard the entire Beast as the Judaism which persecuted Christianity. On the reference to "Edom" see Renan, quoted on ch. xiv. 8.

VI. The "Kings" understood by the Greek interpreters: see I. Williams quoted on ver. 9.

VII. The interpretation of the "Futurists:"—

i. (a) See the theory of Roman Catholic Expositors as stated in the note on ver. 18.

(b) According to Todd (p. 281) and De Burgh ("I do believe it is Rome, but Rome as it shall be, and not Rome as it is," p. 319) this prophecy relates to Rome in that future time to which this Vision refers.

ii. Bengel is partly a "Futurist":—The prophecy, he writes, regards "Seven Mountains" according to the times of the Beast, in which the Palatine is deserted, and the Vatican flourishes. The "Seven Heads" have not a double meaning; but one only compounded of a Mountain and a King:—There is (1) the Mons Cælius and on it the Lateran with Gregory VII. and his successors;—(2) Mons Vaticanus with the temple of St. Peter, from Boniface VIII.;—(3) Mons Quirinalis, with the temple of St. Mark, and the Quirinal Palace, from Paul II.;—(4) Mons Esquilinus, with the temple of St. Maria the Greater, from Paul V. From these four spots, Papal Bulls given from the City, have been dated: no fifth, sixth, or seventh "Mountain" has *as yet* been so respected by the Popes. Bengel considers that this fact establishes the truth of his interpretation.

VIII. In the Chronicle of Roger de Hoveden (ed. of the "Master of the Rolls," vol. iii. p. 75) under the year 1190, we are told of an interview at Messina between Richard I. and the Abbot Joachim. The Chronicler thus reports Joachim's explanation of this verse: "'*There are Seven Kings*'; namely Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Maumet, Melsemutus, Saladinus, Antichristus; of these 'five' *have fallen*; . . . '*and one is*,' namely Saladinus, who at this time oppresses the Church of God, and keeps possession of it with the Sepulchre of our Lord, and the Holy City Jerusalem; . . . . '*one of them is not yet come*,' namely Antichristus. Concerning this Antichristus, the same Joachim says that he is already born in the city of Rome, and will be elevated to the Apostolic See."[1]

On this Professor Stubbs notes that the explanation of the present verse given in Joachim's Commentary (Venice, 1527) "is not in close agreement with the account given in Benedict and Hoveden, but is not sufficiently inconsistent with it to prove the latter to be a fabrication. The Bollandists contend that the whole account is a forgery, but this is extremely improbable" (*ib.*, p. 76). Professor Stubbs adds that Joachim, in his Commentary, had made the *fourth* Head to be Chosroes, king of Persia, "sub quo perditus Maometus invaluit"; the *fifth* the Emperor Henry I.; while the *seventh* begins with Frederick II.:—"but this was probably written after the quarrel of Frederick II. with the Papacy." Melsemutus was "the second monarch of the Almohad dynasty."

Among the interpretations of the "Ten Horns" we meet the following:—

I. (i.) According to Vitringa: Ten Kingdoms arise out of the fragments of the Roman Empire, and are recognized in the world, in organized form, about the time of the appearance of Antichrist, in Cent. xi. The kingdoms are (1) Gaul, (2) Spain, (3) Germany, (4) England, (5) Scotland, (6) Denmark, (7) Sweden, (8) Hungary, (9) Bohemia, (10) Poland; all ready to recognize the supremacy of the See of Rome;—(ii.) Hengst. and Words.: They are Kings or Kingdoms, as Daniel's Vision explains (ch. vii. 24), growing out of the Roman Empire at its dismemberment;—(iii.) Alford: Ten European powers arising out of Daniel's Fourth Kingdom; "not the Roman Empire merely, but the aggregate of the Empires of this world as opposed to Christ;" "in the precise number and form here indicated, they have not yet arisen (see on ch. xiii. 2);"—(iv.) I. Williams does not consider that these *Ten Horns* are the same as the ten in Daniel, or the Kings that destroyed the Roman Empire: *Ten* signifies (see St. August., *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 7) universality of dominion; and as the seven heads in Daniel, all meeting here in one, intimate that the kingdoms of the world will form this one body, so its '*Ten Horns*' represent all the great and powerful of the world which it sways. Antichrist leagued with the world will war with the Lamb (Ps. ii. 2, 3, p. 346);—(v.) Auberlen: "Individual small kingdoms" which give their power to the antichristian Kingdom: "That three of them are

[1] On the application of these words by Bishop Hurd (*Sermons on the Study of Prophecy*, p. 235), and by Bishop Newton (*l. c.*, on ch. xi. 1–14), see Dr. S. R. Maitland's *Letter to Rev. W. Digby*, p. 64, &c.

humiliated in doing so, is mentioned in Dan. vii. 8, and is not repeated but presupposed by John" (p. 303). "The *non-existence* of the Beast," he adds, "embraces the whole Germanic Christian period:" the *healing* of the *wound* has already begun; the return of the Beast is prepared in the principles of the Revolution of 1789—"In Napoleon, despotism sanctioning revolution, and proving that the Beast even in this shape can carry the Harlot;—In Socialism;—In Communism." At what period the *seventh* Kingdom shall pass over into the *eighth*, God alone knows, "Can ye not discern the signs of the times?" (Matt. xvi. 3);—(vi.) Ebrard: The Ten Kingdoms are here spoken of, not so far as they lie concealed as its component parts in the *sixth*, or Roman World-empire, but so far as, on the cessation of Roman power, they come forward with independent authority and constitute the *seventh* World-empire:

II. Züllig (see above) refers to Gen. xxxvi. 40; 1 Chron. i. 51, where *eleven* princes (Heb. *alluphim*; A.V. "dukes") of Edom are enumerated (ii. s. 327). The Rabbins, however, reduce these *eleven*, to *ten* (see Eisenm. i. 734, 781): and R. Bechai, reads in the case of the last two names, either "duke Magdiel of the city Iram;" or "duke Iram of the city Magdiel." The word *alluphim*, moreover, signifying *friends*, *confidants*, *allies*, the modern antitypes of the provincial rulers of Edom—rulers of *Ten* smaller kingdoms of Edom—now make common cause with the Beast.

III. "Preterists":—Mr. Maurice considers that these "Horns" are significant of that military force upon which the Empire rested. The "Ten Kings" are the commanders of the Legions in the different provinces: "There could be no more faithful account of an organized anarchy" (p. 327).

The rationalistic school are unanimous in finding in the historical circumstances of St. John's age, the interpretation of this symbol. (a) The Ten Horns are the Proconsuls and Imperial Legates of the ten chief provinces, or nationalities of the Empire:—e.g. Réville (p. 121) reckons up (1) Spain, (2) Gaul, (3) Germany, (4) Italy, (5) Greece, (6) Asia, (7) Syria, (8) Palestine, (9) Egypt, (10) Africa; and Renan enumerates, (1) Italy, (2) Achaia, (3) Asia, (4) Syria, (5) Egypt, (6) Africa, (7) Spain, (8) Gaul, (9) Britain, (10) Germany,—adding, "Apoc. xvii. 12 rend ceci clair" (p. 413). And so Ewald, Volkmar, H. Gebhardt, who refer the "*one hour*" (ver. 10) to the short continuance of Nero as Antichrist. (b) Others, e.g. Eichhorn, De Wette, Bleek and Krenkel, understand the Parthian Kings who were to cross the Euphrates (ch. xvi. 12) as allies of Nero. (c) Wetstein applies the symbol to the *Ten* leaders of the Flavian parties.

IV. Stern understands that Antichrist, in the last times will acquire the Empire of the world, and conquer Babylon by the help of the "*Ten Horns*,"—*i.e.*, supported by *Ten* (a number used figuratively for tolerably many) smaller kingdoms, which have not yet attained independent strength, but which, out of jealousy towards all-powerful Babylon, ally themselves with Antichrist, and deposit in his hands all the warlike means which they possess. And thus Babylon—Rome become godless—will be destroyed (s. 382).

V. Düsterd. allows that the "*Ten Horns* (*vv.* 3, 7) serve to identify the Beast here with the Beast already described; but he gives up "every concrete, historical reference of the '*Ten Horns*.'" What is said here of the "*Ten Kings*" is simply borrowed from Dan. vii. 24, in order to finish off "the Apocalyptic picture." If we look for "the relative fulfilment" of the prophecy we find it in this, that henceforward Emperors are to attain to power only by means of intestine strife, and through conflicts which must tend to the destruction of the City (s. 518).

Note E on ver. 11—The Nero-Fable.

The origin and growth of the "Nero-fable" render it easy to estimate the probability of its having had any influence on the composition of the Apocalypse. Let impartial history tell the source of this fiction.

Dean Merivale (*Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vi. p. 365, ed. 1858) writes: "Nero perished on the 9th of June (A.D. 68) at the age of thirty years and six months, in the fourteenth year of his principate. . . . Some unknown hands were found to strew flowers on his sepulchre, and the rival King of Parthia adjured the Senate to do honour to his memory (Suet. *Ner.* 50, 57). Undoubtedly the Romans regarded with peculiar feeling the death of the last of the Cæsars" [Sueton. *Galba* i.; "Progenies Cæsarum in Nerone defecit"]. . . . "Yet these circumstances would not have sufficed to impart a deep mystery to the event, without the predisposition of the people to imagine that the dynasty which had ruled them for four generations could not suddenly pass away finally and irrevocably. The idea that Nero still survived, and the expectation of his return to power, continued long to linger among them. More than one pretender arose to claim his empire, and twenty years later a false Nero was protected by the Parthians, among whom he had taken refuge, and only surrendered to the repeated and vehement demands of the Roman Government" [Suet. *Nero*, 57; Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8—"Achaia et Asia falso exterritæ, velut Nero

adventaret"]. "This popular anticipation was the foundation, perhaps, of the common persuasion of the Christians, when the death of the prince was no longer questioned, that he should revisit the earth in the character of Antichrist; and both Romans and Christians seem to have combined in believing that the East, and possibly that Jerusalem itself would be the scene of his reappearance." [Compare Suetonius *Nero*, 40: "Prædictum a mathematicis Neroni olim erat, fore ut quandoque destitueretur. . . Sposponderant tamen quidam destituto Orientis dominationem, nonnulli nominatum regnum Hierosolymorum, plures omnis pristinæ fortunæ restitutionem"]. "There will be different opinions whether this idea sprang originally from the Christians or the Romans; probably it was the result of a common feeling reaching from one to the other" (p. 368). And again (A.D. 89): "During the progress of these distant wars Domitian had been disturbed, though only for a moment, by the appearance of a pretended Nero, who threw himself on the support of the King of Parthia, if he was not in fact set up by the Parthians to annoy the chief of the rival Empire. This event occurred perhaps in 89. . . The Romans were at last disabused of the imposture regarding their late tyrant, which had so long floated before their eyes; but the fable survived among the Jews and Christians, for many generations after the fall of the Flavian dynasty" [*i.e.*, after the death of M. Aurelius, A.D. 180]—*l.c.*, vol. vii. p. 111.

The pretender here mentioned, A.D. 89, was the third and last of the "false Neros."

As to the growth of this fiction, and its application to the interpretation of the Apocalypse, it is to be observed,—

Firstly,—That the obscure reference in Rev. xiii. 3, to one of the Heads of the Beast as "though it had been smitten unto death," and to the subsequent healing of its wound, has been found in some early and fantastic writers applied to Nero. E. g.:—

ὅταν γ' ἐπανέλθῃ
ἐκ περάτων γαίης ὁ φυγὰς μητροκτόνος ἐλθών.
Orac. Sibyll. viii. 70, 71.

This Sibylline book is ascribed by critics to Cent. ii. or iii. The *fourth* book, however, ascribed to the year 79, is apparently the earliest Christian notice of the "Nero-fable," —see Introd. § 4, b. No. (30); and Note E on ch. ii. 20. Sulpicius Severus (*circ.* A.D. 401), (*Chron.* ii. 28, ap. *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* ed. Halm., vol. i. p. 82), describes Nero as one "qui persecutionem primus inciperet: nescio an et postremus explerit, siquidem opinione multorum receptum sit, ipsum ante Antichristum venturum." And again: "Interim Nero humanis rebus eximitur, incertum an ipse sibi mortem consciverit: certe corpus illius non repertum. Unde creditur, etiam si se gladio ipse transfixerit, curato vulnere ejus servatus, secundum illud quod de eo scriptum est: '*et plaga mortis ejus curata est*,' sub seculi fine mittendus, ut mysterium iniquitatis exerceat"—*ib.*, c. 29, p. 84.[1]

Secondly,—That ch. xvii. 8 is relied upon in order to prove that Nero is intended by the reference in ch. xiii. 3, and that he is to return from the Abyss as the embodied Antichrist.

Now, not to argue again that one can hardly understand by the *whole* Beast in ch. xvii. 8 Nero only, who is typified in ch. xiii. 3 as *one* of the Beast's Heads, it is to be noted—(1) That this interpretation ascribes to St. John a superstitious belief in a fable which even the heathen rhetorician Dion Chrysostom, who lived under Domitian, scoffed at[2] (*Orat.* xxxi., ed. Reiske, t. i. p. 504);—(2) That it is doubtful in the highest degree whether the Nero-fable existed even at the end of Cent. ii. in the form in which Rationalists wish to find

[1] The source of this interpretation was plainly St. Martin of Tours, whose life was written by Sulpicius. This life includes an account of St. Martin's intercourse with angelic beings ("Constat autem etiam angelos ab eo plerumque visos"—*Vita*, 21, *ib.*, p. 130), and of the revelations imparted to him by the Angels. Of these visions a fuller account is given by his disciple Gallus (*Dial.* i. 1, *ib.* p. 152), who informed Sulpicius of the things "quæ Martino angelus nunciavit": e.g. of the end of the world,—"Neronem et Antichristum prius esse venturos: Neronem in occidentali plaga subactis decem regibus imperaturum, persecutionem ab eo eatenus exercendam, ut idola gentium coli cogat." Antichrist is to rule in the East from Jerusalem; he is to destroy Nero, and is himself to be destroyed by the coming of Christ: "Non esse autem dubium quin Antichristus malo spiritu conceptus jam natus esset et jam in annis puerilibus constitutus, ætate legitima sumpturus imperium."—*Dial.* ii. 14, *ib.* p. 197.

[2] For his liberality, writes Dion Chrysostom, Nero was pre-eminent (τούτῳ δὴ μάλιστα περιῆν ὁ Νέρων); and also for his despotic character. Consequently men revolted from him, and compelled him to destroy himself,—ἠνάγκασαν ὅτῳ ποτὲ τρόπῳ ἀπολέσθαι αὐτόν. οὐδέπω γὰρ καὶ νῦν τοῦτό γε δῆλόν ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ τῶν γε ἄλλων ἕνεκεν οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ὅν γε καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσι ζῆν. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ οἴονται, καὶ [or καίτοι] τρόπον τινὰ οὐχ ἅπαξ αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μετὰ τῶν σφόδρα οἰηθέντων αὐτὸν ζῆν *ibid.*). These words Reimarus (*ap.* Dion. Cass., p. 1056) renders thus: "Et adhuc omnes cupiunt eum vivere, plurimi quoque putant: quanquam non semel, sed multoties quodammodo mortuus sit, una cum iis qui tantopere sibi persuaserant eum vivere."

it in St. John. On the contrary, there is clear proof that the original "Nero-fable" assumed that form in which, by an anachronism, Rationalists find it in the Apocalypse, from combining with it a misinterpretation of 2 Thess. ii.; Rev. xiii. 3; xvii. 8. It is not said by Suetonius, or Tacitus, or Dion Chrysostom, that the popular delusion amounted to this,—that Nero, really dead, was to return to life from the nether world; but merely that it was not known in what manner he had perished ("vario super exitu ejus rumore, eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque."—Tac., *Hist.* ii. 8), and that the report had arisen that he was not dead, but had fled to Parthia, whence he was to return to punish his enemies ("quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri."—Sueton. *Nero.*, 57). Thus in the passages already referred to from the Sibylline Oracles he is represented as a *fugitive* (φυγάς, φεύγων): and so Lactantius when tracing the origin of the fable to the Sibyllines represents the matter: "Dejectus itaque fastigio imperii ac devolutus a summo tyrannus impotens nusquam repente comparuit, ut ne sepulturæ quidem locus in terra tam malæ bestiæ adpareret. *Unde* illum *quidam deliri* credunt esse translatum ac vivum reservatum, Sibylla dicente, 'Matricidam progressum a finibus esse venturum,'" &c. (*De Morte Persec.* c. 2). Lactantius knows nothing of the re-animation and return of the dead Nero; and the uncertainty as to the place of Nero's burial is easily explained by the words of Eutropius,—"exsequias Neronis, quæ humiliter sepultæ fuerant" (*Hist. Rom.* vii. 18). And thus in the time of Lactantius (A.D. 325) the "Nero-fable," which he describes as a delusion, had not yet taken the shape in which it is now sought to find it in the Apocalypse. See Düsterd. *in loc.*; Alexandre, *Excursus ad Sibyll.* VI., pars ii., c. 16.

Victorinus (if indeed the words ascribed to him are genuine—see Cave, *Hist. Lit.*, i. p. 147; and Note G on xiii. 18) appears to apply the Nero-fable to the Apocalypse. It seems probable however that the passage is an interpolation due to one of those writers who are spoken of with little respect by Ambrosius Autpertus in the eighth century:—see Introd. § 4, b.

The words of Victorinus are as follows:—"*One* is," *i.e.*, (1) Cæsar Domitianus; "*five* have fallen," *i.e.*, (2) Domitian's brother Titus, (3) his father Vespasian, (4) Otho, (5) Vitellius, (6) Galba. "*Another* is not yet come," *i.e.*, (7) Nerva, who continued but a short while, scarcely two years. "The Beast is 'of the *Seven*,'"—*i. e.*, Nero reigned before those Emperors; "and is the *eighth* (*octava*)," for, when the Beast shall come again, count thou the *eighth* place; "quoniam in illo [viz. Antichristo] est consummatio" (*l. c.*, p. 61). The Head smitten to death, and then *healed* (ch. xiii. 3), denotes Nero, for he killed himself with his own sword; him, "suscitatum Deus mittet regem dignum dignis, et *Christum qualem meruerunt Judæi.*" As he will bear another name the Jews will receive him as Christ. He will rise again from Hell, as Ezekiel (xxxi. 4) says, "Aqua nutriet illum, et infernus auxit illum."

St. Augustine is really the first writer who mentions the "Nero-fable" in connexion with the interpretation of Scripture; but it is with reference to 2 Thess. ii., and not to Rev. xvii. "No one doubts," observes St. Augustine, "that St. Paul has spoken in 2 Thess. ii. of Antichrist and the day of judgment." He confesses that he does not understand verses 6–8:—"Some think that this is said of the Roman Empire, and therefore that Paul the Apostle expressed himself obscurely lest he might incur the charge of wishing ill to the Roman Empire," "ut hoc quod dixit, 'Jam enim mysterium iniquitatis operatur,' Neronem voluerit intelligi, cujus jam facta velut Antichristi videbantur. *Unde nonnulli ipsum resurrecturum, et futurum Antichristum suspicantur.* Alii vero, nec eum occisum putant, sed subtractum potius, ut putaretur occisus: et vivum occultari in vigore ipsius ætatis, in qua fuit cum crederetur extinctus, donec suo tempore reveletur, et restituatur in regnum. Sed multum mihi mira est hæc opinantium tanta præsumptio."—*De Civ. Dei*, xx. 19. St. Augustine makes no reference whatever to the Apoc. in this connexion.[1]

As to the fact dwelt upon by Lücke, Bleek, and others, that the "Nero-fable" was believed in by the Christians of the first century independently of the Apocalypse—in proof of which the words quoted above from the Sibylline books are adduced—we may observe that not a word is said by any ancient writer of the miraculous recovery of Nero (a notion founded by modern critics on Rev. xiii. 3), or of his rising again from the Abyss (founded on Rev. xvii. 8);—all that is said applies not to Nero himself but to the *false* Nero, who, shortly after the eruption of Vesuvius, raised the standard of revolt in the East, under the reign of Titus; and who perished miserably. The references of the Sibyllist are simply in accordance with the affected mystery in which his pretended oracles are involved:—nothing is said of what the false Nero is to accomplish,

[1] St. Jerome (on Dan. xi. 28) mentions that many regarded Nero as the Antichrist spoken of by Daniel,—"Domitium Neronem Antichristum fore":—but there is no reference to the Apocalypse.

or even of the capture by him of Rome. The contrary[1] follows from the Sibylline verse that comes next after those relied upon in proof of the fable;—The false Nero

Ἥξει, καὶ Ῥώμης ὁ φυγὰς, μέγα ἔγχος ἀείρων,
Εὐφρήτην διαβὰς πολλαῖς ἅμα μυριάδεσσιν,—

And the result is:—

Τλήμων Ἀντιόχεια, σὲ δὲ πτόλιν οὐκέτ' ἔρουσιν,
B. iv. 138–140.

This passage merely speaks of Antioch and other places in the East suffering much from the fugitive's return; but of Antichrist, or his connexion with Nero not a word is said. See Hengst., ii. p. 79 &c.; Thiersch, *Versuch der Herst. für die Kritik des N. T.*, s. 410, ff.

No historical grounds indeed can be alleged for asserting that St. John in Rev. xiii. 3 adopted a popular delusion widely diffused in his time, as to the return of Nero who was to be raised from the dead. The belief did not exist in St. John's age; and no one, as yet, has ventured to maintain that St. John was himself the concocter of this form of the "Nero-fable." The sole historical fact round which this fable has gathered, is the existence of Pretenders who assumed the name of Nero.

A fable of this nature which, like other popular myths, has grown up so slowly, is not peculiar to any one age or race. The legend of King Arthur as not dead, but sleeping on the Eildon hills, lived long in the hearts of the people of Britain. The belief in the return of Frederick Barbarossa is still cherished by the German peasant. A similar expectation filled Portugal in a later and more historic age (A.D. 1578) when the fate of the chivalrous Sebastian was involved in some mystery after his defeat by the Moors. Michelet having told the death of the last Duke of Burgundy, adds: "Il n'était pas facile de persuader au peuple que celui dont on avait tant parlé était bien vraiment mort. Il était caché, disait-on, il était tenu enfermé, il était fait moine; les pélerins l'avaient vu, en Allemagne, à Rome, à Jérusalem .... Il se trouvait des marchands, qui vendraient à crédit, pour être payés au double, alors, que reviendrait ce grand duc de Bourgogne."—*Hist. de France*, 17. (See Trench's "*Hulsean Lectures*," p. 187).

[1] We read to this effect in B. iv. 145, Ἥξει δ' εἰς Ἀσίην πλοῦτος μέγας, ὃν ποτε Ῥώμη [συλήσασα], as it had been said in B. iii. 350–352, Ὀπτόσα δασμοφόρου Ἀσίης ὑπεδέξατο Ῥώμη, Χρήματά κεν τρὶς τόσσα δεδέξεται ἔμπαλιν Ἀσσὶς Ἐκ Ῥώμης, ὁλοὴν κ.τ.λ.

Alexandre refers these notices of a restoration to Asia of the wealth plundered from it by Rome, to the belief—"Orientem aliquando prævaliturum" (Sueton. *Vespas.* 4; Tac. *Hist.* v. 12). As Lactantius writes: "Romanum nomen .... tolletur de terra, et imperium in Asiam revertetur, et rursus Oriens dominabitur" (vii. 15). Alexandre explains this popular belief by the expectation, derived from the Jews, of the approaching kingdom of Messiah (p. 353). The words rather point to the hoped-for success of the false Nero.

NOTE F ON VER. 11—GALBA, OTHO, VITELLIUS.

It has been shown in Note D that one of the steps in the proof on which the usual rationalistic interpretation of this chapter depends, is the omission from the series of Roman Emperors of the three rulers who intervened between Nero and Vespasian,—Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. On Otho's defeat at Bedriacum by the generals of Vitellius, in April 69, Otho killed himself, after a reign of but ninety-five days,—"Nonagesimo et quinto *Imperii* die," are the words of Suetonius. Vitellius was put to death in the following December; and the brief duration of these three reigns has led Lücke, Düsterd. and others to omit them from the order of the imperial succession: see, above, Note D. Some authorities may indeed be quoted in favour of this omission;—

The "Paschal Chronicle" (ed. Dindorf. p. 459) thus describes the succession after Nero:—μετὰ Νέρωνα Γάλβας ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, Οὐιτέλλιος ἐν Γερμανίᾳ, Ὄθων ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. After mentioning the shortness of their reigns, the chronicler proceeds,—Ῥωμαίων ζ' ἐβασίλευσεν Οὐεσπασιανός, making Vespasian the *seventh* emperor, and the successor of Nero—who would thus be the *sixth* (see *ib.*, p. 311). Domitian is reckoned the *ninth*, as succeeding Titus (*ib.*, p. 465. Cf. Note C on ch. xiii. 3). In his Chronicle Eusebius gives the statement, here copied, as to Galba, Otho and Vitellius; but in his History (iii. 5) he includes Galba and Otho alone between Nero and Vespasian.

Several writers and chroniclers in like manner leave out of the imperial succession some one or all of these three Emperors. Thus Clemens Alex. in the *first* catalogue given by him (see Note C on ch. xiii. 3), states the order to be "Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Vespasian, Titus," &c.; but in the *second*, "Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian," &c. Orosius (lvii. c. 7, 8) gives the succession thus: "Quo [Galba] mox oppresso, Otho Romæ, Vitellius in Germania, Vespasianus in Syria, imperia simul atque arma rapuerunt;" where he too *seems* to omit Otho and Vitellius from the list of *established* Emperors.

None of these writers make Vespasian either *sixth* or even *seventh* Emperor.[1]

These quotations give more or less support to the rationalistic interpretation: but on the other hand, there is no doubt whatever that the three Emperors *were* recognized by contemporary writers as belonging to the line of the Imperial succession,—and, indeed, by all subsequent writers who are not influenced by subjective theories of history. Thus Josephus (*B. J.* IV. cix. 2; cxi. 9) describes in full the succession to Nero of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Suetonius includes them regularly among "The Twelve Cæsars," as also does Ausonius, writing of the Emperor who followed them: "His *decimus*, fatoque accitus Vespasianus."—*De XII. Cæsaribus.*

Dion Cassius writes: οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Γάλβας αὐτοκράτωρ ἀπεδείχθη (lib. lxiv. p. 1049); the accession of Otho is next referred to (*ib.*, pp. 1053, 1054); and then (lxv. p. 1060), we read: Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ . . . τὸν Βιτέλλιον . . . αὐτοκράτορα ἀνηγόρευον,—Vespasian's accession being recorded in the same manner (see lxvi. p. 1076). The Emperor Julian numbers them among the "Cæsars" (see Note C on ch. xiii. 3); and Aurelius Victor (*De Cæsar.* i. 6, 7, 8) equally includes the three as succeeding Nero. Epiphanius, who in his *Ancoratus*, makes Vespasian succeed Nero (μετὰ Νέρωνα Οὐεσπεσιανός, clx., vol. ii. p. 63), speaks of Galba as reigning seven months and twenty-six days, of Otho as reigning three months and five days, and of Vitellius as reigning eighteen months and twelve days (*De Mensur. et Ponder.* cxi., vol. ii. p. 169). Petavius (*ib.* p. 385) points out the error of Epiphanius as to these dates, referring to the dates given by Dion; but this error does not touch the question here. Petavius himself (*De Ration. Temp.* lib. v.—"A 68 Christi ad 96") gives Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, as following Nero and immediately preceding Vespasian as Emperors. To the early authorities may also be added Sulpicius Severus (A.D. 401), who places Galba, Otho, and Vitellius after Nero (*Chron.* ii. 30, p. 84).

To state the historical conclusion, with Dean Merivale:—

Galba was saluted Imperator by the soldiers on the 3rd of April, A.D. 68 (vol. vi. p. 356), and his election was sanctioned by the Senate (*ib.*, p. 372). On his assassination, Otho "stepped through an Emperor's blood into the place of the Cæsars" (*ib.* p. 399). On the suicide of Otho, the senators "met immediately and decreed Vitellius, by a single act, all the honours and titles which had been dealt out from year to year to his predecessors."—*ib.*, 431.

Note G on ver. 11—The Eighth King.

Düsterdieck—who does not rely on the Nero-fable, but who considers that Domitian is the *eighth*—partly agrees with Grotius and Hammond who translate, "the son of *one* of them" ("filius unius eorum"). Appealing to Rom. ix. 10; Matt. i. 3, 5, 6; Luke i. 27, they make Vespasian the *sixth*, and his younger son Domitian the *eighth* (see Note D), Andreas also explains "sprung from *one* of their Heads (ὡς ἐκ μιᾶς αὐτῶν)." Both explanations, however, insert the numeral, which is not found in the text; and, therefore, Düsterd. understands "the extraction or descent ('*Herkunft*') from out of the Seven:" "John," he notes, "does not insist on the *eighth* springing from *one* of the Seven,—although this is true,—but on this, that he who as the personification of the whole Beast corresponds in a certain measure to all Seven, has himself, from out of these Seven, the source

[1] How the changes are rung on this historical question may be illustrated by the following controversy:—

The fourth chapter of the Epistle of St. Barnabas (as given in the Cod. Sinaiticus) quotes, as follows, Dan. vii. 24:—λέγει δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ προφήτης Βασιλείαι δέκα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλεύσουσιν, καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν μικρὸς βασιλεύς, ὃς ταπεινώσει τρεῖς ὑφ' ἓν τῶν βασιλέων: and also Dan. vii. 7, 8:—καὶ εἶδον τὸ τέταρτον θηρίον πονηρὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χαλεπώτερον παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνέτειλεν δέκα κέρατα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μικρὸν κέρας παραφυάδιον, καὶ ὡς ἐταπείνωσεν ὑφ' ἓν τρία τῶν μεγάλων κεράτων.

These words Hilgenfeld (*Nov. Test. extr. Can.*, Fasc. ii. p. 66), in opposition to Volkmar, applies to the time of Domitian. Hilgenfeld maintains that St. Barnabas here alleges that there will reign *ten* Roman Emperors; and that "the Little Horn," which comes up last, signifies Nero (ἐλθὼν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταργήσει τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ Ἀνόμου. (c. xv.)—viz. Nero), who, returning as Antichrist, will strike down three Emperors who are closely connected one with another. These Hilgenfeld takes to be the three Flavii—Vespasian, Titus, Domitian—who, added to the Seven Roman Emperors of the Apocalypse (ch. xvii. 10), make up the *Ten* with whom the Roman Empire is to come to an end. Volkmar, on the other hand, thinks that St. Barnabas—correcting St. John, who regarded Nero, restored to life, to be the Antichrist whom Messiah was to destroy—"regnum Danielis item habuit Cæsareum et reges sic numeravit decem: Augustus, &c., Nero (5); Galba, Otho (2)—nam Vitellius apud Alexandrinos non numeratur; Flavii (3): igitur decadem Cæsarum sic implent, quorum extremus, Domitianus, maxime fuerat adversarius Dei et Messiæ Israelis, par fere Neroni. Qui sequebantur, Nerva, Traianus, Adrianus, efficiebant unam per adoptionem dynastiam: τρεῖς, ὑφ' ἓν βασιλεῖς,"—and that it was these three (Dan. vii. 8) who were to be overthrown, by one of the preceding Emperors restored to life in the character of Antichrist.

of his human personality. Thus the *Seven* collectively stand parallel to the *eighth*, who is the embodiment of the whole Beast" (s. 512). It is not said, argues Düsterdieck, that the *fifth* fallen king (Nero) will return as the *eighth*, but that the *eighth*, who is still future, will be the personified Beast himself,—even he in whom the Beast from the Abyss (ch. xi. 7), who now "*is not*," will reappear. To find, therefore, the Nero-fable here, would be to ascribe to St. John [as Renan does, *l. c.*, p. 414] "a confusion between the entire Beast with '*Seven Heads*' (the Roman Empire), and the Head 'smitten unto death' (Nero), ch. xiii. 3." See the remark of Schleiermacher quoted in the Introduction, § 4, b.

Burger, disregarding St. John's usage, explains: "He—the Beast, Antichrist—'*is of the Seven*,' *i. e.*, he belongs to the number of the Seven, for he is the *seventh* Head (see on ch. xiii. 3), but he is, at the same time, the *eighth*—for, as being the Head '*smitten unto death*,'—as being he whose '*death-stroke was healed*,'—as being he who '*is not; and is about to come up out of the Abyss*' (ver. 8),—he appears as an *eighth* in the series; and nevertheless is the *seventh*, for it is one and the same person '*which was, and is not, and shall come*.' This is the 'Little Horn' of Dan. vii. 8, 20, 21, 24, 25. Accordingly, rising on the Head of Daniel's fourth Beast, among its ten horns, exalted over them, and thus belonging to that phase of the World-power which this fourth Beast typifies,—Antichrist will '*come up*' as the *seventh* 'Head,'—will be '*smitten unto death*,'—will seem to retire from the stage,—but will return as an *eighth*, and yet be the same as the '*Head*' which was the *seventh*." See on ch. xiii. 3.

Vitringa, Bengel, Alf. understand that, after the "*Seven Heads*" of the Beast, the personal Antichrist is in the future to appear as an *eighth*. Somewhat similarly Ebrard who takes "the *sixth* King" to be the Roman World-power; the *seventh* World-power to be the "*Ten Kings*" with the Beast (ver. 12); and the *eighth* World-power to be the Beast from the Abyss (ver. 8), or Antichrist (s. 464 ff.). Ebrard also compares 2 Thess. ii. 3 ff. with Dan. vii. 25; xi. 36. This opinion is developed by Godet:—After the *seventh* (see on ver. 10), "will appear Antichrist—the *eighth* Head, and at the same time the entire monster—issuing now not from the *sea* of the peoples, but from the *Abyss*:" and, Godet adds, according to his peculiar theory, "To the astonishment of the whole earth the possessor of this power will be found to be that Israel [the Head "smitten unto death," ch. xiii. 3; see on ch. xiii. 1] which men believed to be erased for ever from the list of peoples;—which shall issue, of a sudden, from its tomb as that which it really is, the first of the peoples,—that nation to which belongs, whether for weal or for woe, the sceptre of the world." (*l. c.*, p. 368).

I. Williams writes (pp. 341–342): The Seven "*Kings*," though mentioned in connexion with them, are not the Seven "*Heads*," for the Beast himself is one of the Seven: not one of the "*Seven Heads*" he now himself wears, but of the seven Kingdoms of Daniel; as arising out of one of them, the Roman. "The Apocalyptic Beast corresponds with the 'Little Horn' of Daniel, which arises among the *Ten* Horns of this seventh Head, and by its rising roots up *three*, by which it becomes itself the *eighth*" (Dan. vii. 8); "he is probably the final Antichrist":—if there be some "confusion" here between being one of the Seven and yet one beyond them, the same exists in Daniel (vii. 11), where the Beast, being one of the Seven Heads, is as it were confounded with the 'Little Horn' itself. "An ambiguity which the fulfilment alone will explain."

Auberlen interprets:—The wounded Head has been healed; the World-power has been restored to the condition of the preceding Kingdoms; a new Kingdom has arisen "in which all the Beast's opposition to God is concentrated; . . . . therefore we read of an *eighth*, *which proceeds from the seven*, and is the full manifestation of the Beast-nature." "Like Daniel's Little Horn the *seventh* Kingdom passes over into an *eighth*, which is not merely one of the *Seven*, but is brought forth by them, and proceeds from them. This is the *anti*-christian Kingdom in the strict sense of the word." Not that a *personal Antichrist* will certainly stand "at the head of the antichristian Kingdom, for it is possible that the *eighth*, like the preceding "*Seven Heads*," designates a Kingdom, a power, and not a person" (*l. c.*, p. 303).

Wordsworth: "This is descriptive of the Roman power as it rose to supremacy under the Papacy, and carried the Harlot as on a throne. It was an *eighth* Kingdom, and it rose *after* the *Seven*, and from them" (see on ver. 10);—it was like the "Little Horn" of Dan. vii. 8: "Rome is the Western Babylon; and the *Western Babylonian* Power is, as it were, the *octave* of the *Eastern*. The *Eastern* Babylonian Power is the *first* in the prophecies of Daniel; the *Western* Babylonian Power is the *eighth* in those of St. John."

Hengstenberg supplies: "He is an 'eighth' *in destruction*"; *i. e.*, the Beast himself like the Seven, or with the Seven who have already fallen, goes *as an eighth* into perdition:—the heathen State comes to an end with the *seventh* phase of the godless World-power. We have a commentary on this passage in ch. xix. 11–21. In other words, as Hengst. expressly concludes, there is *no eighth Head*; the text limits the number to *Seven*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

• 2 *Babylon is fallen.* 4 *The people of God commanded to depart out of her.* 9 *The kings of the earth,* 11 *with the merchants and mariners, lament over her.* 20 *The saints rejoice for the judgments of God upon her.*

[Ver. 1 *om.* καί.—ἄλλον ἄγγελον. Ver. 2 ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φωνῇ λέγων [Erasmus, without any authority, here abandoned his codex, and rendered by "ἐν ἰσχύει" (*sic*) the *in fortitudine* of the Vulgate. Cf. Ps. xxix. 4, LXX.].—δαιμονίων.—[The words καὶ φυλακὴ παντ. ὀρνέου ἀκαθ. καί, which are wanting in 1, and elsewhere, Er. inserted after the Vulgate "*et custodia omnis volucris immundæ et*"]. Ver. 3 [A omits τοῦ οἴνου.—C merely reads τῆς πορν. τοῦ θυμοῦ].—πέπωκε [so P, 1 (πέποκε), T. R.; cf. ch. xiv. 8.—A, C read πέπτωκαν.—ℵ, B read πεπτώκασι. "πεπτω- pro πεπω- non potest non pro antiquissimo vitio haberi"—Tisch.: but compare τὸ ποτήριον τῆς πτώσεως, Isai. li. 17, 22, LXX.,—Heb. תרעלה = *titubatio*, "pr. *vinum* quod *titubatio* est, i. e. eam efficit"—Gesenius]. Ver. 4 ὁ λαός μου ἐξ αὐτῆς. Ver. 5 ἐκολλήθησαν (so 1, for which Er. substituted ἠκολούθησαν after the Vulgate *pervenerunt*). Ver. 6 *om.* ὑμῖν.—*om.* 2nd αὐτῇ.—τὰ διπλᾶ. Ver. 7 αὐτήν [Words. reads αὐτήν].—ὅτι Κάθημαι. Ver. 8 [A omits Κύριος].—κρίνας. Ver. 9 *om.* αὐτήν.—ἐπ' αὐτήν. Ver. 10 *om.* ἐν. Ver. 11 ἐπ' αὐτήν. Ver. 12 [B, T. R. read μαργαρίτου.—ℵ reads μαργαρίτων.—A reads μαργαρίταις.—C, P read μαργαρίτας].—βυσσίνου. Ver. 13 add καὶ ἄμωμον after κιννάμ. Ver. 14 σου before τῆς ἐπιθυμ.—ἀπώλετο for 2nd ἀπῆλθεν.—αὐτὰ οὐ μὴ εὑρήσουσιν. Ver. 16 *om.* 1st καί.—μαργαρίτῃ. Ver. 17 ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων [1, T. R. read ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων ὁ ὅμιλος.—P reads ὁ ἐπὶ τ. πλοίων πλέων]. Ver. 18 βλέποντες. Ver. 19 τὰ πλοῖα. Ver. 20 οἱ ἅγιοι καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι. Ver. 21 μύλινον. Ver. 22 [ℵ, A omit πάσης τέχνης]. Ver. 23 [A omits οἱ before ἔμποροι].]

The Fall of Babylon (1–24).

The approaching fall of Babylon is announced in this chapter (see ver. 21). The actual overthrow is assumed to have taken place between ch. xviii. 24, and ch. xix. 1. In ch. xix. 1–10 that overthrow is celebrated. The appearance of *three* Angels (cf. ch. xiv. 6–13) exhibits the chief stages of the Vision:—(i.) In *vv.* 1–3 the announcement of ch. xiv. 8 is repeated and developed;—(ii.) The fall of Babylon (see ch. xvi. 19), an event still future (cf. *vv.* 4, 8, 9), is described with minute details in *vv.* 4–20;—(iii.) The overthrow of the City is represented by a significant action in *vv.* 21–24. These three Angels have clearly no typical signification (see below). The narrative follows the division, which has marked the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials, into *seven* clauses, the *sixth* being divided from the *seventh* by an interposed section. Thus we have (1) The fall of Babylon and her sin (ch. xiv. 8; xvii. 2.) in *vv.* 1–3;—(2) The invitation to God's people to depart from out of her (cf. Isai. lii. 11), for her iniquities have come "*in remembrance before God*" (ch. xvi. 19), in *vv.* 4, 5;—(3) The Angel turns to address those who are to inflict the judgments, in *vv.* 6–8;—(4) The lament of the "*Kings*" is given in *vv.* 9, 10;—(5) The lament of the "*Merchants*" in *vv.* 11–17;—(6) The lament of the "*Mariners*" in *vv.* 17–19. On this is interposed a brief utterance of triumph in ver. 20; and then (7) comes the symbolical action which declares her overthrow.

The severance between the World-power and the World-City (ch. xvii. 16), and the consequent destruction of the latter by the former is a leading event in the history of the Church of God, because it signifies the beginning of the Divine judgment on the anti-christian World-power itself, and on its prince, Antichrist. This event is announced by Heaven; and all the dwellers on earth who previously had served the "Harlot," lament over it. In order to typify this event, the present chapter combines the overthrow of Babylon—the City which desolated Israel by its power (see Isai. xiii.; xiv. 22, 23; xlviii. 20; lii. 11; Jer. l.; li. 6–9), and the ruin of Tyre—which led Israel astray by its idolatry and lasciviousness (Ezek. xxvi.; xxvii.). Hence it is that the language of this description is borrowed from the language of the former prophets respecting the fate of these two cities. The object of this chapter, writes Hengst., is "to clothe with flesh and blood" the description of ch. xvii. 16; and the destruction of heathen Rome is a guarantee of the future accomplishment of this prediction—see ch. xx. 8, 9. Words. notes: "Though Babylon falls, the *Beast* still remains. Therefore the fall of Papal Rome will *not* be the destruction of the Papacy" (ch. xix. 19).

Renan considers that St. John, writing as a Jewish fanatic, and interpreting in the spirit of political hatred the rumours connected with Nero's death, now imagines that the rulers of the provinces (see ch. xvii. 16) are about to attack and destroy Rome; and, taking the destruction of the City to have been accomplished, that he here celebrates the fall of his enemy (p. 439).

Reuss illustrates in an instructive manner,

AND after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory.

2 And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, [b]Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.

3 For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the [l]abundance of her delicacies.

[b] ch. 14. 8.

[l] Or, *power.*

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by the case of this narrative, the modern conception of "Apokalyptik" as expressed by Rationalists:—see Note A at the end of this chapter; and Introd. § 9.

CHAP. XVIII.—THE FIRST ANGEL (1–3).

1. After these things] (Omit "*And*"—see *vv. ll.*). For this formula see on ch. iv. 1, 2.

another angel] *I.e.*, other than the Angel of ch. xvii. 1; cf. x. 1. There is no reason whatever for taking this Angel to be Christ (Calov., Hengst.);—or the Holy Spirit (Cocceius, Vitr.);—or "another of the Vial-Angels," as in ch. xvii. 1 (Bisping);—or Luther (Nicolai).

coming down out of heaven,] Bengel connects "*another*" with "**coming down,**" as if the sense were 'another besides the last who *came down from heaven*,'—see ch. x. 1; and so Alf.

having great **authority;**] Of this it is added as a visible sign—

and the earth was lightened with his glory.] See Ezek. xliii. 2; Luke ii. 9; Acts ix. 3; xii. 7. I. Williams is reminded of "the Angel ascending from the East"—ch. vii. 2.

2. *And he cried* **with a mighty voice,** *saying,*] See *vv. ll.* The subject here is the same as in ch. xiv. 8, but the denunciation is more searching.

Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great,] Cf. Isai. xxi. 9. The aorists here are *proleptic.* Burger suggests that they may denote the *certainty* of what is to happen—see *vv.* 4–8. The fall of Babylon is also foretold in ch. xvi. 19: see also on ch. xvii. 16. The ruin of the World-city is here developed.

Reuss notes that "the allegory of the 'Woman' is replaced by the proper expression."

and is become **a** *habitation of devils,*] See *vv. ll.* On the word rendered "*devils*,"—*i.e.*, **demons**, evil spirits of an inferior order,—see the note on ch. ii. 10; and cf. ch. ix. 20; xvi. 14. For the imagery see Isai. xiii. 19–22; xxxiv. 14 (LXX.); Jer. li. 37. Babylon, destroyed by the Beast *from the Abyss* (see ch. xvii. 16), naturally becomes the habitation of his agents, the demons. Cf. also Matt. xii. 43.

and a *hold of every* **unclean** *spirit,*] Gr. **a prison** (see ch. ii. 10 and cf. ch. xx. 7), a place of *custody* ("the prisoner to his *hold* retir'd."—Dryden). De Wette, Hengst., Bisping understand a place of banishment.

and a hold *of every unclean and hateful bird.*] Another prophetic symbol of desolation, see Isai. xxxiv. 11;—for Babylon, cf. Jer. l. 39; for Nineveh, cf. Zeph. ii. 13, 14. The symbol is differently explained by Words.: "Not *cage* or *prison*, but place where they are *safe*; where these ill-omened birds resort or keep their vigils."

3. *For*] The sins, on which her judgment is grounded, are the cause.

of the wine of the wrath of her fornication] Compare the text of this verse with that of ch. xiv. 8,—see the note on that place. Compare, too, the note on ch. xvii. 2. (Observe, the Cod. Alex., A, omits the words "*of the wine*": and Cod. C merely reads "of the fornication of her wrath.")

all the nations have drunk;] Unless there has been a very ancient error on the part of the scribes, as Tischendorf (8th ed.) suggests, the weight of authority supports the rendering: "**For by reason of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, all the nations are fallen,**"—a reading not obviously in accordance either with the context, or the parallel passages, ch. xiv. 8; xvii. 2.

On the other hand compare Isai. li. 17, 22 (LXX.);—A.V. "*the cup of trembling*": see *vv. ll.* (The two readings differ merely by the insertion in the latter verb of the Greek letter τ).

and the kings of the earth **committed** *fornication with her,*] As already stated in ch. xvii. 2.

The "*Kings*," according to Reuss, are not the allies of Antichrist, come from the East, but the numerous minor vassals of the Empire, who, protected by the central authority, tyrannized over the unhappy populations.

and the merchants of the **earth waxed** *rich*] Through the extensive commerce created by her luxury, as explained in the words which follow.

by reason of *the abundance*] (Cf. ch. viii.

4 And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.

5 For her sins have reached unto

13). Gr. **by the power of**, as *Marg.* Vitr. renders *copia*, and aptly compares Ezek. xxviii. 4 (LXX.).

of her wantonness.] This noun (τὸ στρῆνος) occurs only here in the N. T.; the verb only in *vv.* 7, 9; and the compound verb only in 1 Tim. v. 11 (cf. 2 Kings xix. 28, LXX.,—Hebr. *shaanan* = *fastus:* Gesen.; A. V. *tumult*). In the verb, writes Archbishop Trench, "is properly the insolence of wealth, the wantonness and petulance from fulness of bread; something of the Latin *lascivire*" (*Synonyms* p. 189): cf. Deut. xxxii. 15. De Wette renders "**by her powerful luxury**" —"von ihrer gewaltigen Ueppigkeit;" Vulg.: "*de virtute deliciarum ejus;*" Words.: "**riotous luxury.**" Note here, "merchants *of the earth*" combined with "kings *of the earth*,"—the two expressions denoting the different aspects of the phrase so often used to embrace the mass of mankind, viz. "they that dwell *on the earth*," —see on ch. iii. 10.

THE SECOND VOICE (4–19).

4. *another voice from heaven,*] The second Angelic voice,—see *vv.* 1, 21. To suppose with Bengel and Hengst. that "the voice must be the voice of Christ," would be opposed to the character of the entire passage.

This "*Voice*" now proceeds, as Ebrard notes, to develop "in strophic form" what the Angel (*vv.* 2, 3) had briefly announced. The passage accordingly may be divided into *six* strophes, viz. *vv.* 4, 5; *vv.* 6, 7ª; *vv.* 7ᵇ, 8; *vv.* 9, 10; *vv.* 11–16; *vv.* 17–19.

The *first* strophe:—

saying, **Come forth, my people, out of her,**] The words "*my people*" are spoken in the name of Christ or of God, as in ch. xi. 3; xxii. 7; see also ver. 8. The Angelic "*voice,*" speaking with God's authority as in ch. xi. 3, urges His people to depart out of the World-City where all evil is concentrated, almost in the very words in which Israel of old had been exhorted to flee from Babylon: "My people, go ye out of the midst of her," &c. This thought is three times expressed by Jeremiah (Jer. l. 8; li. 6, 45); and for proof that this exhortation was needed, see the note on Jer. l. 8. It is thus that at all times the people of God have been warned to flee from the City of Destruction,—cf. Gen. xix. 15, 22 ("Escape thither; for I cannot do anything till thou be come thither"); Numb. xvi. 26; Isai. xlviii. 20; lii. 11; Matt. xxiv. 16 (see Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 5); 2 Cor. vi. 17.

Special applications:—

Bossuet (followed by Hengst.) applies the verse to the Lord's care for His people when Rome was sacked by Alaric;—Stern applies it to the faithful who, in *the Last Days*, shall be found in Rome (see on ch. xvii. 10);—Bishop Wordsworth notes: "The Babylon of the Apoc. is *Papal* Rome. . . . Even now, at this present time,—as this prophecy reveals,—the Holy Spirit, who reads the heart, and who wrote the Apocalypse, sees *some People* of God in Rome;"—I. Williams writes: From Egypt, from Sodom, from Babylon, from Jerusalem, "the people of God were called before the judgment came on those places; and now they are called out of the mystic Babylon" (p. 360). It is impossible, he adds, to understand this pathetic dirge of Babylon "merely of the world at large, for that cannot have come to an end; nor of any one city, from the universal nature of the figures; nor of any religious system or Church, for to leave such is not to leave behind every temptation to luxury as overthrown; but an alliance between Christianity and the world. "The words may be considered partly as *prophetic,*" for the time will come "when Providence will bring about such a separation;" and partly *imperative* "as demanding at all times our 'escape to the mountain,' to the Jerusalem which is above . . . from this Babel of discord" (p. 363).

Auberlen (pp. 284, 320) comments thus:—As in Ezek. xvi.; xxiii., the whoredoms are described of Israel with the most ancient kingdoms of the world,—Egypt, Assyria, Babylon,—so in ch. xii. "the first period of the Christian Church is described, when apostate Israel was the Harlot, and the young congregation of Christ, the Woman. Soon, however, fornication crept into the Church itself [see on ch. xvii. 1], so that, as a whole, she appears in ch. xvii. no longer as the Woman but the Harlot; the great Babylon, which yet contains concealed the true people of God,—the Woman" (see ch. xviii. 4). The true people of God did not perish in the death of the Harlot; but before the judgment on Babylon she is commanded to come out of it, lest in the consummation of Babylon's sin, she be polluted by it, and thus fall into her destruction:—see Matt. xxiv. 15, 16. "Herein consists the first justification of the Woman; she is distinguished from the Harlot, and not judged with her:" but this is only a negative justification; the positive, real glorification has yet to be gained by a severe struggle. Here also it behoves her to enter, through much

heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

6 Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled fill to her double.

7 How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her; for she saith in her heart, I sit a [c]queen, [c] I and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow.

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tribulation, into the kingdom of God. This last affliction through which the Bridal Church has to pass, is not a judgment, such as fell on the Harlot, but a time of purification, during which the dross of earthliness still cleaving to her, is perfectly taken away" (ch. xx. 4). Cf. Luke xxi. 28.

Renan concludes with calm precision: "The Seer of the Apocalypse, in December 68, or January 69, gives orders to his people to quit Rome" (p. 206).

that ye have no fellowship with her sins,] See Eph. v. 11; cf. Jer. li. 6, 9. It is not meant: "That ye share not *the punishment of her sin*," as Bengel, De Wette, Züllig; but the *cause* is expressed from which the *result* follows, namely,—

and that ye receive not of her plagues:] Luke xvii. 32 supplies the comment. St. Jerome warning Marcella to flee from Rome to Bethlehem (A.D. 386), and referring to what is said of the Harlot in ch. xvii. 3, 9, 15, as well as to the fall of Babylon, proceeds to quote this verse (*Epist.* 46).

5. *for her sins have reached* **even** *unto heaven,*] (See *vv. ll.*). Gr. **were joined; clave together**; cf. the Vulgate, *pervenerunt.* Words. renders: "**because her sins clave even unto heaven,**" as Matt. xix. 5; Luke x. 11; Rom. xii. 9:—on this same use of the same verb, compare "My soul *cleaveth* unto the dust"—Ps. cxix. 25; xliv. 25; lxiii. 8; Lam. ii. 2; Zech. xiv. 5 (LXX). The metaphor is borrowed from Jer. li. 9, her sins reach to heaven and adhere to it.

One may here recall the first mention of Babylon in the Bible,—Gen. xi. 3, 4.

and God hath remembered her iniquities.] Cf. ch. xvi. 19.

Verses 6, 7[a] form "the *second* Strophe" (see on ver. 4):—

6. **Render unto her** *even* **as she rendered,**] (Omit *you*, see *vv. ll.*). The words are founded on Jer. l. 15, 29; li. 24; cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 8. The "Voice," speaking in the name of God (see the close of ver. 8), now turns to address those who are to inflict the judgments, thus marking the *third* division of the chapter,—see the remarks introductory. Hengst. considers that the instruments of vengeance thus addressed are the "*Ten Kings*" (ch. xvii. 16); to whom Bisping adds Antichrist in the Last Days. Ebrard rejects this meaning, and regards the words as addressed to "*My people*" as in ver. 4.

and double [*unto her*] **the double** *according to her works:*] "*Unto her*" is not read in the Greek—see *vv. ll.* The chief reference is to Jer. xvi. 18. This was the ordinary rule according to the Law,—Ex. xxii. 4, 7, 9: see the note on Isai. xl. 2. **The double** (see *vv. ll.*), *i.e.*, the fixed, legal retribution; cf. Isai. lxi. 7; Zech. ix. 12:—see also Ezek. xvi. 59.

in the cup which she **mingled, mingle unto her** *double.*] A double portion of the wine of God's wrath, see ver. 3; ch. xiv. 8; xvii. 2, 4: see on ch. xiv. 10. The cup which she had used as a means of seduction, shall now be changed into the instrument of her punishment.

7. **How much soever**] "**In as many things as** (ὅσα)." Düsterdieck compares Rom. vi. 10 (ὃ δὲ ζῇ); Gal. ii. 20.

she glorified *herself,*] Gr. **her**—see *vv. ll.*

and **waxed wanton,**] Or **luxurious.** See on ver. 3.

so much torment and **mourning** *give her.*] Or **so much give her of torment and mourning:** *for she*] See ver. 8 "**mourning**" (πένθος), and ver. 11 "*mourn*," A. V.: the usual term signifying the lament for the dead (Gen. xxvii. 41; Amos viii. 10),—here for her children. (Clause a of ver. 7 ends here).

Verses 7[b], 8, form "the *third* Strophe" (see on ver. 4):—

Because she saith *in her heart, I sit a queen,*] See Isai. xlvii. 7–9, on Babylon;—cf. Ezek. xxviii. 2; Zeph. ii. 15, on Tyre. The reference is to ch. xvii. 18. Or render as A.V.:—see ch. iii. 17.

and am no widow, and shall **in no wise see mourning,**] See Isai. xlvii. 8; and cf. Lam. i. 1. "*See*," that is, 'learn from experience this sorrow.'

Auberlen's conclusion as to the sense in which the symbol of the "Harlot" is to be understood is stated here: "Notwithstanding the universal character of the Harlot, it remains true that the Roman and Greek Churches are in a more peculiar sense the Harlot than the Evangelical Protestant. Babylon, in the times of St. John, became *Rome*; and it is clear from Rev. xviii. 7, that

8 Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong *is* the Lord God who judgeth her.

9 And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning,

10 Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas that great city Babylon, that mighty

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we are intended to bear this in mind .... The Roman Catholic Church is not only accidentally and *de facto*, but in virtue of its very principle, a Harlot .... the metropolis of whoredom, the mother of harlots (ch. xvii. 5). It is she who, more than others, boasts of herself: 'I sit a Queen, and am no widow,'" &c., *l. c.*, p. 294.

8. therefore]—The usual prophetic formula (διὰ τοῦτο), see Amos iii. 11; Micah iii. 12.

Or render, "**see mourning.** *Therefore* . ."

in one day shall her plagues come,] Compare the lament of the poet:

> " Omnia ademit
> *Una dies* infesta tibi tot præmia vitæ."
> Luc. iii. 911.

See also Isai. xlvii. 9. The *singular*, **in one day**, is in contrast to the *plural*, **her plagues**—four in number (see below)—which shall come with a sudden destruction.

Ebrard understands that the several plagues are to come *on the same day*; see the expression "*in one hour*," *vv.* 10, 17, 19.

death,] Some take this to be **pestilence**—see on ch. ii. 23; vi. 8; but it is rather death by the hand of enemies that the context refers to.

and mourning,] for the loss of her people,—see on ver. 7.

and famine;] Here notes I. Williams, "are the red horse, and the black, and the pale of the four Seals (ch. vi.). And, though not expressly mentioned, it is implied, that He also on the White Horse is together with them; for it is added, '*For strong is the Lord God who judgeth her*'" (p. 370).

and she shall be utterly burned with fire;] The punishment of the "Harlot" in ch. xvii. 16.

for **mighty** *is the Lord God* **which judged** *her.*] (See *vv. ll.*). Compare ch. xvii. 17, where the event is expressly declared to have been overruled by God; as also the language of Ezek. xvi. 59; Amos iii. 6.

Verses 9, 10 form "the *fourth* Strophe" (see on ver. 4):—

9. *And the kings of the earth,*] See ver. 3; ch. xvii. 2; Ezek. xxvi. 16, 17. Verses 9–19 comprise (1) "*Kings*," the rulers of the world, who are combined in this lament with (2) the "*merchants*" of the earth; and (3) those who *traffic on the seas*;—indicating the universal character of the World-City. This varied imagery prevents an exclusive application to any one City—Babylon, Tyre, Jerusalem, Rome: see on ver. 11.

Burger would, at this point, divide the section (*vv.* 4–20) into *two*; because he considers that the description in *vv.* 9–20 cannot have proceeded from the "*voice from heaven*" in ver. 4. This section (*vv.* 9–20), accordingly, he ascribes to St. John himself; and he explains that the Seer was "here moved by the Spirit of Prophecy to insert in this place this lament over the fall of Babylon (founded on Old Test. passages such as Isai. xxiii.; Ezek. xxvi.; xxvii.) whereby the meaning of the future judgment described to him in *vv.* 4–8 appears in its full light."

who committed *fornication and lived* **wantonly** *with her,*] Or **luxuriously**: see on ver. 7. Compare the dirge over Tyre, Ezek. xxvi. 15–xxvii. 36, into which the description here passes imperceptibly.

shall weep and wail over her,] For the verb to **wail**, see on ch. i. 7. For similar lamentations see the dirge in Jer. xlix. 20–22, over Edom; and in Jer. l. 46, over Babylon. Note,—in this, the first lament, the tense used is the *future*; in the second, the *present*, *vv.* 11–14; in the third, the *past*, *vv.* 17–19. This verse gives the standpoint of the *prediction*: what is still future is described here.

when **they look upon** *the smoke of her burning,*] These words are repeated in ver. 18. Words. notes:—"Some of those very Powers, who were once vassals of Rome, will one day rise against her. . . . The reason of this [lament] seems to be that the *Fall of Rome* may perhaps be followed by a *triumph* of *Anarchy*, and *an outbreak* of *Infidelity*."

10. *standing afar off for the fear of her torment,*] Fearing lest they may "receive of her plagues,"—ver. 4.

saying, **Woe, woe,**] The two-fold Woe expresses merely the depth of their sorrow, not, as Hengst. thinks, a reference to the 'doubling' in ver. 6. Ewald (see on ch. xi. 14), explains that the end of "*the third*

city! for in one hour is thy judgment come.

11 And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more:

12 The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of

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Woe" of ch. viii. 13, is realised in *a twofold* form, *three* times—here and in *vv.* 16, 19.

the *great City, Babylon,* **the** *mighty city!*] Observe the *nominative* here,—not the *dative* (?), as in ch. viii. 13, or *accusative*, as in ch. xii. 12,—indicating not a denunciation of woe, but an exclamation of sorrow.

for in one hour is thy judgment come.] See *vv.* 17, 19,—and the phrase "*in one day*," ver. 8. For the sense "suddenly," see Jer. li. 8 (ἄφνω, LXX.). Ebrard urges that we must not here understand "suddenly" (as De Wette), or "in the *same* hour," *eadem hora*, as in ch. 8 where the prep. (now omitted, see *vv. ll.*) is found, and where more than one judgment is spoken of; but "swiftly," in the space of *one* hour. And he interprets, either that but *one* hour has elapsed from the announcement (perhaps in ch. xvi. 12) to the coming of the judgment; or that in the space of one (mystical) hour the fall of Babylon has been completed. In support of the *former* interpretation, we may observe that the "*Ten Kings*" reign *during one hour* (see on ch. xvii. 12), and these (ch. xvii. 17) give their power to the Beast (s. 481). For the word "Judgment," see on ver. 20.

Verses 11–16 form "the *fifth* Strophe" (see on ver. 4):—

11. *And the merchants of the earth*] See on ver. 3. The "*Kings*" represent the world's secular and political power; the "*Merchants*" all who engage in the world's struggle for mammon: cf. Ezek. xxvii. 3, 12–25.

The passage Jas. iv. 13–v. 6 has been compared with these verses (especially the ἐμπορευσόμεθα of Jas. iv. 13 with the ἔμποροι of this chapter—*vv.* 3, 11, 15), by a writer in the *Academy* (March 16, 1878), who follows Zeller, quoted on ch. ii. 10. But the similarity is purely fanciful.

weep and mourn *over her,*] The present tense (see *vv. ll.*), the descriptive tone being assumed here (see on ver. 9). Cf. the use of the tenses in ch. xi. 9, 10. The future is resumed fully in ver. 15 (see on ver. 14).

for no man buyeth] We may refer to ch. xiii. 17 as illustrating the suitability of this judgment. Babylon had deprived all who would not serve her of the social right to "*buy or sell;*" and now she is herself compelled to buy no more.

their merchandise any more;] Gr. **ship's burden**, as in Acts xxi. 3—**their freight, their cargo** (τὸν γόμον); Vulg. '*merces*,' "**wares:**" the word occurs in the N. T. only in this passage and in Acts xxi. 3. For the imagery see the prophecies against Tyre Isai. xxiii.; and especially Ezek. xxvii.

Vitringa and others feel that the features of this descriptive passage do not suit Rome, which was never at any period of her history the centre of the world's commerce. Vitringa, accordingly, would refer allegorically to "spiritual wares" ("mystice," . . . "Roma destructa, jacet emporium *mercium spiritualium*," p. 793). Words. notes: "The Church of Rome, 'the general Mart of Christendom,' has endeavoured to extend her spiritual traffic into all parts of the world." Hengst. urges, as "decisive against this view," that the commerce here spoken of is altogether different from that of Tyre. It is merely said that "Babylon *bought* this merchandise; she does not *sell* the wares, but they merely serve for her use and consumption." Alford writes: "The difficulty is not confined to the application of the prophecy to Rome Papal, but extends over the application of it to Rome *at all*, which last is determined for us by the solution given, ch. xvii. ult. For Rome never has been, and from its very position never could be a great commercial city. I leave this difficulty unsolved. . . . The details of this mercantile lamentation far more nearly suit London than Rome at any assignable period of her history."

See above the remarks on ver. 9:—The whole passage points not to any single city, at any one single period, but to the World-City throughout all time. See the concluding paragraph of the Introduction.

12. **merchandise**] Omit the article.

Reuss disapproves of this passage: "All the objects of luxury which formed the basis of the commerce and of the riches of the whole world are enumerated here with an evident sentiment of disdain and repulsion. Commerce itself, so often signalized by the ancient prophets as an agent of corruption, as a destroying element of national purity, is also execrated by their disciple, who takes pleasure in making the inventory of its disaster."

Hengst. notes that "the *hard* materials of display," as well as "the *soft*" are *four* in number, "the signature of the earth, which plays an important part in this chapter, occupied as it is with the fate of the mistress of the world."

Züllig divides the articles of luxury in this passage into *seven* classes:—

pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all [1]thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble,

13 And cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and [1]slaves, and souls of men.

[1] Or, *sweet*

[1] Or, *bodies*

(1) The first class of articles of luxury:—*precious wares.*

of gold, and silver, and precious stones,] Gr. **precious stone**,—see on ch. xv. 6; ch. xxi. 19. Compare the attire of the "Harlot," ch. xvii. 4.

and pearls;] The genitive is naturally to be read here, as in the case of the preceding and the following nouns,—see *vv. ll.*

(2) The second class of articles of luxury:—*materials of rich attire.*

and **of** *fine linen,*] The adjective is to be read,—see *vv. ll.*; Gr. **of fine linen stuff**. On the word rendered "*fine linen*," see Note A on ch. xv. 6.

and purple, and silk, and scarlet;] Each article specified here is an extreme instance of luxury:—the principal distinction of the Cæsars was the military or imperial robe of *purple* (Gibbon, ch. xiii.) As to the word rendered "*silk*" (Gr. **silken stuff**), Virgil is the most ancient writer who expressly mentions the soft wool which was combed from the trees of the *Seres* or Chinese ("Velleraque ut foliis depectunt tenuia Seres"—*Georg.* ii. 121). So costly was this article of luxury that in the reign of Tiberius a law was passed against its use ("ne vestis serica viros fœdaret"—Tac. *Ann.* ii. 33); and it was not till the reign of Heliogabalus (A.D. 218) that this law was despised, and the Emperor first wore a dress composed wholly of silk (*holosericum*),—see Gibbon, ch. x.; Brande and Cox, *Dict. of Science*, art. *silk*. On the word rendered "*scarlet*" (Gr. **scarlet** stuff), see on ch. xvii. 3.

From genitives the construction now passes to accusatives, until the words "*horses, and chariots, and slaves,*" in ver. 13, where the gen. is resumed.

(3) The third class of articles of luxury:—*materials for costly furniture.*

and all thyine wood,] The tree *Thuja* was called *citrus*, and its wood *citrum* by the Romans. It is mentioned by Homer (Odyss. iv. 52). Athenæus (v. p. 207) connects it with ivory, as here. It was commonly used for inlaying,—cf. Dioscorides (i. 21); Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* iii. 4). The *Thuja* is one of the cupressineous division of *coniferæ*, of which one species, the *arbor vitæ*, is common in English gardens. Here we are to understand the related genus *Callitris quadrivalvis* of present botanists (the *Thuja articulata* of Desfont), a large tree of Barbary, yielding a hard fragrant wood, and also the aromatic gum-resin called *Sandarach*. Pliny (*H. N.* iii. 15) speaks of a mania at Rome for tables made of this material:—see Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*; Brande and Cox, *Dict. of Science.*

and **every vessel** *of ivory,* and **every vessel** [**made**] *of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble;*] Note the last four genitives depending on the preposition ἐκ.

13. *and cinnamon,*] The first of—

(4) The fourth class of luxuries:—*precious spices.*

"The bark of the *Cinnamomum Zeylanicum*, a lauraceous tree, native of Ceylon;" it was imported into Judæa by the Phœnicians or Arabians. It was a component of the holy oil, Ex. xxx. 23; a perfume for the bed, Prov. vii. 17:—see Smith's *Dict.*; Brande and Cox, as before.

The accusatives still continue—down to the word "*sheep*" inclusive.

and spice,] Gr. **amomum**,—an addition to the *Textus Receptus* (see *vv. ll.*).

"*Amomum*," is a zingiberaceous plant with aromatic seeds, much employed under the name of *cardamoms, grains of Paradise*, &c.; found only in the hot parts of India and Africa. The Romans prepared from it a fragrant balsam, and unguents for the hair:—

"Assyrio semper tibi crinis amomo
Splendeat."—Mart. viii. 28.

Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 25.

and **incense,**] The Greek word denotes the material, viz. gums, spices, &c., which when burned produce the perfumed smoke known as *incense*, see Note A on ch. v. 8; and cf. ch. viii. 3; Luke i. 10.

and **ointment**, *and frankincense;*] On the word "*frankincense*" see Note C on ch. viii. 3.

(5) The fifth class:—*articles of food.*

and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat;] "*Fine flour*" (σεμίδαλις) "the finest **meal**"—see Gen. xviii. 6; Lev. ii. 1, 2 (LXX).

(6) The sixth class:—merchandise for *agricultural and domestic uses.*

and **cattle**, *and sheep,*] In Luke x. 34; Acts xxiii. 24; 1 Cor. xv. 39, the Greek word (κτῆνος) is rendered "*beast*;" but it is better

14 And the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all.

to render here "**cattle:**" "*beast*" in the Apoc. is θηρίον—e.g. ch. vi. 8; xiii. 1; cf. Tobit x. 10.

Note,—the series of accusatives ends here.

and [**merchandise**] **of** *horses, and chariots;*] The construction with genitives is now resumed, see on ver. 12. The noun rendered "*chariot*" (ῥέδη,—not ἅρμα used in ch. ix. 9; Acts viii. 28), Quinctilian states to have been a Gaulish carriage with four wheels (Isidor. xx. 17):—see Grimm *in voc.* Alexander Severus supplied the Roman senators with carriages of this kind ornamented with silver (Lamprid., *ap.* Wetstein, writes: "interesse Romanæ dignitatis putans ut his tantæ urbis senatores vectarentur").

(7) The seventh class of merchandise, according to Züllig:—*the traffic in men.*

and **of** *slaves,*] Gr. (merchandise) **of bodies** (σωμάτων, Vulg. *mancipia*); cf. Tob. x. 10 (A.V. "*servants*"); 2 Macc. viii. 11 (A.V. "*captives*"); see the next note. In classic Greek the expression was "servile bodies" (σώματα δοῦλα):—see Pollux, iii. 78; Lob. *ad Phryn.* p. 378. Vitringa quoting Gen. xxxiv. 29, "*all their wealth*" (LXX. πάντα τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν), explains here, "*instrumenta quælibet domestica.*"

The series of genitives ends here.

and [**the**] *souls of men.*] "*Souls*" in the accus. Or **lives.** This phrase is borrowed from the usage of the Old Test. In Ezek. xxvii. 13, "*the souls of men*" (בְּנֵפֶשׁ אָדָם,—LXX. ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων,—A.V. "*the persons of men*") are enumerated as part of the traffic of Tyre —see the note *in loc.* The A.V. translates by "*persons*" in Gen. xxxvi. 6 (LXX. τὰ σώματα); Num. xxxi. 35;—by "*souls*" in Gen. xii. 5;—by "*men*" simply in 1 Chron. v. 21 (where the Hebrew and the LXX. have "*souls of men*"). The translation by the LXX. in Gen. xxxvi. 6 (see above) of the Hebrew "*souls*" by the Greek "*bodies,*" is urged in proof that "*slaves*" (see the last note) and "*souls of men*" are equivalent expressions. The difference of construction, however, points to a difference of meaning; apparently to different kinds of slaves.

Wetstein understands by "*souls of men*" gladiators;—Grotius and Züllig take "*souls* of men" to mean slaves properly so called; and "*bodies* of men" to mean persons of free condition who offer themselves for hire, e.g., mercenary soldiers, hired labourers, &c.;—Ewald thinks that "*bodies*" denote *male* and "*souls* of men" *female* slaves (*in loc.*, s. 313);—Bengel, Hengst., Düsterd., Alf., and others, refer the word "*bodies*" to slaves employed about horses and chariots (with which they are united by construction), and "*souls*" to slaves in general;—Ebrard, takes "*souls of men*" literally; and applies this text to the spiritual danger to the "*soul*" resulting from this luxurious traffic. The expression, accordingly, does not denote the last among many articles of commerce; but refers to all that went before, and sums up the results of Babylon's spirit of luxury and world-traffic whereby "*souls*" were ruined, and sold into the slavery of the Dragon (s. 484);—Words. notes, not very differently, that the reservation of the last two classes for the close of the catalogue "appears to be designed to remind the reader that it is a *spiritual* commerce which is here described: a commerce in bodies and souls of men; a *spiritual slave-trade.* Such is the commerce of Rome;—Vitringa rejects this meaning (p. 794).

I. Williams thus expounds the passage: "All these things which are so minutely particularized, as expressive of the meshes of that net by which men's souls are taken, have also their place in the New Jerusalem, where every jewel is specified by name, and the gold of its streets, and the fine linen, and the incense, and the wine, and the oil, its white horses also. In both alike must they stand for spiritual merchandise of good and evil, the false riches and the true" (p. 374).

14. *And the fruits*] Gr. **the harvest**—a noun found only here in the N. Test.; the "*summer fruits*" of Jer. xl. 10.

which *thy soul lusted after are* **gone** *from thee,*] A Hebrew idiom (see *vv. ll.*).

and all things **that** were *dainty*] Gr. "**oily,**" and hence "**splendid,**"—found only here (Greek and English) in the N. T.

and sumptuous] As in Luke xvi. 19.

are perished *from thee,*] See *vv. ll.*

and [**men**] **shall find them** *no more at all.*] Gr. "**they shall find them**"—see *vv. ll.*

The connexion of this fourteenth verse with the rest of the passage has greatly perplexed commentators. The change to the second person led Vitr. (p. 794), after Beza and Launoy, to conclude that the verse should come between *vv.* 23 and 24;—Ewald suggests that it is a marginal note by St. John himself, who for the moment found no suitable place for the thought;—It is an apostrophe, notes Stuart, after the manner of the Hebrew prophets, resulting from excitement in the

15 The merchants of these things, which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing,

16 And saying, Alas, alas that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls!

17 For in one hour so great riches is come to nought. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off,

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mind of the writer (cf. Isai. xiv. 10; xlvii. 1–3);—Düsterd. thinks that, as in ver. 9, the "*Kings*," so here the "*Merchants*," utter their lament over the City;—Alford connects with ver. 11, as if we had there "*our*," not "*their*" merchandise;—This interruption, writes Züllig, is "a flash from the blue heaven," as in ch. xvi. 15;—Burger would divide the entire section (*vv.* 4–20) at ver. 9—see above on ver. 9.

Hengst. however, is clearly right in regarding this whole passage, *vv.* 4–20, as uttered by the voice from heaven directed to Babylon. In like manner, in ver. 22, Babylon is addressed by the Angel of ver. 21, after he had previously spoken of her in the third person.

15. *The merchants of these things,*] See *vv.* 12–14,—especially the "dainty and sumptuous" things mentioned in ver. 14.

who *were made rich by her,*] The cause of the lamentation is specified.

shall stand afar off] The *future* is now used.

for the fear of her torment, weeping and **mourning**;] Ver. 11 is here resumed, after the interposed description of the City's luxury.

16. saying, Woe, woe,] (Omit "*and*"—see *vv. ll.*).

This verse corresponds closely to ver. 10, the lament of the "*Kings*."

the *great city,* **she** *that was* **arrayed**] Note the nominative absolute, as in ver. 10. Cf. this description with that of the "*Woman*," in ch. xvii. 4; and on this alternation of "*Woman*," and "*City*," cf. ch. xvii. 16. For the particulars see ver. 12.

and decked] Gr. **gilded.** See ch. xvii. 4.

and precious stones and pearls!] See *vv. ll.*:—Gr. **precious stone and pearl**—see on ver. 12; and cf. ch. xxi. 18, 19. The "*Kings*," ver. 10, mourn over Babylon as "the mighty City;" the "*Merchants*" mourn for the City of luxury.

Burger notes that the City is here described exactly as it had been shewn to the Seer in ch. xvii. 4,—magnificent and luxurious. Expositors, he adds, who understand by the "*Woman*," in ch. xvii. 1, the Papacy, will have trouble in adjusting this verse with the whole description which entirely confirms the conclusion that the "Harlot" is the great World-City of the last World-Empire—the Babylon of the Last Times, whose judgment, announced in ch. xiv. 8, is recorded in ch. xvi. 19. See however the note on ver. 20.

17. *for in one hour so great riches is* **made desolate.**] In the Greek texts, and according to the natural connexion, these words belong to ver. 16.

Here, as in ver. 10, mention is made of "*one hour*" as the period within which all this magnificence is to come to an end.

Verses 17–19 form "the *sixth* Strophe" (see on ver. 4):—

And every shipmaster,] Gr. **pilot.** This word is found elsewhere only in Acts xxvii. 11; cf. Ezek. xxvii. 27. In the addition of this *third* class—sea-faring men (see on ver. 9)—Ebrard sees a reference to the typical "*many waters*" of ch. xvii. 1.

and every one that saileth any whither,] So Alf.—see *vv. ll.* Gr. **who saileth to a place** (cf. Acts xxvii. 2);—and so the Vulgate: "*et omnis qui in locum navigat*;—**every one who saileth to the place** (Words.);—Bengel, Ebrard, Hengst., Düsterd., Bisping, &c., render **that saileth to a definite haven**;—De Wette translates: "*Nach einem Orte schiffen*" (but in his commentary he renders *Küsten-fahrer*, as the A.V. of Acts xxvii. 2, "meaning to sail by *the coasts* of Asia");—I. Williams: **every one at the place as he saileth by,** comparing Jer. xviii. 16, of Judah, and Zeph. ii. 15, of Nineveh.

(1) After the "*pilot*" the person who navigates the ship, and directs her course—(2) the Captain is next mentioned.

and mariners,] Here are mentioned (3) all who work the ship.

and as many as **gain their living** *by sea,*] A classical phrase; Gr. "**as many as work the sea.**" "*mare exercent.*"

(4) All are now denoted who are in any way interested in the sea, whether as sailors, or fishermen, or divers for pearls, &c. The fundamental passage here is Ezek. xxvii. 26, &c., where the subject is the fall of Tyre.

stood afar off,] Like the "*Kings*" and "*Merchants*" in *vv.* 10, 15, and of their

18 And cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What *city is* like unto this great city!

19 And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate.

20 Rejoice over her, *thou* heaven, and *ye* holy apostles and pro-

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lament;—the other features also are repeated in this Strophe, viz. the mention of the grandeur of the City (*vv.* 10, 16, 18), and the exclamation at its downfall, *vv.* 10, 16, 19.

Observe also that in *vv.* 17, 18, 19, the *past* tense (ἔστησαν) is used. In ver. 15 (as in *vv.* 8, 9) the *future* is resumed; and in ver. 11 we have the *present*.

Reuss notes that "the past tense *of the Apokalyptik style* is all of a sudden resumed here"—see Note A at the end of this chapter. The change of tenses, however, rests altogether on the animated character of the description.

18. *and* **cried out as they looked upon**] See *vv. ll.*; and cf. ver. 9.

saying, What [*city*] *is* **like the** *great city!*] Cf. Ezek. xxvii. 32, where Tyre is spoken of. Ebrard compares ch. xiii. 4, where the Beast from the sea, or "Babylon *qua* World-power, is similarly eulogized" (s. 486).

19. *And they cast dust* **upon** *their heads,*] See again Ezek. xxvii. 30; cf. Job ii. 12; Lam. ii. 10.

weeping and **mourning,**] See *vv.* 11, 15.

saying, **Woe, woe, the** *great city,*] As in *vv.* 10, 16, we have the nominative case.

wherein were made rich] Alford would render "**whereby;**"—he writes: "ἐν is ambiguous at first appearance, but from what follows it cannot be local, as E.V. '*wherein.*'"

all that had **their** *ships in the sea*] See *vv. ll.* for the introduction of the article.

by reason of her costliness!] The substantive (τιμιότης) is found only here (for the adj. see ch. xvii. 4; James v. 7). By reason of (see ver. 3) her costly treasures of gold and silver, all that trade by sea were made rich: cf. Ezek. xxvii. 33—a chapter which, once more, as throughout this passage, is followed.

for in one hour is she made desolate.] The expression "*in one hour*" is thrice repeated, *vv.* 10, 17, 19.

On this lament I. Williams notes: "There is something especially mournful in the fall of great cities, as in that celebrated passage of antiquity: 'On returning from Asia, as I sailed from Ægina towards Megara, I began to look on the regions around. Behind me was Ægina, before Megara, on the right hand Piræus, on the left was Corinth; cities which at one time were most flourishing, now they lay before the eyes prostrate and in ruins'—*Epist.* Sulpic. Cicer." (p. 376).

20. *Rejoice over her, thou heaven,*] We have here the section interposed between the *sixth* and the *seventh* clause. Ch. xix. is the response to this invitation, uttered—not by the "*shipmaster*" and "*mariners*" (ver. 17) whom it would not suit,—nor yet by St. John, who is the passive beholder of the Vision,—but by the celestial voice (as in ch. xii. 12) from which proceeded all between ver. 4 and the present verse: see on ver 14. This verse, in fact, is "as it were an Epistrophe to the *six* Strophes" (Ebrard):—see on ver. 4. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 43 (LXX.); Isai. xliv. 23; xlix. 13; Jer. li. 48. I. Williams understands ch. xix. 1 to correspond to the word "*Heaven*"; and ch. xix. 4, where the Church is symbolized by the Twenty-four Elders, to correspond to the "*Apostles and Prophets*"—ch. xix. 5, referring to the "Saints." The parallel in ch. xii. 12 proves that the speaker is not, as Züllig and Burger suppose, St. John himself.

and ye saints, and ye apostles, and ye *prophets;*] (See *vv. ll.*). Not only Heaven, but those also who belong to the Lord on earth (see Phil. iii. 20) are invited to rejoice over the fallen City. Believers on earth are specially enumerated here, as "the Saints," "*the Apostles,*" "*the Prophets;*" they are classed more summarily in ver. 24, in ch. xi. 18, and in Luke xi. 49–51. Hengst. restricts "*the Apostles*" to the Twelve, as in ch. xxi. 14;—Züllig understands by them all teachers "sent forth," e.g. Barnabas, Acts xiii. 3; Epaphroditus, Phil. ii. 25; cf. Rom. xvi.;—Ebrard makes the "*Apostles* and *Prophets*" to represent "*the martyrs of Jesus,*" ch. xvii. 6.

Lücke (s. 389) argues from these words that because the Apostles are here assumed to be in heaven, the Apocalypse was not written by the Apostle John. To this Düsterd. answers that one might as well argue from the verse that the writer of the Apocalypse was not a prophet, or that he was not an Apostle; and Godet (*St. John's Gospel*, i. 56)—having observed that the passage proves that when the Apocalypse was written there were in heaven *some*

phets; for God hath avenged you on her.

21 And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast *it* into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all.

22 And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft *he be*, shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee;

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saints, apostles, and prophets, who had suffered martyrdom—adds: "But 'some apostles' are not *all* the Apostles, any more than 'some saints' are *all* the saints."

From Acts xii. 2 we learn that the Apostle James had been put to death. Renan regards this verse as confirming the tradition that St. Peter and St. Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome.—p. 185. Reuss observes that "the *prophets* are the *Christian* orators known from the Acts and the Epistles; Rome was not guilty of having shed the blood of those of the Old Testament." With reference to the narrative of the martyrdom of St. John by the Jews, as alleged in the chronicle of Georgius Hamartôlos (Cent. ix.), —which Keim (*l.c.*, i. s. 42) adduces in order to shew that the Apostle John was never in Asia Minor,—see Introd. § 4.

for God hath **judged your judgment on her.**] On this use of the preposition (ἐκ) cf. ch. vi. 10; xix. 2.

This passage, we may perhaps conclude, refers to the prayer of the Martyrs under the *fifth* Seal (ch. vi. 10), and to the acknowledgment of God's judgments under the *third* Vial (ch. xvi. 5–7): and we may understand by "**your judgment**," (1) Either 'what you have judged,' or 'what she hath judged concerning you';—(2) After the analogy of Isai. x. 2; Micah vii. 9 (LXX.), 'what seemed right to you.' (For τὸ κρίμα here, cf. ch. xvii. 1; xx. 4; John ix. 39. For ἡ κρίσις ver. 10, cf. ch. xiv. 7; xix. 2; John iii. 19; v. 22, 29, 30). Hengst. explains: "*Your judgment* (cf. ch. xvii. 1; xx. 4), the doom which she pronounced upon you, the judgment which she held over you, your condemnation (ch. vi. 10, and cf. ch. xiii. 10)." Words. translates: "**for God judged your cause from out of her**; that is, He has taken your cause *out of her hands* into His own—Ps. ix. 4; cxl. 12." Alf.: "God hath exacted from her that *judgment of vengeance* which is due to you." Düsterd.: "It is called a judgment of believers ('**your judgment**'), so far as this judgment executed on the City ('taken from her') is the justification and satisfaction of the believers who had been persecuted by the World-City, but who are now avenged on her."

THE THIRD ANGEL (21–24).

The third Angel (see *vv.* 1, 4) now enters on the scene.

21. *And a* **strong** *Angel*] Gr. **one strong** [or *mighty*] **Angel**, cf. ch. viii. 13. The epithet "*mighty*" refers to the task to be performed,—cf. ver. 1; ch. v. 2; x. 1.

took up a stone **as it were** *a great millstone*,] (See *vv. ll.*:—note the forms of this expression in Matt. xviii. 6; Mark ix. 42; Luke xvii. 2). Cf. ch. viii. 8, for a similar image.

and cast it into the sea,] The figure is borrowed from the symbolical action committed to Seraiah by Jeremiah (li. 61–64): "Thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates: and thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink," &c. Here the image is intensified by being changed into that of "*a great millstone*,"—with plain reference to the words of Christ as to those who cause to offend, Matt. xviii. 6.

The Euphrates, the *river* of Jeremiah's prophecy, has now become a *sea*.

saying, Thus with **a mighty fall shall Babylon the great City, be cast down**,] The noun (ὅρμημα) is found only here;—on the cognate verb cf. Matt. viii. 32 and the parallel passages.

and shall be found no more at all.] The total disappearance is denoted, as a great stone sinks beneath the waters:—cf. Ex. xv. 5; Neh. ix. 11. Observe,—the phrase "*no more at all*" occurs six times in *vv.* 21–23.

"They who say that the Apocalyptic Babylon fell when Rome was taken by the Goths, contradict this voice of the Angel" (Words.).

22. *And the voice of harpers and* **minstrels and flute-players**] This imagery, expressive of complete desolation, is borrowed from Isai. xxiv. 8; Ezek. xxvi. 13.

and no craftsman of whatsoever craft [*he be*] *shall be found* **any more at all** *in thee*;] Gr. **no craftsman of every craft**—words which important authorities omit, see *vv. ll.*

and the voice of a mill] See Matt. xxiv. 41. Compare the reading in ver. 21. Or translate "**the voice** *of a millstone*."

23 And the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived.

24 And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.

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23. *And the light of* **a lamp** *shall shine*] The word signifying "*lamp*" occurs here for the first time in the Apoc.:—cf. ch. iv. 5; viii. 10. The verb is rendered as if accentuated as the *active* (φάνῃ); if accentuated as the *passive* (φανῇ), render "**shall be seen.**"

and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride] The imagery of this whole passage is founded on Jer. xxv. 10:—see also Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9; xxxiii. 11.

for thy merchants were **the princes** *of the earth;*] See on ch. vi. 15. Burger takes "**the princes of the earth**" as the subject here—'they were thy Merchants' (see *vv. ll.*); which he thinks suits best the *order* of the *laments*, ver. 9, &c., and also the description of ch. xvii. 2. The expressions here are founded on the language used of Tyre in Isai. xxiii. 8. The words refer not to the merchants of Babylon itself, but to "*the Merchants of the earth*" who "waxed rich by the power of her wantonness," ver. 3; cf. ver. 15; Ezek. xxvii. 21, &c. Renan (p. 442) admits that this feature of the description is not very well suited to Rome.

In the phrase "**the princes of the earth**" are combined the classes specified separately in ver. 3, and in *vv.* 9–16,—viz. the "*Kings*" and the "*Merchants*" of the earth, who share in the fall of the Great City. The cause of "the princes of the earth" waxing rich, by means of that traffic with Babylon which supplied the luxury and the enjoyments that are now no more, is added in the next clause,—

for **with thy sorcery** *were all* **the** *nations deceived.*] (See on ch. ix. 21). That is, because all the nations had been allured by her seductions (ch. xvii. 2); and all the world's treasures had flowed into her lap. By the guilty seductions of Babylon (Isai. xlvii. 9–12), as described in ch. xiv. 8; xviii. 3, all the nations have been deceived, and, owing to this cause, been subjected to her dominion.

Stuart rightly takes the last two clauses, each beginning with "for" (ὅτι), as "separate and *co-ordinate* reasons for the ruin that had just been predicted." I. Williams takes these two clauses "to mark the Tyre and the Nineveh of the prophets—Tyre, 'the crowning city whose merchants were princes' (Isai. xxiii. 8); and Nineveh, 'the mistress of witchcrafts' (Nah. iii. 4)—both types of the days of merchandise polluting the Christian Church with the 'whoredoms and witchcrafts of Jezebels' (2 Kings ix. 22)" ... "As the Balaam of the Seven Epistles was the forerunner of the False Prophet,—so Jezebel of the great Harlot, Babylon" (p. 382). See also on ver. 24.

24. *And in her was found*] The Angel now ceases to address the fallen City; and, adopting the narrative style, speaks out this last great cause of her overthrow as a fact respecting her.

the blood of prophets and of saints, and of all **that have been slain on** *the earth.*] To what is said in ver. 20 is added here "*of all that* **have been** *slain* **on** *the earth.*" "From this passage," says Andreas, "we are confirmed that the prophecy is of the world, and not of one city" (*l. c.*, p. 105). I. Williams refers to Matt. xxiii. 29, 35, 36; Luke xi. 49, 51; xiii. 33: "If it be asked how can the blood of saints shed by heathen Rome be required of this mystical Jerusalem? it is the same as to ask how the blood of Abel could be required of Jerusalem" (p. 383).

Düsterd. takes the two co-ordinate clauses of ver. 23 beginning with "*for*," together with this verse, to state a *threefold* denunciation of the guilt of Babylon—(1) on account of her luxury (see *vv.* 3, 11); (2) of her lasciviousness (*vv.* 3, 6, 9); (3) of her blood-stained hatred of believers (ch. xvii. 6):—"And thus the discourse of the Angel is closed by a definite statement of the guilt of the City."

Auberlen—who represents Babylon as meaning the Church, "the Harlot of the New Covenant,"—writes: "Nor must we confine our thoughts here to cases like those of Huss, the Waldenses, the Huguenots, the British Martyrs, &c., or the martyrs which are yet future; but bear in mind the words 'Whoso hateth his brother is a murderer' (1 John iii. 15). Wherever true faithful Christians are neglected and oppressed by the rulers of the Church .... there we commit murder against the saints of God" (*l. c.* p. 290).

Be this as it may the result is clearly this, that as Jerusalem filled up the measure of its sin by the rejection of the Saviour, and must also now expiate the guilt which had been

incurred by Israel in past generations (Matt. xxiii. 35), so must the World-City of the Last Days.

With this Vision the judgment on Babylon is completed and sealed. To the present section (ch. xvii. 1–ch. xix. 10) belongs the scene in heaven which corresponds to the invitation of ch. xviii. 20.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on Chap. XVIII.

NOTE A ON CHAP. xviii.—"APOKALYPTIK."

The modern conception of "Apokalyptik" has been already discussed in the Introduction, § 9. This conception has been favoured by such orthodox writers as Auberlen (*l.c.*, p. 80, &c.). Rationalists also have adopted it; and rationalistic writers seek to combine the notion of "Apokalyptik" with their own theory as to Prophecy (see on ver. 18). For Rationalists, "an ordinary Prophet" is but a *moral* teacher whose vision is bounded by the horizon of his own time—by "the real and actual situation." Prophecy includes no *predictive* element; and—as Rationalists deny the existence of the *Supernatural*—no Prophet possesses an insight into the future.

To give an example:—Although, notes Reuss (p. 127), ch. xviii. is one of the most simple and easy of the entire Book, it has nevertheless presented the difficulty of determining the precise moment at which the Seer places the ruin of Rome, predicted in ch. xvii., and positively accomplished when ch. xix. begins. The reader may at first sight hesitate whether "the three voices which here celebrate in succession the fall of the Capital, prophesy the future or speak of an accomplished catastrophe." The author, adds Reuss, here abandons the framework of his "Apocalyptic" drama, and speaks *as an ordinary prophet* from the point of view of *the real and actual* situation. From the "Apocalyptic" point of view *there should be*, when Rome is destroyed, only the elect on one side, and on the other the Romans and their adherents, whom Antichrist [Nero] and his Oriental army have devoted to death. But now, from the point of view of *simple prophecy*—the colours of its pictures being borrowed from the Old Test.—we hear of men in great numbers, who, ruined politically by the fall of Rome, but not included in her catastrophe, shall mourn over her destiny from motives of interest rather than of pity. See Note A on ch. i. 1.

CHAPTER XIX.

1 *God is praised in heaven for judging the great whore, and avenging the blood of his saints.* 7 *The marriage of the Lamb.* 10 *The angel will not be worshipped.* 17 *The fowls called to the great slaughter.*

[Ver. 1 *om.* 1st καί.—ὡς φωνήν.—λεγόντων.—*om.* καὶ ἡ τιμή.—*om.* Κυρίῳ.—τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ver. 5 ἀπὸ τ. θρ.—τῷ Θεῷ.—*om.* καί before οἱ φοβ.—*om.* καί before οἱ μικροί. (Codex C breaks off here). Ver. 6 λεγόντων.—[א, B, P read ὁ Θ. ἡμῶν]. Ver. 7 [A reads δώσομεν]. Ver. 8 λαμπρὸν, καθαρόν. Ver. 9 [A reads οἱ ἀληθ.].—τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσίν. Ver. 11 [A, P, 1 omit καλούμενος]. Ver. 12 [א, B, P, 1 omit ὡς]—[B, Syr., Andr. read ἔχων ὀνόματα γεγραμμένα, καὶ ὄνομα γεγρ.]. Ver. 13 [א reads περιρεραμμένον,—cf. ῥεραντισμένοι, Heb. x. 22]. —κέκληται. Ver. 14 τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρ.—λευκόν, καθαρόν. Ver. 15 τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς. Ver. 16 *om.* 2nd τό. Ver. 17 δεῦτε συνάχθητε [1 reads δεῦτε εἰς τὸ δεῖπν., and Er. supplied καὶ συνάγεσθε from the *et congregamini* of the Vulg.].—τ. δεῖπνον τὸ μέγα τοῦ. Ver. 18 ἐλευθέρων τε καί. Ver. 19 τὸν πόλεμον. Ver. 20 καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁ [A, Cop. read καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁ].—τῆς καιομένης.—ἐν θείῳ. Ver. 21 τῇ ἐξελθούσῃ [so also in 1; but Er. altered this reading after the *qui procedit* of the Vulg.; cf. ch. i. 16; xix. 15].]

This chapter, in *vv.* 1–8, gives the response to the invocation of ch. xviii. 20. Judgment has been inflicted on the "Harlot" (ch. xvii. 1); and as the downfall of the "Accuser" had been followed by a hymn of praise (ch. xii. 10), so now a heavenly Hallelujah celebrates the first act of the final sentence upon the antichristian powers which served as Satan's instruments. At each crisis in the Apocalypse we find a similar hymn of praise—ch. iv. 8; v. 9; vii. 10; xi. 15; xv. 3; xvi. 5.

It is to be noted that from this point onwards the Apocalypse follows the course of the closing chapters of Ezekiel, from ch. xxxvi. to the end:—There, the land of Israel is comforted, and a resurrection of the dead is described (Ezek. xxxvi.; xxxvii.); then comes "the Gog-catastrophe" (Ezek. xxxviii.;

AND after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God:

2 For true and righteous *are* his

xxxix.); then we read of a new Heaven and a new Jerusalem in a new Holy Land resembling Paradise.

Hengst.,—who considers that in St. John's time the Beast oppressed the Church by the instrumentality of the "*sixth* Head," or heathen monarchy of Rome (see on ch. xvii. 1),—concludes that now, in answer to the voice of the Angel in ch. xviii. 20, the Church of the just made perfect celebrates God's judgment on Rome, (1) by the Hallelujah of the Saints (*vv.* 1–3), and (2) in ver. 4, by the Hallelujah of "*the four and twenty Elders*," or representatives of the Church—see on ch. iv. 4. Here, as exhibited in the Vision, a past salvation is celebrated; and on this follows, in *vv.* 5–8, another Hymn which by faith anticipates what is to come, and introduces a narrative of how such anticipations are gradually realized. The Song of praise and the Vision of the Bride are intended to give support under the sad picture of ch. xviii. In *vv.* 9, 10 a new command to "*write*," as in ch. xiv. 13, is given; and then—in *vv.* 11–21 which enlarge on the intimations of ch. xvii.—the victory of Christ over the "Ten Kings" is recorded:—on the defeat of Attila, notes Hengst., the battle-field of Chalons was strewn with 162,000 corpses. We next read of the destruction (ver. 20) of *two* of the *three* enemies of God's Kingdom, of whom we were told in ch. xiii.; while ch. xx. 1–6 represents how the *third*, Satan, is rendered for a time harmless.

Ebrard regards *vv.* 1–10 as marking the transition to the second part of the *seventh* Vial (see on ch. xvi. 21). The *first* judgment under this Vial, or the fall of Babylon (ch. xvi. 19), having been developed in ch. xvii. and ch. xviii., the *second* judgment, or that on the Beast from the Abyss and the agents by whose aid the sentence on Babylon had been executed, is now recorded in ch. xix. 11–21. This judgment Ebrard calls "*The marriage of the Lamb*" (ver. 7); and it brings to an end the three and a half days during which the Beast from the Abyss (ch. xi. 7–11)—the *eighth* World-power (ch. xvii. 11)—is to rule.

In the description of the Apocalyptic judgment in ch. xvii.-xix., notes Auberlen (*l. c.*, p. 317), "we are struck by this remarkable difference, that the Harlot is judged first by the Beast and his Kings, and that afterwards the Beasts and their allies are judged by the 'Parusia' [i.e., "the Presence" or "Coming," 2 Thess. ii. 8; 1 John ii. 28] of the Lord Jesus himself."

CHAP. XIX.—THE SONG OF TRIUMPH (1–4).

1. **After** *these things.*] Omit "*And*"—see *vv. ll.*

I heard **as it were** *a great voice.*] The addition of "**as it were**" (see *vv. ll.*; and cf. ver. 6) denotes that what St. John now hears merely resembles the voice of a multitude. It is not necessarily the voice of the Saints spoken of in ch. xviii. 20 (Bengel, Hengst., Ebrard, &c.); or of the Angelic host (Züllig); or of those described in ch. vii. 9, 14 (De Wette);—the words merely express 'a voice loud as that of a great multitude.'

of a great multitude *in heaven, saying,*] The participle "*saying*" is in the genitive plural (see *vv. ll.*), agreeing with the collective noun, "**multitude**" in the singular.

Hallelujah;] The *first* Hebrew words of Ps. cxxxv. 1, signifying "**Praise ye the Lord.**"

We are given in ver. 5, after St. John's manner (cf. ch. ix. 11), a translation of this Hebrew formula, which occurs in the New Test. only in this chapter (*four* times, notes Hengst., and "in reference to the victory of God over the Earth, the *signature* of which is *four*)." It is borrowed from the Psalms, of which fifteen either begin or end with Hallelujah. This phrase Hallelujah, like the "Amen" (Ps. xli. 14) and the "Hosanna" (John xii. 13; Ps. cxviii. 25) of the Psalms has become current in our language; it is found in the Psalter for the first time in the *last* words of Ps. civ. 35, where R. Kimchi notes that in the Psalms and elsewhere Hallelujah chiefly appears where mention is made of the punishment of the ungodly. Thus it is used here also. The Jewish "*Te Deum*," as it is called, consisting of Ps. civ.–cix., chiefly sung at the Feasts of the Passover and of Tabernacles, derived its title of "The great Hallel" from the frequent use in those Psalms of the phrase Hallelujah. Here, then, we have the great Hallelujah of the Apocalypse; and the Christian "*Te Deum*" has thus its counterpart in Heaven.

Salvation, and glory, **and power, belong unto our God:**] (Omit "*and honour*," and "*the Lord*," and read τοῦ Θεοῦ in the genitive:—see *vv. ll.*). Gr. "**The salvation and the glory**," &c.: or "**All salvation, and glory**," &c. On the rendering "**belong unto our God**," see the A.V. of Ps. iii. 8 (LXX.). This doxology is threefold; and on

judgments: for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.

3 And again they said, Alleluia. And her smoke rose up for ever and ever.

4 And the four and twenty elders and the four beasts fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; Alleluia.

5 And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great.

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the doxologies in the Apocalypse, see on ch. i. 6; v. 13; vii. 12.

2. *for true and righteous are his judgments;*] Cf. ch. xv. 3; xvi. 7. The reason is here given for the ascription of praise in ver. 1. The praise is *special;* not *general* as it is in ch. v. 12, 13.

for he hath judged the great **harlot,**] A second coordinate clause, as in ch. xviii. 23.

which did corrupt the earth] Cf. ch. xi. 18, and the fundamental passage Jer. li. 25 (LXX.)—the Greek verb being the same in all three places.

with her fornication,] Gr. "**in her fornication.**" The cunning policy by which the "Harlot" sought to bring the world and Christians to destruction (Hengst.).

Instead of opposing (writes Auberlen on his peculiar theory—see on ch. xvii. 1), "and lessening, she ["the Harlot Church"] promoted the sinful life and decay of the world by her own earthliness, allowing the salt to lose its savour" (*l. c.*, p. 289).

and **he** *hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.*] See 2 Kings ix. 7 (LXX.). On the prep. (ἐκ) cf. ch. vi. 10; xviii. 20.

3. **And a second time they say, Hallelujah.**] Note the verb in the perfect,—**they have said.** This verse is a kind of antistrophe to the strophe consisting of *vv.* 1, 2.

The first Hallelujah corresponds to the Angel's voice, ch. xviii. 4–19, and is the response to ver. 20; this second Hallelujah corresponds to ch. xviii. 21–24, where it is declared that Babylon "*shall be found no more at all.*"

And her smoke **goeth up** *for ever and ever.*] Cf. ch. xviii. 9, 18; Isai. xxxiv. 10. We have "*And,*" not "*for*" as in ver. 2, because this verse but repeats the preceding strophe.

4. *And the four and twenty elders and the* **four living beings**] See on ch. iv. 4, 6: the Twenty-four Elders, the heavenly representatives of the Church, and the Four Living Beings the representatives of the living Creation upon earth, re-echo the strain of adoration,—see ch. iv. 11; v. 8, 14.

God that **sitteth on** *the throne,*] See ch. v. 13.

saying, Amen; **Hallelujah.**] These words are taken from the end of Ps. cvi. 48:—like the Song of Moses (ch. xv. 3), the Amen and Hallelujah of the Temple Service are used in Heaven.

Thus closes, notes Hengst., what the Seer announces as to the fate of Babylon or *heathen* Rome, in her Imperial power, ch. xvii. 18. On the ground of this interpretation, St. Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* v. 30) expects the partition of the Empire among the "Ten Kings." Tertullian insists that Babylon is with St. John, '*Romanæ urbis figura*' (*Adv. Mar.* iii. 13); and so, more than all the Fathers, St. Jerome, writing A.D. 386 ("Lege Apocalypsin Joannis et quid de Muliere purpurata et Babylonis cantetur exitu contuere: *Exite,* inquit Dominus, *de illa, populus meus,* &c." (See Note B on ch. xvii. 4). Even in Cent. v. Rome had not renounced its heathenism (see Orosius, vii. 38); and what was historically realized in the course of centuries is here compressed into one scene. Hence neither the calamities inflicted upon Rome by Alaric (Bossuet), nor by Attila (Grotius) exhaust the sense of this prophecy. At all events the appearance of the "Four Living Beings,"—who do not appear when the Judgment under the *seventh* Trumpet (ch. xi. 15–18) is come; and also the going forth of "*the Word of God*" (*vv.* 11–16) to smite the nations after this thanksgiving is ended, denote that the Kingdom of God is still making progress on earth.

5. *And a voice came* **forth from** *the throne,*] *See vv. ll.*—the reading (ἀπό) denoting the *direction* merely, not the *source* of the voice. The speaker is left quite indefinite, as is the case so often in the Apoc. (see ch. i. 10; x. 4, 8; xiv. 2). Hengst. and Ewald, referring to ch. xvi. 17, think that the voice must proceed from Him "*that sitteth on the throne,*" from Christ, as in ch. iii. 21; v. 6; vii. 17:—but we should note that Christ nowhere employs the expression "*our God,*" see John xx. 17;—Bengel ascribes the voice to the "Four Living Beings;"—Züllig, De Wette, Bisping to *one* of them;—Düsterd., referring to ch. v. 9, to the "Elders" and the "Living Beings." This verse is not a continuation of the Hymn of praise in *vv.* 1–4 proceed-

6 And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

7 Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage

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ing from those martyrs whom Babylon had slain, but is rather anticipatory of the future, as in ch. xv. 4. I. Williams considers that the voice of the "Saints," on earth (ch. xviii. 20)—who are here described as the "servants" of God, and who are distinguished from the Angels in heaven—echoes back, in full response, (1) the voice of "the innumerable company of Angels" in ver. 1; and (2) that of the representatives of the Christian Church in ver. 4.

saying, **Give praise to** *our God*,] The dative case—see *vv. ll.* (cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 36; 2 Chron. xx. 19, LXX.). These words are the translation of **Hallelujah**,—see on ver. 1; the pronoun *our* being added.

all ye his **servants, ye that fear him, the** *small and* **the** *great*.] See *vv. ll.* for the omission of "*both*":—cf. ch. xi. 18.

The Angel, in ver. 9, affirms the truth of the facts that form the theme of the Hymn of praise which now follows.

THE MARRIAGE SUPPER OF THE LAMB (6–8).

6. *And I heard*] As in ver. 1; and in response to ver. 5. This last choral Hymn looks onwards, beyond the Divine judgments, to the Marriage of the Lamb.

In *vv.* 6–10, notes Auberlen (p. 318), is described "how the judgment of the Harlot prepares the justification and Marriage Feast of the Woman." These verses form the transition to the subsequent prophecies:—with the judgment of Antichrist (*vv.* 11–21) the Marriage Feast begins.

and as the voice of mighty **thunders**,] This Hymn of praise, according to Ebrard is not confined to heaven as in *vv.* 1–3. Here, the "*Nations*" of ch. xvii. 15, now repentant (ch. xi. 13), are symbolized:—the "*many waters*" point to the troubled "*sea*" of the peoples; and the "*mighty* **thunders**" to the mysterious acts and influences of God which lead to repentance—see ch. x. 3, 4. Bisping considers that all the heavenly voices now combine,—the Four Living Beings, the Elders, the Angels and Saints; and thus the chorus rings forth in louder harmony.

saying, **Hallelujah**:] The participle is in the genitive plural,—see *vv. ll.*

for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.] See, on ch. i. 8. The word here rendered "*Omnipotent*" is elsewhere rendered "*Almighty*" (*παντοκράτωρ*). If the pronoun be read (see *vv. ll.*), translate "**for the Lord our God, the Omnipotent, reigneth.**" The verb is in the aorist:—see on ch. xi. 17. Words. explains—"*shewed Himself to be King*, by subduing His enemies"; and De Wette:—"als Herrscher hat sich gezeigt der Herr, unser Allmächtige."

That God takes possession of His Kingdom is the great theme of this verse, the full import of which is exhibited in ch. xx. 11–15. This event is connected with the Marriage of the Lamb, *vv.* 7, 8:—cf. Isai. liv. 4–8. As Hengst. puts it, we have *negatively* the foundation of God's Kingdom in the overthrow of His enemies (ch. xii. 10); and *positively*, as soon as this event takes place, in the glorification of the Church.

Here, notes Ebrard (see the remarks introductory to this chapter), is celebrated the last act of the Divine Judgment; and he illustrates this result by a comparison of the Apocalyptic times: I. (*a*) *Three and a half years* from the Ascension and Jerusalem's destruction, to the conversion of Israel (ch. xi. 2, 3; xii. 6);—(*b*) *One hour* (ch. xvii. 12; xviii. 10, 16, 19);—(*c*) *Three and a half days* of Antichrist (ch. xi. 9, 11; xii. 14). II. (*a*) *The sixth* (Roman) World-power ("**the one is**," ch. xvii. 10; cf. ch. xii. 6);—(*b*) The *seventh* World-power, *the Ten Kings with the Beast* (ch. xvii. 12);—(*c*) The *eighth* World-power, *The Beast from the Abyss*, Antichrist (ch. xvii. 11). III. (*a*) Babylon as the World-power (ch. xiii. 8);—(*b*) Babylon as the Woman carried by the Beast (ch. xvii. 3). The fall of Babylon is now interposed (ch. xviii.). IV. (*a*) The *Ecclesia pressa* of the Gentile Christians (ch. vii. 14; xi. 1; xiii.; xvii. 6, &c.); to which is added *Israel in Exile*, Jerusalem trodden down (ch. xi. 2; xii. 6);—(*b*) *Israel converted* (ch. xii. 7–9);—(*c*) *The Church in concealment* (ch. xii. 13–16; cf. ch. vii. 3–8; xix. 8).

7. **Let us rejoice and be exceeding glad,** *and* **let us give the glory unto him**:] For the reading "*and* **we will give**," see *vv. ll.* All is said in anticipation. The punishment of the Beast and of the "False Prophet" (ver. 20)—or the beginning of the Last Judgment—follows the fall of Babylon: and thus the reign of the "*Omnipotent*" (ver. 6) and the full glory of the Church are yet to come.

of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.

8 And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean

for the marriage of the Lamb is come,] The "aorist proleptic" as in ch. xi. 18; cf. ch. xiv. 7.

"*The Marriage of the Lamb*" is the blessed union of the Lord with His chosen Bride the Church. Although betrothed to Him she has not yet been brought to perfect union, but still lives in hope (Rom. viii. 24, 25). The figure of *marriage* is borrowed from the Old Test.,—cf. Isai. liv. 1–8; Ezek. xvi. 8; Hos. ii. 19. On this passage compare Matt. xxii. 1–14.

The event does not come to pass until ch. xxi. 2. We are neither to understand, with Vitringa, "*the Marriage Supper*" of ver. 9;—nor refer, with Words., to John ii. 1–3, as in such a sense both the "*Marriage*" and the "*Supper*" would refer (cf. ch. xxi. 9) to the Church's state of happiness to be looked for before the End of all things;—nor yet understand with Züllig an "ante-past" of a select circle of Messiah's friends, which continues during the Millennial Reign (ch. xx. 4). We must rather infer that the voice of Scripture declares how the union of the Lamb with the "Bride," or Church of the Redeemed (ch. xxi. 9; xxii. 17), signifies the *final* imparting to the faithful of their eternal reward (ch. xi. 18; xxii. 12).

It is to be observed that in John iii. 29 it is not explained who is "the Bride." In 2 Cor. xi. 2 St. Paul approaches the full explanation, which he gives in Eph. v 22–32: "I speak concerning Christ and *the Church*." The Church therefore is "the Bride, the Wife of the Lamb":—and so in the Old Test., the Song of Songs, and Psal. xlv.; cf Matt. ix. 15; xxv. 1, &c.; Mark ii. 19; Luke xii. 36. The feast, or "ante-past," as distinguished from the "*Marriage*," is referred to in ch. iii. 20.

and his wife hath made herself ready.] Ready for the Bridegroom—see ch. xxi. 2; Matt. xxv. 10. The "*Marriage*" itself has not as yet arrived, although the day has dawned; and this preparation for the future union is alluded to in such passages as 2 Cor. xi. 2; Eph. v. 27. The word rendered "*Wife*" (γυνή) is used in the sense of "Bride" in Gen. xxix. 21; Deut. xxii. 24 (LXX.); Matt. i. 20. The "Bride" had already been referred to under the figure of "a great multitude which no man could number" (ch. vii. 9),—as the "Woman" with the Crown of Stars (ch. xii. 1),—as the 144,000 on "the Mount Zion." She is the Church of the Last Days—the Elect of Israel and of the Heathen. She has been "*made ready*" in "*the wilderness*" (ch. xii. 6); and having remained faithful in the time of tribulation, the recompense described in ver. 8 awaits her.

I. Williams explains:—At the fall of the mystic Babylon "the marriage of the Lamb is come." The Apostolic "Woman" had fled into the wilderness (ch. xii. 14), and had disappeared from sight. In her stead was seen the "Harlot," in whom, for a time, the Church visible had been lost. Now, on the destruction of the "Harlot," the Virgin Bride again appears (p. 391). See also Auberlen's conclusion referred to in the note on ch. xviii. 4.

De Burgh, appealing to Isai. liv. (cf. Hos. ii.; iii.), regards the emblem of marriage as denoting the future restoration of the Jewish people (p. 343). It is to be noted that writers who hold the doctrine of the "Pre-millennial Advent of Christ," "all distinguish between '*the Bride* of the Lamb' and the whole number of the *saved;* affirming that the one will be complete at His Coming, but the other not." —D. Brown, *l. c.*, p. 79. The Bride represents "all who have believed up to the commencement of the Millennium. These alone are the mystical body of Christ. But after they are completed, at the Second Advent the earth will be peopled by the 'nations of the saved' in flesh and blood,—a totally different party from the then glorified Bride" (p. 80).

8. And it was given unto her] By Divine Grace,—cf. ch. vi. 4.

that she should array herself] For the constr. (with ἵνα) see ch. vi. 4; viii. 3; John xvii. 4. Cf. the words "*hath made herself ready*," ver. 7: "She shall be brought unto the King in raiment of needlework."—Ps. xlv. 14. See also Gal. iii. 27; Eph. vi. 13; Isai. lix. 17.

in fine linen, **bright** [*and*] **pure.**] See ch. vii. 9. For the reading, see *vv. ll.*; and on the word "*linen*," see ch. xviii. 12, 16, as well as Note C on ch. xv. 6. The adjectives signify the brightness of a holy life, and the purity of the Christian character:—cf. ch. xiv. 1–5. Grotius notes:—"The grave attire of the matron; not the gaudy splendour of the harlot" (ch. xvii. 3).

Alford regards this whole verse not as the voice of the celestial chorus, but as a narrative clause "written in the person of the Seer himself." Far better, however, is it (with Düsterd., Ebrard, Burger, &c.) to consider the heavenly song as ending with the words "**bright and pure;**" the rest of the verse being added parenthetically by the Seer from his reminiscence of ch. vii. 14; cf. ch. iii. 18. See to the same effect on ver. 10.

and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints.

9 And he saith unto me, Write, [a] Blessed *are* they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God.

10 And I fell at his feet to wor-

[a] Mat. 22. 2.

(*For the fine linen is the* **righteous acts of the saints**).] These words are the comment of St. John. For the word rendered "**righteous acts**" see on ch. xv. 4. De Wette and Bleek explain the plural to signify the number of persons who possess this righteousness;—Düsterd.: "righteous deeds by which the Saints have manifested their fidelity";—Words. notes that this use of the *plural*, the "pluralis excellentiæ et majestatis," adopted from the Hebrew, is frequent in the Apoc.: e.g. (σάρκας) "*flesh*," ch. xvii. 16; xix. 18, 21 (cf. "*bloods*," John i. 13). He understands "the large freeness of the righteousness bestowed by the infinite merits of Christ's obedience;"—Alf.: "The plural (δικαιώματα) is probably distributive . . . one ['act of righteousness'] to each of the Saints, enveloping him in a pure robe of righteousness." "Not," adds Alf., "Christ's righteousness imputed or put on, but *the Saints' righteousness*. . . . It is *their own;* inherent, not imputed; but their own by their part in and union to Him;"—Hengst.: Not the reward of the "Bride" for her preparation, as in ch. vi. 11; "not the *glory* of the Saints; but their *excellencies*,"—cf. ch. iii. 18. See Professor Archer-Butler's Sermon on "*The Wedding Garment*," Matt. xxii. 11–14, where he writes: "The Wedding Garment must be woven and fashioned on earth. It must be brought from thence with each happy spirit to heaven."

In ch. xiv. 13 it is said "**their works follow with them**;" here that they are clothed in fine linen, which is "**the righteous acts of the saints.**"

Before the grace of Christ, the Old Testament conception is expressed in Isai. lxiv. 6.

The Episode (9–10).

Before the last Vision of this series is exhibited to the Seer, there follows an episode, closely resembling that which occurs in ch. xiv. 12, 13. The blessedness is now represented of the guests who are symbolically described as the "Bride" (Matt. xxii. 1–14; xxv. 10); and the true object of the Church's worship is pointed out, as in a parable.

9. *And he saith unto me*,] Note the similarity to ch. xxi. 5. All that can be said with certainty as to the speaker is that he is an Angel, see ver. 10; ch. xxii. 8, 9:—but what Angel? Bengel, Züllig, De Wette, Hengst., Düsterd., Alf., assert positively that it is the Angel who from ch. xvii. 1 has stood beside the Seer; the same who in ch. xxi. 9 shows the "Bride" to St. John;—Lange understands the Angel of ch. xviii. 21;—Perhaps, notes Bleek, he who in ver. 5 utters the voice from the throne;—On the other hand, Ewald and Ebrard conclude that with the entrance of the Angel of ch. xviii. 1, the agency of the Angel of ch. xvii. 1 has ceased; and they justly understand here the "*Angelus interpres*" of ch. i. 1:—see also ch. i. 10.

Write,] See on ch. i. 11.

Blessed are they which **are bidden to** *the marriage supper of the Lamb.*] Cf. ch. xiv. 13, to which this clause corresponds,—both denoting the first stage of blessedness, and both forming a comment on 1 Thess. iv. 17. In both cases moreover a Divine confirmation is added: in one it is "*Yea, saith the Spirit;* in the other, **These are true words of God**,"—see also on ver. 7; as well as the saying in Luke xiv. 15. For the verb "*to bid*" or "*call*," see on ch. xvii. 14. The "*Marriage*," as pointed out on ver. 7, is to be distinguished from the "Marriage Supper:" "The betrothal and union of Grace in this life passeth over into the union of glory, of which it is said, 'Blessed are they who are called to the marriage supper of the Lamb.'" —Pusey, on Hos. ii. 19. See also on ver. 17.

And he saith unto me,] These words introduce a second and distinct clause.

These are true words of God.] See *vv. ll.* Cf. ch. xxi. 5; xxii. 6. Hengst. translates: "*These words are true*, (they are the words) *of God*;"—Düsterd. and Burger: "*These are the true words of God*;"—De Wette, Alf.: "*These sayings are the true* [sayings] *of God*;"—Züllig: "*These true words are God's words.*"

Bengel notes on the phrase that the word rendered "*true*" (ἀληθινός, see on ch. iii. 7) is not put alone in the Apoc. except in this one place, being always conjoined with "*holy*" (ch. iii. 7), or "*righteous*" (ch. xv. 3), or "*faithful*" (ch. xix. 11). Thus τοῦ Θεοῦ ("*of God*") here supplies the place of "*faithful*" in ch. xxi. 5; xxii. 6.

Ebrard (see on ch. xvii. 17) would restrict the expression "**words of God**" to *vv.* 6–9, *i. e.*, down to "the marriage supper of the Lamb;"—Burger would restrict the saying to *vv.* 1–8, which immediately precede;—Düsterd. would apply it to ch. xviii. 1–ch. xix. 9, viz. to what the Angel promises in ch. xvii.

ship him. And he said unto me, [b] See *thou do it* not: I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.

[b] ch. 22. 9.

1;—Alf. to all that follows ch. xvii. 1;—Hengst. to the preceding *vv.* 5–8 only, viz. to the truths of the coming of the Lord's Kingdom, of the Lamb's Marriage, of the preparation of the Bride.

H. Gebhardt (*l. c.*, s. 14) infers from this verse, combined with ch. xxi. 5; xxii. 6, that a distinction is indicated between the true announcements of God, relating to what went immediately before, and the erroneous opinions of the Seer:—or, as he words it: "They modify the certainty and true Divine character of the rest of the contents" of the Apocalypse. In this he goes even beyond Volkmar, who sees here only a distinction between "the word and the spirit" of what is written (s. 278).

10. *And I fell* **down before** *his feet to worship him.*] See ch. xxii. 7, 8; the natural meaning in both passages being that St. John—on hearing what is said in ver. 9, and the words "*I come*"—took the Angel to be the Lord Himself and not a "*fellow-servant.*" In ch. xvi. 1; xvii. 1, the Seer recognized that the speaker was a created Angel; but here not so. On the other hand, Grotius, Vitr., Bengel, Ewald, Alf., see in this act a token of exaggerated gratitude or reverence paid to one who had imparted such great things;—A mark of Oriental homage, notes Stern, as Lot (Gen. xix. 1), or Nathan before David (1 Kings i. 23), not as one worships God;—Ebrard and Words. see in the narrative a warning "against all such acts of worship as are directed by the worshipper himself to any Being beside God;"—Hengst. considers that St. John in his *humility* forgets his own share in imparting the revelation; and that the Angel in *his* humility brings this to light (see Matt. iii. 14; Rom. xii. 10; and cf. Acts x. 25, 26);—Züllig thinks that the passage is founded on Dan. ii. 46, where (as Jewish tradition explains in accordance with Dan. ii. 27–30; v. 16, 17), the Prophet refers the King, with his adoration, to God;—Auberlen contrasts this expression of gratitude at the glorious promise to the Church confirmed by the words of ver. 9, with the feeling of wonder described in ch. xvii. 6; and he compares Dan. viii. 17;—I. Williams notes: "It appears here like a termination. This end before the end (ch. xxii. 9), followed by resuming the subject, much resembles the same in St. John's Gospel, which seems to terminate with the chapter before the last, and then, after some addition, comes again to a similar conclusion" (p. 393).

And he **saith** *unto me, See* [*thou do it*] *not:*] Gr. **See; not** (Ορα μή);—Winer (s. 530) explains the phrase as "*an aposiopesis:*" for the full constr. cf. Matt. viii. 4; xviii. 10; 1 Thess. v. 15.

Words. notes the contrast to the claim of the antichristian power, ch. xiii. 4, 8, 12, 15.

I am a fellow-servant with thee] See on ch. i. 1. The title of "*servant*" is assumed by the sacred writers without any disparagement of their office and authority:—cf. Rom. i. 1; Phil. i. 1; Tit. i. 1; 2 Pet. i. 1; &c.

and with *thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus:*] Or "**that hold.**" On "*the testimony of Jesus,*" see ch. i. 2, 9; xii. 17; xx. 4. In ch. xxii. 9 the words are "**with** *thy brethren the prophets, and* **with** *them which keep the* **words** *of this Book,*"—a parallel which throws light on what follows here.

worship God.] Whose servants we both are (see ch. xxii. 6, 9)—of Whose prophetic Spirit we alike partake in this our common ministry; and therefore one of us may not worship the other.

(*For the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy*).] These words, like the latter clause of ver. 8, are a parenthetical explanation given by St. John himself, who thus prepares the way for ch. xxii. 9—the meaning of the words being this: 'I am the fellow servant of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus—that is of thy brethren the prophets; for (as St. John here explains) *the testimony of Jesus* is *the spirit of prophecy.*' "The testimony of Jesus," as noted on ch. i. 2, is to be understood both *subjectively*, and *objectively*; as denoting both the testimony borne *by* Jesus (John iii. 31–33; viii. 14—see ch. xxii. 20), and the testimony borne *to* Jesus (John v. 37; 1 John i. 1–3). See Luke xxiv. 27.

The majority of writers, however, understand these words as spoken by the Angel, and Stern makes the connexion to be: 'The gift of prophecy is thy reward for holding fast the testimony of Jesus, for having faith in Him, and bearing witness to it before all the world;'—and Burger interprets "Not merely the *gift of prophecy* (1 Cor. xii. 10) but the *gift of understanding prophecy;* and St. John differed from his '*brethren,*' or fellow-Christains, merely in possessing a higher measure of this gift."

According to Düsterd. the genitive is altogether *subjective*—"*the witness which pro-*

11 And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that

ceeds from Jesus," and the thought is that Christ, by imparting the testimony of the Apocalypse to believers, fills them with the Spirit of prophecy;—Alf., on the other hand, takes the gen. to be altogether *objective;* the Angel saying: "Thou and I and our brethren all bear witness to Jesus; and the way in which we bear this witness, the substance and essence of this testimony, is 'the spirit of prophecy' (1 Cor. xii. 13);" this Spirit given to me and to thee "is the token that we are fellow-servants;"—And so Vitringa ("Plenius dixisset: *Spiritus testimonii Christi* est *Spiritus prophetiæ*; hoc est ejusdem generis, dignitatis, et scopi est, cujus *Spiritus prophetiæ*"—p. 819). It has been thus inferred from ch. xxii. 9 (cf. ch. vi. 9; xii. 17) that all Christians, in every age, who can receive and understand Prophecy, have this spirit; and are, like St. John, fellow-servants and brethren of the Angels;—so Ebrard and Bleek. Consequently Angels are not to be worshipped.

Here comes to a close the interposed section (*vv.* 1–10) which forms the transition from the description of the fall of Babylon—the hostile World-power, to the description of the overthrow of Satan and his allies—the hostile spiritual power.

The Vision of the WORD of God (11–16).

Babylon, with which Antichrist had hitherto shared the rule of the world, has fallen; and the Seer now returns to Antichrist and the "Ten Kings" (see ver. 19) who had been left as if with none to resist them. Their war with Christ has been already foreshadowed in ch. xvii. 14 (cf. too ch. xvi. 12, 14). The Lord —"The WORD of God"—now comes forward to fight the last fight, and to bring comfort and peace to His Church.

This description of Christ sums up the features and attributes of earlier descriptions:—The White Horse (ch. vi. 2); the Titles (ch. iii. 14; xvii. 14); the Eyes (ch. i. 14; ii. 18); the unknown Name (ch. ii. 17); the Sword (ch. i. 16); the Rod of iron (ch. ii. 27); the Winepress (ch. xiv. 20)—which is also recalled by the Vesture dipped in blood; the *many* Diadems (not merely *Seven* or *Ten* as in ch. xii. 3; xiii. 1) which signify that He combines in His Person all royal dignity and power; and thus is "King of kings" (ch. xvii. 14).

But is this description symbolical or literal? It may be assumed with confidence —in accordance with the entire character of the Apocalypse, and in opposition to modern theories (see Note A at the end of this chapter)—that the scene now brought before us is altogether figurative and spiritual; and that the conflict here described is neither literal nor visible. I. Williams truly says (p. 402): "The idea of a [literal] army is altogether destroyed by the same being also a Marriage Supper and a Bride. We have, therefore, no clue to the nature of the fulfilment, except that of final discomfiture, all notion of a sensible warfare being stopped." Accordingly, assuming that this is so, the connexion seems to be as follows:—The *seventh* and last scene of the Revelation proper (see the remarks introductory to ch. xvii.) begins with the victory of Heaven over the hostile World-power (ch. xvii. 1–xviii. 24). Then in ch. xix. 1–10 we hear the voices of triumph, and the announcement of the "*Marriage of the Lamb.*" On this follows the picture of the overthrow of Satan's allies and of himself (ch. xix. 11–xx. 10); this destruction of the hostile spiritual power being followed by the universal Judgment (ch. xx. 11–15), and the glories of the New Jerusalem (ch. xxi. 1–ch. xxii. 5).

On this passage (*vv.* 11–21) Dean Vaughan, having quoted ch. xvii. 10—"*When he* [the *seventh* king] *cometh, he must continue a* **little while**," observes: "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years (2 Pet. iii. 8); and that short space has been expanded by the event into a period of several centuries. Other Babylons, on a smaller scale, and with features less precisely marked, have come and gone since St. John's prophecy against Rome was fulfilled. The Beast still is, and still developes himself from time to time in new forms and shapes. Wherever he developes himself, there arises another Babylon.... We are living not in the time of the *sixth*, but in the time of the *seventh* Head of the Beast; that Head which is known by its 'Ten Horns;' that power which is known by division, not by concentration; by a plurality, not by a unity of crowns and thrones on earth. And here we read of the closing scene of the period of that *seventh* supremacy. It is the last of the Empires: there is none to follow it. It is to terminate in that great outbreak of evil which under many different figures appears both in Old Test., and in New Test. prophecy, as the sure token of the last end of all" (ch. xvi. 13–16; xix. 19).—*l. c.*, ii. p. 202.

11. *And I saw* **the** *heaven opened;*] In ch. iv. 1 "*a door*" is opened in heaven in order that the Seer may ascend thither, in spirit, and gaze within and learn the secret things of God. Here the "*Heaven*" itself is opened in order that the Lord may issue forth with His hosts. These Ewald would identify with the

sat upon him *was* called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

12 His eyes *were* as a flame of fire, and on his head *were* many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew, but he himself.

144,000 of ch. xiv. 1–5, as they were there seen prepared for their victory.

In ch. xi. 19 the Temple in heaven, and in ch. xv. 5 the Holy of Holies had been already opened; consequently, argues Ebrard, nothing more can be revealed in heaven, and this can be no new Vision, but the second part merely of the Vision explaining the *seventh* Vial:—see on ch. xvi. 21. Ebrard also compares this verse with ch. xiv. 14:—In ch. xiii. St. John had beheld the Beast from the "*sea*" or the Kingdom of this world; and then, in ch. xiv., he was led to see the 144,000 on Mount Zion, and to hear of the fall of Babylon, and to look upon the Son of Man coming "*upon the cloud*" to reap the harvest:—so here, after he has beheld the Beast from the Abyss (ch. xvii. 8) or the kingdom of Antichrist, and after Babylon has fallen, and he has heard the song of triumph over her, he looks upon Christ issuing forth from heaven.

and behold, a white horse, and he that sat **thereon,**] There is here a reference to ch. vi. 2, where exactly the same words occur. Under the *first* Seal the Rider on the White Horse went forth to his work of conquest; here He comes forth to strike the last blow and to execute the last acts of judgment. In neither case does the Rider come forth *visibly*—see Note A at the end of this chapter. And thus the Rider beheld under the *first* Seal reappears at the close of the Book; He is the Beginning and the End, the Alpha and the Omega of the Apocalypse (ch. i. 8; xxi. 6; xxii. 13).

called *Faithful and True;*] (The "*was*" of A.V. is not to be inserted,—cf. ch. iv. 2, 3). In ch. iii. 14 the same epithets are applied to Christ:—on the word rendered "*True*" see ver. 9. There is weighty authority for omitting the word "**called**,"—see *vv. ll.*

and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.] Compare Isai. xi. 3, 4. The nature of the judgment is indicated in conformity with *vv.* 14, 19.

Todd,—having observed that the Vision of Babylon terminates, like the Visions of the Seals and Trumpets (ch. vi. 17; xi. 15), in the great Day of wrath, and the establishment of Christ's Kingdom,—infers that as the Coming of Christ in Glory "is described at the conclusion of each of the apocalyptic Visions, these Visions, although consecutive in the order in which they were exhibited to St. John, are not consecutive, but synchronous in their fulfilment;" which is to be sought for in the future—in the events that precede, accompany, or immediately follow the Lord's Second Advent (*l. c.*, p. 80).

12. **And** *his eyes* [**are**] *a flame of fire,*] Omit "*as,*" see *vv. ll.* Cf. ch. i. 14. The features of this description differ in some respects,—required by the different circumstances of *this* appearance—from those in ch. vi. 2. There Christ is armed with a bow—the weapon which strikes from afar; here his eyes "are *a flame of fire*"—denoting that He comes not to seek and to save that which was lost, but to scorch and to consume. Such is the character in which the Lord *now* appears.

and **upon** *his head* [**are**] **many diadems;**] Not now the "*crown,*" the Victor's wreath, but the kingly "**diadem**" the emblem of His own proper Regal authority;—nay more, "**many diadems,**" denoting the concentration of all kingly authority in His Person, as plainly expressed in ver. 16: see Note D on ch. ii. 10. E g. Ptolemy Philometor "set two diadems around his head, that of Asia and of Egypt."—1 Macc. xi. 13; Artabanus also "in whom the Kingdom of Parthia ended" used two "diadems"—see Spanheim, *De usu Numm.* t. i. p. 451, who refers to Joseph. *Antt.* xiii. 8; and to Herodian, *Hist.* vi. 2, ed. Bekk. p. 119. In Diodorus Siculus (i. 47) we read of one having "three *kingdoms* on the head," "the context plainly showing that these are three *diadems*, the symbols of a triple royalty."—Trench, *Synon.*, p. 77. Pusey, on Zech. vi. 11, notes that the "*crowns*" there spoken of were not "*diadems*" at all, but "circlets of silver and gold." Referring to this place, Züllig would explain the "**Ten Diadems**" of ch. xiii. 1 to be trophies of victory borne away by Christ from the "Ten Kings" of ch. xvii. 12:—cf. 2 Sam. xii. 30. To this Düsterd. objects that the "Kings" had not yet been conquered.

and he **hath** *a name written,* **which no one knoweth** *but he himself.*] See Matt. xi. 27. The "*New Name*" of ch. ii. 17; iii. 12, which will finally be disclosed to those "**which are bidden** *to the Marriage Supper* of the Lamb." St. John *sees* the "*Name*"; it appears "*written;*" but he can neither read nor express it: cf. Judges xiii. 18. Some say it is the ineffable name JEHOVAH; others "The WORD of God," ver. 13:—but neither of these names is "NEW," nor is either of them unknown. It has also been asked *where* this name was written? On the diadems? On the forehead (so Burger after the analogy of ch. vii. 3; xiv. 1)? On the vesture? On the

[c] Is. 63. 2.

13 [c]And he *was* clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God.

14 And the armies *which were* in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.

15 And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.

horse? To these questions no answer need be given.

Alford admits into the text the words inserted merely by "B, Syr., Andr." (see *vv. ll.*, and Tisch., 8th ed.). He renders "**having [names written, and] a name written,**" &c., expressing, however, a doubt as to their genuineness; and suggesting "that the names were inscribed on the diadems, signifying the import of each":—Reuss would explain this doubtful reading by a reference to the *names* Messiah, Christ, Word, Son of David.

13. *And he* [is] **arrayed in** *a vesture dipped in blood*:] On the word "*dipped*" (*βεβαμμένον*) see John xiii. 26; the verb occurs elsewhere only in Luke xvi. 24. Cf. ver. 15; and ch. xiv. 20. For the reading "**sprinkled with blood,**" see *vv. ll.*:—cf. Heb. ix. 13, 19, 21; x. 22; xii. 24; 1 Pet. i. 2. The reference in any case is to Isai. lxiii. 2, 3:—doubtless the blood of His enemies. Words. notes that St. Hippolytus (*in Noet.* § 15, p. 53, ed. Lagarde) reads "**sprinkled,**" but "explains it as referring to *Christ's own blood*, by which the Incarnate Word cleansed the world."

and his name is called] The verb is in the perfect tense,—see *vv. ll.*

The Word of God.] This is no "*new name:*" by this title of "THE WORD" Christ is designated only by St. John:—here, in John i. 1–14, and in 1 John i. 1. He is the Personal Revelation of God Himself—in Whom dwells the fulness of the Godhead bodily (Col. ii. 9). Lücke and others object that we have here "the Word of God," and not, absolutely, "the Word" (see Introd. § 7, III. (*a*)). The writer, however, of the Fourth Gospel was confessedly the writer of the First Epistle, and there, too, the title is not "the Word," absolutely, but "the Word of Life." It may be noted that the phrase "the word of God" (also *ὁ λόγος*) —when not used as a title of the Personal Word—occurs in ch. i. 2, 9; vi. 9; xx. 4:—see on ch. i. 2; and cf. ch. xvii. 17; xix. 9.

At His first coming in humility He is known as "The Son of Man;" at His Second Coming in glory as "THE WORD OF GOD."

14. *And the armies which* [are] *in heaven*] (See *vv. ll.*). It is in close accordance with the usage of Scripture—as well as with the interpretation adopted above—to hold that the heavenly Host (Luke ii. 13) which accompanies Christ in this His manifestation as Judge, is composed of Angels only (see Matt. xvi. 27; xxv. 31; 2 Thess. i. 7; and cf. 1 Kings xxii. 19; Ps. cxlviii. 2). Züllig, Düsterd., De Burgh, Alf. would include the glorified Saints also who are introduced in ch. xvii. 14. The share of the Saints, however, in the Judgment (1 Cor. vi. 2, 3) is described for the first time in ch. xx. 4:—see on ver. 11.

followed him upon white horses,] Symbolizing a triumphant march—see on ch. vi. 2.

clothed in fine linen, white [*and*] **pure.**] (Omit "*and*"—see *vv. ll.*). White is the colour and livery of heaven—see on ch. i. 14; here the holiness and purity of the heavenly host are symbolized (cf. ver. 8). Hengst. would refer to ch. xv. 6, but see the note on the text of that verse. Their garments are not, like their Leader's, "*dipped in,*" or "**sprinkled with** *blood*" (cf. "Their blood shall be sprinkled upon My garments," Isai. lxiii. 3). This Host is without sword or spear —arms of actual warfare are assigned only to the WORD: see on ch. xvii. 14.

15. **proceedeth** *a sharp sword,*] See on ch. i. 16; cf. ch. ii. 12, 16. Compare also "*the breath of his mouth,*" 2 Thess. ii. 8. In illustration of the effect of Christ's words upon His enemies, Hengst. refers to John xviii. 5. Such features of the description as we have here show that all is symbolical.

that with it] The preposition (*ἐν*) is instrumental.

and he shall rule them] See on ch. ii. 27; xii. 5. Here, and in the words "*he treadeth,*" the pronoun "*He*" (*αὐτός*) is emphatic—"HE" and none other.

he treadeth] In ch. xiv. 17–19 it was "*another Angel*" who gathered the vintage of the earth; but how "*the wine-press was trodden*" (ver. 20) is not stated. As in Isai. lxiii. 3, Christ treads "*the wine-press alone.*"

the wine-press of the fierceness **of the wrath** *of Almighty God.*] See *vv. ll.*:—cf. ch. xiv. 8, 10; ch. xvi. 19. Gr. **the wine-press of the wine of the fierceness.**

16 And he hath on *his* vesture and on his thigh a name written, [d] KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

17 And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God;

18 That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all *men*, *both* free and bond, both small and great.

[d] ch. 17. 14.

The two images of the "cup of wrath" and of the "wine-press" in ch. xiv. 10, 19, are here combined.

He comes to execute judgment on the godless, as described in Jude 14, 15.

16. *And he hath* **upon** *his vesture, and* **upon** *his thigh a name written,*] (See *vv. ll.*). Many explain that the name was written on the vesture only;—upon the part of it which covered the thigh: so De Wette, Hengst., Düsterd., Bisping, &c. Hengst. observes that the thigh is introduced as the place where the sword (which is not mentioned *here*, see ver. 15) is usually found, in accordance with Ps. xlv. 3: "*Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty.*" Wetstein, Eichhorn, De Wette, refer to the custom of engraving the artist's name on the thigh of a statue ("Signum Apollinis cujus in femore nomen Myronis erat inscriptum."—Cicero, *Verr.* iv. 43; cf. Pausanias, *Eliac. extr.*; Herod. ii. 106; and Wetstein *in loc.*).

KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.] The order is that in 1 Tim. vi. 15; but the order of ch. xvii. 14 is inverted. For the title cf. Deut. x. 17; Ezra vii. 12; Ps. cxxxvi. 3; Dan. ii. 37, 47; viii. 25.

Hengst. notes that the names of Christ in this Vision are *four*—(1) "*Faithful and True*" (ver. 11); (2) the Name "*that no man knew*" (ver. 12); (3) "The *Word of God*" (ver 13); (4) and here "*King of Kings and Lord of Lords*,"—"Before this sacred number *four*, the earth, whose signature is *four*, must tremble." In an elaborate, but most unsatisfactory dissertation, Züllig tries to establish a parallel between these *four* names and the titles of Messiah in Isai. ix. 6:—(1) (as Hengst.) "*Wonderful, Counsellor;*" (2) "*The Mighty God*" (or as Züllig explains "The Divine hero—the hero of might"); (3) "*The Everlasting Father*" (or as he explains)—"The forerunner for the gaining of spoil"—"Vormann zum Beutemachen"); (4) "*The Prince of Peace.*" ("Der Sprech-geist Gottes").

The Action now begins:—

THE CONFLICT (17–21).

17. *An angel*] Gr. **one Angel**:—cf. ch. viii. 13; xviii. 21.

standing in the sun;] From which station, writers comment, as well suiting the glory of the Angel, he can best summon the birds in mid-heaven, who surround the place where the Angel stands; and whence his voice can be heard by the whole earth.

and he cried with a **great** *voice, saying to all* **the birds** *that fly* **in mid-heaven,**] See ch. viii. 13; xiv. 6.

Come [*and*] **be gathered together**] (Omit "*and;*" see *vv. ll.*). This call of the Angel directs us to the same memorable call in Ezek. xxxix. 17–20, and to the mysterious gathering against Israel, there described, of Gog and Magog; thus connecting that description with their appearance in ch. xx. 8. The usual imagery, signifying a disastrous defeat, is employed:—see 1 Sam. xvii. 46; Isai. xviii. 6; Jer. vii. 33; xii. 9; cf. also Matt. xxiv. 28.

Universal nature is summoned to rejoice at this consummation of God's purpose.

unto the **great supper of God**;] See *vv. ll.* We have to note the contrast here to "*the Marriage Supper*" of the Lamb, ver. 9. This passage gives one aspect of "the war of the Great Day of God, the Almighty"—ch. xvi. 14. For the other aspect see ch. xx. 7–9.

"It is the great Epiphany," notes I. Williams (p. 400). "The first Epiphany was by a Star, this in the Sun." Beda understands the Eagle-spirits of heaven: "Ye holy souls that hunger after righteousness, come now and behold the righteous judgments of God."

Andreas takes the birds to be good Angels;—Primasius makes them to be evil angels;—Brightman and others understand nations and churches which have not yet attained full truth.

18. *and the flesh of captains,*] Or **military tribunes**,—Gr. **chiliarchs**.

and the flesh of horses and of them that **sit thereon,**] The word "*flesh*" is repeated here *five* times in the *plural* (see on ver. 8): Words. takes this to denote "the *completeness* and *universality* of God's retribution."

both free and bond, **and** *small and great.*] The word "*both*" is read in the Greek,—see *vv. ll.* Hengst. compares this enumeration to those in ch. vi. 15; xiii. 16; there are *four* classes (*Kings, Captains, Mighty men,*

19 And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

20 And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

Riders); and another composed of *four* members, the "*free and bond*," the "*small and great*."

"The world," notes Auberlen, "in its opposition to God, when it has reached the highest development of its material and spiritual power, is after all only a decorated carcase, decaying; round which the eagles gather, and to devour which all the birds that fly in the midst of heaven are called together" (p. 323).

19. *And I saw*] The past tense here, and in *vv.* 20, 21, imports that this act of the judgment was represented in Vision; not described, as in ch. xviii.

the beast,] Of ch. xiii. 1. Ebrard however, understands not "the Beast *from the sea*,"—the World-power; but the "Beast *from the Abyss*,"—Antichrist, (ch. xvii. 8): see on ch. xiii. 1.

and the kings of the earth,] The allies of the Beast—the "*Ten Kings*" of ch. xvii. 12, 13 who are called up by demons, see ch. xvi. 13–16. Ebrard draws a distinction between the "*kings of the earth*" (ch. xviii. 3, 9), and their "*armies*;" *both together* making up the "*Ten kingdoms*" which are symbolized by the "*Ten Kings*" of ch. xvii. 12. Hengst. takes the phrase "*kings of the earth*" as the contrast to "*the King of Kings*," who is of *Heaven*.

and their armies,] Consisting of the inhabitants of the earth—see ch. xiii. 4, 8, 16.

gathered together to make war] Gr. **the war** (see *vv. ll.* here and in ch. xx. 8). The article is emphatic:—*the* great last struggle for which they had assembled under the *sixth* Vial (ch. xvi. 12–16; xvii. 14), but which does not take place until now—"The Great Day of God, the Almighty" (ch. xvi. 14).

against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.] Note here the sing. "*army*," as contrasted with "*armies*" above. The unity among Christ's followers is signified—He has but *one* army, composed of various hosts: see ver. 14.

The appearance of Christ, writes Ebrard, has put an end to the attack on the Church—see ch. xii. 15. Antichrist now turns against the Lord Himself.

The rationalistic interpretation may be summed up in the words of Renan:—"Although Rome is destroyed, the Roman world, represented by Nero, the Antichrist, is not annihilated .... The prophet sees the Beast (Nero), and the kings of the earth (the Generals of the Provinces, almost independent) and their armies, united to make war against Him who is seated on the White Horse" (*l. c.*, p. 444): see on ch. xvii. 12.

20. *And the beast was taken*,] This verb (πιάζω) is characteristic of St. John's style:—it occurs eight times in the Fourth Gospel; elsewhere in the New Test. in Acts iii. 7; xii. 4; 2 Cor. xi. 32. Züllig and Hengst. note that it is not stated how or by whom the Beast was seized:—doubtless it was by the army of Christ.

On this description see Dan. vii. 11.

and with him the false prophet] See on ch. xiii. 11–17; with which passage agrees this appearance of the "*False Prophet*." See also ch. xvi. 13.

that wrought **the** *miracles* **in his sight**,] See ch. xiii. 13; Gr., **the signs**:—the "*False Prophet*" being thus identified with the second Beast in ch. xiii. 11. This performing of miracles, notes Bengel, explains why the "*False Prophet*" receives a like punishment with the Beast.

wherewith *he deceived them*] See ch. xiii. 14.

Ebrard thus explains the connexion with ch. xiii.:—The agency of the "*False Prophet*" is carried on in the *sixth* World-Kingdom, risen again from apparent destruction; but now long since subverted as a World-kingdom (or Beast from the "*Sea*"). The World-power has parted into *three* powers (cf. ch. xvi. 19 with ch. xvii.)—into (1) the "Ten Kings" (as a *seventh* World-power); (2) the Beast from the Abyss (as becoming near the *seventh*); (3) Babylon, now become the "Woman." After this, Babylon (ch. xvii. 16) has been utterly and for ever overthrown (ch. xviii. 21); the "Ten Kings" have given up their power to the Beast from the Abyss; and this Beast then reigns as the *eighth* World-power. As the "*False Prophet*," in ch. xiii. 11, had come to help the Beast from the "*Sea*" in his *sixth* form; so now an analogous lying-power (in another form but in the same spirit —that of the Dragon) comes to help the Beast in his *eighth* form—*i.e.*, the Beast from

21 And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which *sword* proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.

the Abyss—and will exercise anew his old arts until Christ's Second Coming (s. 507).

that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image:] See ch. xiii. 15, 16.

they twain *were cast alive into* **the lake** *of fire*] Or Gehenna (Matt. x. 28; Mark ix. 43; Jas. iii. 6)—"the eternal fire" (Matt. xxv. 41). The word "Gehenna" is not found in the writings of St. John. This language rests on such passages as Isai. xxx. 33; lxvi. 24. On the "Lake of Fire," cf. ch. xx. 10, 14; xxi. 8.

For Renan's explanation of the source of this symbolism, see on ch. ix. 2.

We are to note that St. John implies a distinction between the place of Satan's abode, *the Abyss* (ch. ix. 1; xi. 2; xvii. 8; xx. 1, 3)—and the place of Satan's punishment "*the Lake of Fire*" (ch. xix. 20; xx. 10, 14, 15; xxi. 8).

that burneth *with brimstone:*] (Note the irregular concord here,—see *vv. ll.*). This casting alive into the "Lake of Fire" (cf. Dan. vii. 11) has been contrasted with the Ascension of the "Two Witnesses" (ch. xi. 11, 12) to heaven. It is not stated who inflicts this judgment; the agent is doubtless some "ministering spirit" as in ch. xx. 2.

They are cast "*alive*," notes Hengst., for they have not a human nature,—they are purely ideal forms. Those who are human suffer a bodily death, ver. 21.

These are living men, notes Burger, not personifications which could not be cast into the "Lake of Fire."

21. *and* **the rest** *were slain*] *All* the inhabitants of the earth, ch. xiii. 3, 8, 14, 16 (Düsterd.);—the adherents of Antichrist enumerated in ver. 18 (Hengst., Ebrard, Bisping);—or the "*kings*" and their "*armies*" (ver. 19), which seems to be the most natural meaning. So in effect Auberlen (p. 339); who considers that the unconverted Jews and Heathen still survive on earth, inasmuch as, never having come into contact with the Gospel, they are therefore not guilty of rejecting it.

with the sword of him that sat **on** *the horse,* [**even the sword**] **which came forth** *out of his mouth:*] (See *vv. ll.*). As in ver. 15. Death—spiritual death, no doubt, see Isai. xi. 4—falls on them as a preliminary punishment: see ch. xx. 12–15.

Burger—who looks upon this conflict as literal and visible—admits that "*the sword*" is not a literal "*sword*," but he gives as illustrations of what is intended the events referred to in Josh. x. 12; 2 Kings xix. 35; and also ch. xx. 9, together with the description of ch. xvi. 18–21—especially the "*great hail*." Nevertheless Burger doubts whether this judgment on Antichrist and the Lord's appearance described in *vv.* 11–16 are what we read of in Matt. xxiv. 30; xxv. 31; John v. 28, 29; 2 Cor. v. 10. He also points to the difference between *vv.* 11–16 and ch. xx. 11. These difficulties, to which his exposition is exposed, he leaves unsolved.

and all the **birds**] See ver. 17.

The following expositions have been given:—The "**birds**" (*vv.* 17, 21) are, according to Hammond, the Goths and Vandals who desolated the Roman Empire;—According to Cocceius they are the Turks who after the fall of Constantinople devastated the Catholic countries of the West;—According to Hengst. the Huns;—Wetstein applies the prophecy to the murder of Domitian (ver. 20), and the overthrow of his soldiers (ver. 21);—Grotius applies ver. 19 to the Emperor Julian and his partizans; and ver. 20 to the abolition of pagan sacrificial rites by Theodosius and Justinian;—C. à Lapide understands a description of the miserable deaths of heretics;—Stuart notes: The substantial meaning is that the leaders as well as their followers in the persecutions directed against the Christians will be subjected to a speedy and dreadful punishment: "I doubt not that the great truth taught is, that final, complete, and certain victory over heathenism will be achieved" (vol. ii. p. 352). He makes "the Second Catastrophe" (see the remarks introductory to ch. xii.) to end here; the "Third Catastrophe and sequel" being contained in ch. xx. 1–xxii. 5.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on Chap. XIX.

NOTE A ON VER. 11—THE PRE-MILLENNIAL ADVENT.

A controversy which embraces more than one question has arisen at this point in modern times respecting the Second Coming of Christ,—"Will it be pre-Millennial?"

The *Second Advent*,—the "*Presence*,"—the "*Parusia*" of Christ (ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ),—is frequently spoken of by the writers of the

New Test. *in connexion with* the Last Judgment,—Matt. xxiv. 3, 37; 1 Cor. xv. 23; 2 Thess. ii. 8; James v. 7, 8; 2 Pet. i. 16; &c. In St. John's writings the word παρουσία is found only in 1 John ii. 28, and does not occur in the Apocalypse (see on ch. xvii. 8). Now the Last Judgment is not described in this Book until ch. xx. 11; and Scripture recognizes only *one visible* Return, or Coming, or "*Parusia*," of Christ. The question, therefore, arises, whether the issuing forth of the Lord from heaven, as described in *vv.* 11–21 is or is not *visible?* Whether the conflict here is literal or symbolical? In other words, whether the overthrow of Antichrist is carnal or spiritual? Christ has, it is true, intimated that all is not to be peace on earth (Matt. x. 34); and the Church will, doubtless, be militant unto the End:—but St. Paul defines the means by which alone the Cross is to triumph when he declares that the weapons of our warfare are not of the flesh (2 Cor. x. 4). Dr. David Brown well observes: "The Kingdom of Christ not being 'of this world,' and so not 'bearing the sword,' does not 'break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms' (Dan. ii. 44) in any such *pitched battle* as the armies of men contend for the mastery in, and such as many are wont to represent 'the battle of that great day of God Almighty' at 'Ar-Mageddon.' . . . I believe the warfare itself to be not carnal. There may be much carnal warfare *in connexion with it*. . . . But . . . this symbolical description [Rev. xix. 11–21] of the conflict that is to issue in the final destruction of Antichrist and all his party, does not lead me the more to expect a 'carnal warfare,' but just the reverse. . . . The final issue is to be *gradual* rather than *immediate*—the result of *many* blows rather than of *one*." —*Christ's Second Coming: Will it be Premillennial?* p. 334.

The question, in short, amounts to this, Is the Second Advent of Christ to *re-constitute*, or to *terminate* the present state of things? —to establish an earthly (Millennial) kingdom illuminated by the beams of His Glory, and pervaded by the sense of His *visible* Presence? that is to say, Is the doctrine of what is called the "Premillennial Advent" true? That doctrine is as follows:—The present earthly state of things is not to terminate with the Second Coming of Christ, but to be then set up in a new form; when the Redeemer with His glorified Saints will reign in Person for a Thousand Years over a world of men still in the flesh (see Brown, *l.c.*, p. 6). And again: "But it may be said, if this be not the Second Advent, where does it occur in the Apocalypse *after this?* 'After the Millennium,' says Mr. Birks, 'there is not found one syllable in the prophecy expressive of *such* an Advent.' True, for this is symbolical and figurative;. . . But when I read thus, 'And I saw' [*after* the Millennium] 'a great white throne, &c. &c. [ch. xx. 11], and connect this with 2 Pet. iii. 10, I see the Lord personally present in the one passage, while the other informs me he has *only then* come. Thus no attempt is made in the Apocalypse to picture by symbols the Personal Advent, but in place of it He is beheld in His great white throne—*just come;* with which agree the words of Jesus himself, 'When the Son of Man shall *come* in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, *then* shall He sit upon the throne of His glory'" (*l. c.*, p. 446).

On the other hand, the majority of expositors, of the most different schools, decide that the Second Advent of Christ is to be *visible:* many writers further insisting that the Second Advent is *to precede* the Millennium. Thus Auberlen: "This coming of Christ [to 'establish His kingdom of glory upon earth'] must be carefully distinguished from His Coming to the final Judgment. It is this Coming which both Daniel and John describe (Rev. xix. 11–12; Dan. ii. 33–44; vii. 9–14, 26, 27); it is this Coming by which all shall be fulfilled which the prophets of the Old Test. have prophesied concerning the Messianic time of peace and prosperity; it is this Coming which the Lord Jesus refers to in His discourse, Matt. xxiv. 29, &c., as distinguished from that spoken of in Matt. xxv. 31". . . . "The expression, 'the *Parusia* of Christ' denotes in the New Test., this Advent, and it alone; and this Second Coming of Christ, viewed in connexion with the Kingdom *established by it upon earth* (the Millennial), occupies a much more prominent position in the Biblical mode of conception, than in that of the modern Church. Passages like Matt. xxiv. 27–31; Acts i. 11; Rev. i. 7, leave scarcely a doubt that this appearance of the Lord will be visible" (*l. c.*, p. 322). [It is a mere assumption, it may be observed, on Auberlen's part, that the passages last quoted refer to *vv.* 11–21, and not to the Lord's appearance in ch. xx. 11]. Auberlen next proceeds to bring in his theory of "an *invisible* Church" (see on ch. xvii. 1):—"The fundamental importance of this Coming of the Lord consists (according to Col. iii. 3, 4) in this, that Christ and His Church shall become manifest and visible, even as before they are hid in God. The Advent of Christ has a two-fold object,—To judge the World-power, and to bring to the Church redemption, glorification, and power over the world" (*ibid.*). From this conclusion Bisping only differs in not assigning so much importance to this victory over Antichrist, and to the Millennial reign, which he regards as merely a transition period, and not the ultimate ob-

ject of the Second Advent. No less certain is Mr. Birks ("*The Four Prophetic Empires*," p. 330) that "The Second Advent of our Lord, as described in the latest prophecy of Scripture, does not *follow*, but *precedes* the Millennial kingdom." To the same effect De Burgh distinguishes *this* appearance of Christ, or the Second Advent, from the general Judgment, ch. xx. 12–13; previously to which as well as to the Millennium, comes this "special judgment on a specific body of persons, an organized faction, found in opposition to Him, and His Kingdom" (*l. c.*, p. 345).

CHAPTER XX.

2 *Satan bound for a thousand years.* 6 *The first resurrection: they blessed that have part therein.* 7 *Satan let loose again.* 8 *Gog and Magog.* 10 *The devil cast into the lake of fire and brimstone.* 12 *The last and general resurrection.*

AND I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key

[Ver. 2 [A reads ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος]. Ver. 3 *om.* 2nd αὐτόν.—[A reads ἐμμενὼς αὐτόν for ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ].—*om.* καί before μετά. Ver. 4 *om.* 1st αὐτῶν.—*om.* τά before χίλια. Ver. 5 *om.* δέ.—ἔζησαν ἄχρι [1 reads ἀνέστησαν ἄχρι.—T. R. ἀνέζησαν ἕως, Erasmus having taken the first syllable ἀν from his manuscript, and ἔζησαν ἕως from the Vulg. *vixerunt donec.* Er. himself, in his *five* editions, has ἕως τελεσθῇ τὰ χίλια ἔτη ἄχρι,—ἄχρι being a printer's error]. Ver. 6 [א, B read τὰ χίλια,—A omits τά]. Ver. 8 τὸν πόλεμον [cf. ch. xix. 19]—ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν. Ver. 9 *om.* ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ [cf. ch. xxi. 2, 10]. Ver. 10 καί before τὸ θηρίον. Ver. 11 μέγαν λευκόν. Ver. 12 τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς μικρ. [the words μικροὺς καὶ μεγάλους (of T. R.), omitted in 1, are found in the commentary of Andreas. Cf. ch. xi. 18; xiii. 16; xix. 5, 18].—ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. Ver. 13 twice reads τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτ. Ver. 14 οὗτος ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερός ἐστιν, ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός.]

After the "*Seven plagues which are the last*" (ch. xv. 1) comes the final Judgment itself, in the different stages of which the Three great Enemies of God receive their doom. These are the Dragon—of whom we first read in ch. xii., and his two agents, the Beast from the "*Sea*," or World-power (ch. xiii. 1), and the Beast from the "*Earth*," or "False Prophet" (ch. xiii. 11); cf. ch. xvi. 13. The enmity of these two agents of the principle of evil derives its source from Satan himself; and is realized throughout the Visions which follow, in bloodshed, persecution, seduction, and blasphemy. This God-opposing power is further manifested in ch. xvii. 3 under the two connected forms of the World-kingdom, or Beast, and the World-city, or "Harlot." In the description of the Last Judgment this order is reversed. Satan is now introduced and judged, not first of all but last of all, when he is "*cast into the lake of fire*" (ch. xx. 10). In ch. xix. 20, his two agents, the Beast and the "False Prophet," had been subjected to the same sentence; while earlier still, the seat of the World-power, Babylon, the "Harlot," had been destroyed (ch. xviii.).

But what is the place of the opening verses of this twentieth chapter in this symbolical picture of the final triumph of the Divine kingdom over the kingdom of evil? Omitting minor differences there are here two opposite systems of interpretation:—

I. This chapter takes up and continues in historical order the narratives of the preceding Visions;

II. In ch. xx. 1–9 we have, not a continuation of what went before, but a "Recapitulation" of events dating from the First Advent of Christ—ch. xix. 21 being continued at ch. xx. 10.

On these two systems see the Excursus at the end of this chapter.

The Thousand Years (1–6).

1. *And I saw an angel* coming *down* out of *heaven,*] One of the host of Angels to whom the key of the Abyss is given, as in ch. ix. 1. In order to execute his office, the Angel comes "*down out of heaven*," for Satan has no longer a place there—see ch. xii. 9, 12.

The punishment of Satan, notes Auberlen, is always done by ministering Angels:—in ch. xii. by the Archangel Michael; here by an "*Angel*"; in ver. 10 no agency is spoken of:—see on ch. xii. 7.

Appealing to ch. i. 18, Hengst. (and so St. Augustine, Vitr., and others) decides that this Angel must be Christ Himself, "as at vii. 2; x. 1; xiv. 17; xviii. 1" (but see the notes on these texts);—Joachim and Cocceius understand the Holy Spirit;—Bullinger regards him as symbolizing the Twelve Apostles;—De Lyra, either Pope Calixtus II. (who compelled the Emperor Henry V. to yield on the

of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand.

2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years,

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question of Investitures, A.D. 1122), or Pope Innocent III.;—According to Brightman, the Angel is Constantine the Great.

having the key **of the Abyss**] The present abode of Satan and his evil spirits—see ch. ix. 1–11; and cf. on ch. xi. 7; xvii. 8. This is to be distinguished from the "*Lake of Fire*," ver. 10, a further and more awful place of punishment: see Matt. viii. 29; xxv. 41. St. Augustine (see on ver. 3), as already quoted on ch. ix. 1, seems not to regard the "Abyss" as a *place* at all; and similarly Ebrard (also quoted there) takes the meaning to be symbolical. It cannot, he argues, denote an actual locality, because the "Abyss" is first opened under the *fifth* Trumpet (ch. ix. 1, 2); while Satan nevertheless is both in heaven and on earth, see ch. xii. 3, 7–13: and again, because he has power to send from it the "*Locusts*" (ch. ix. 11), as well as the Beast, ch. xi. 7; xvii. 8:—but see on ver. 2.

and a great chain in his hand.] Gr., **upon his hand**,—lying on it, and hanging from it, prepared to execute the Divine Will, and *bind* Satan: cf. ch. v. 1.

Bossuet takes the *chain* figuratively to mean "the inviolable commands of God, and the impress of His Eternal Will."

2. *And he laid hold on the dragon.*] For the *Three* great Enemies of God's Kingdom, see ch. xiii. 2, 4, 11; xvi. 13. On the "continuous" system of interpretation, ch. xix. 21 is taken up here—see Note A at the end of this chapter. Cf. ch. xii. 3 as to the first appearance of the Dragon.

the *old serpent.*] Note the nominative here (see *vv. ll.*) marking the prominence of the idea—see Introd. § 7, IV. (*d*). The same titles used in ch. xii. 9 are here repeated verbatim; see also ch. xii. 14, 15. The word "*Devil*" used again in ver. 10 is also found in ch. ii. 10; xii. 12:—the word "*Satan*" used again in ver. 7 is also found in ch. ii. 9, 13, 24; iii. 9. Hengst. suggests that the exact repetition of these titles refers to the fundamental victory over Satan spoken of in ch. xii. 9. (This verse is quoted by St. Justin M., *Apol.* i. 28: see Introd. § 2, a).

which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him] Satan being a spirit, the binding by the "*chain*" must be understood figuratively;—not permitting him, as St. Augustine explains, to exercise his whole power of temptation. The expression "*bound*," recalls the *binding* of "*the strong man*," "*Beelzebub the prince of the devils*," Satan, Matt. xii. 24, 29; Mark iii. 26, 27. On the overthrow of Satan's power compare Luke x. 18; John xii. 31; xvi. 11; 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6.

The binding of Satan, notes Auberlen, as a Millennarian, is mentioned first, because it is organically connected with ch. xix. 20.

for *a thousand years,*] The accusative case—signifying the duration of this binding of Satan: cf. ch. ix. 5. The importance of this period of duration is indicated by its being repeated *six* times in *vv.* 2–7.

That the period of a "*Thousand Years*" is to be taken figuratively, is in accordance with such texts as Ps. xc. 4 ("A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday"), or 2 Pet. iii. 8 ("One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day"). A space of time absolutely *long* is denoted,—just as "*half an hour*" (see on ch. viii. 1) denotes a space of time absolutely *short*. In fact, a very great, although not a countless number is signified;—not the "*ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands*" of ch. v. 11; or that "*which no man could number*" in ch. vii. 9. We are to understand a long, though finite duration, beginning from the First Advent of Christ (1 Cor. xv. 24, 25).

On the number 1000 (=10×10×10; or 10^3)—the largeness of which has deterred the advocates of the "Year-day" theory from applying here their favourite method of calculation—see Introd. § 11, b, II. As the period of "three years and a half" was a chronological expression among the Jews denoting a time of *suffering*, so a "*Thousand Years*" signified with them the "Day of Messiah"—"*Dies Messiæ mille anni*:"—see Wetst. *in loc.*

Auberlen notes that *Ten*, the number which symbolizes the World in its completeness, is here raised to the power *Three*, the number of God:—"that is the world is penetrated perfectly and thoroughly by the Divine element."

Dean Alford expresses the *literal* interpretation as follows:—"That the Lord will come in person to this our earth: that His risen elect will reign *here* with Him and judge: that during that blessed reign the power of evil will be bound:... At the end of the Millennial period Satan is unloosed, and the nations of the earth are deceived by him." "This," he concludes, "is my firm persuasion."—*Prolegg.*, p. 259.

How the difficulties which surround this notion of the Millennial reign of Christ *on earth* are met by Auberlen, may be seen in Note A at the end of this chapter. Auberlen

3 And cast him into the bottom-
less pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand

also considers that both Daniel and St. John describe the Millennial Kingdom;—the former, after the manner of the Old Test., describing the earthly aspect of the coming of God's Kingdom (Dan. ii. 35, 44; vii. 13, 27); the latter describing its spiritual aspect (Rev. xx. 1–6). In these passages, he observes, all prophecy on the subject, whether in the Old or New Test., is summed up. With the Coming of Christ—*the Parusia* (Luke xix. 11, 12, 15, see on ch. xvii. 8)—the Kingdom of God shall be manifested; not indeed the eternal blessedness after the Last Judgment (Matt. xxv. 34), "but, anterior to that event, it shall come as an earthly, Jewish, although not carnal Kingdom of glory" (p. 326); "Israel is again to be at the head of all humanity" (p. 340).

Differently still:—Düsterd. dwelling on the "poetic beauty" of "the Apocalyptic drama" takes the "Thousand Years" to be but "an ideal representation" of the interval between the Resurrection of believers, and the general Resurrection of the rest of mankind.

As will be shewn below, the idea of a Kingdom of Christ upon earth which should endure for a "Thousand Years" had passed from Judaism to Christianity; and many in the Church of the second and third centuries accepted the doctrine from this Jewish source, through the medium of such writers as St. Barnabas, and Papias, and St. Justin Martyr. That Papias borrowed his Chiliastic doctrine from the Jewish "Apocalypse of Baruch" is almost certain, as already pointed out in the Introduction § 9:—see also the Excursus at the end of this chapter. Indeed the general notion of a future age of perfect earthly happiness, and also of a period of a "Thousand Years" in connexion with man's future destiny, was in like manner entertained among the heathen, as we learn from Plato (see the Excursus). A world-wide belief, accordingly, such as this, naturally supplied St. John with symbols and with language wherein to clothe his revelation of the fortunes of the Church,—just as he has employed for the same purpose the details of the Theocracy, or the imagery of war, or the phenomena and the convulsions of Nature.

Our Lord's words, as given in Luke xi. 21, 22, clearly refer to the restraining Satan's power, so "*that he should deceive the nations no more*" (ver. 3). Accordingly, as history has proved, heathen idolatries, sacrifices, oracles, have gradually ceased; and Christian civilization and Christian morality have been developed where the Gospel has prevailed.

That aspect of the doctrine, as held by Jews or by certain of the primitive Christians, which presented the "Thousand Years" as a season of carnal enjoyment, need not be referred to:—that other aspect only which presents a Millennium of spiritual felicity, is to be regarded. The passages of Scripture usually referred to in proof of one or other of the phases of Chiliasm are those promises to the chosen People which are contained in the Old Test., and which are alleged not to have been as yet fulfilled in their true sense, viz., Gen. xii. 1–3; xv. 3–6; xxvii. 17–29; and the prophecies of Daniel and Ezekiel. Or, again, our Lord's words, Matt. v. 5; viii. 11; xix. 28, 29; xxvi. 29, Luke xiv. 12–14; xxii. 16; 1 Cor. xv. 25, &c.; and above all, Rev. xx.

3. *And cast him into* **the abyss,**] Our Lord has Himself thrown much light on this whole passage by the words, "*Now shall the Prince of this world be cast out*" (John xii. 31): "*Now*"—from the date, that is, of the Incarnation. Here Satan is cast out of the earth; in ch. xii. 9 he was cast out of heaven. From the "**Abyss**," partially unlocked (ch. ix. 2), the smoke of the Locust-plague issued; thence, too, the Beast ascended (ch. xi. 7; xvii. 8) to whom Satan gave authority (ch. xiii. 4, 7). From this locality Satan himself has been allowed, by God's permission, to come forth; and in Job i. 7 is revealed the liberty conceded to him before he is now bound. In regarding the "**Abyss**" as a purely figurative expression denoting "the multitude of the ungodly, the malignity of whose hearts against the Church is profound" (see on ch. ix. 1), St. Augustine has, surely, exceeded the limits of spiritual symbolism, as the texts just quoted, among others, prove:—compare *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 7.

and **shut** [**it**], **and sealed** [**it**] **over him,**] See *vv. ll.* Cf. Dan. vi. 17; Matt. xxvii. 66. Note, the verb rendered "**sealed**" is used, *absolutely in the active*, only here and in John iii. 33. The Cod. Alex. reads, **shut him up, and set on him an abiding seal.**

This "setting" *a seal over him* St. Augustine takes to mean that it will for ever be a secret in this life *who* they are that belong to the Devil's part, and *who* do not (*ib.*).

that he should deceive the nations no more,] As he has hitherto done (ch. xiii. 14; xvi. 13, 14); see ver. 8. The "conj. aorist," taken in a future sense (cf. Winer, s. 450), signifies that "*the nations*" are still to be on the earth during the "Thousand Years." It is clear from ch. xxi. 24, that "*the nations*" is an expression to be taken in all its generality. St. Augustine (*l. c.*) would restrict it to the

years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.

4 And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was

Elect;—Hengst. to "*heathen* nations as such," not individuals;—Other writers refer to *the heathen* as distinct from Christians; for people who are not Christians,—argue Millennarians of this class,—even after ch. xix. 21, are still to exist on earth, although in its most remote regions (ver. 8);—Burger concludes that *sin* has not as yet ceased from the earth as long as sinful men dwell on it: but the great increase and development of *sin* which Satan's influence effects is not experienced until the "Thousand Years" are ended.

until *the thousand years should be* **finished**:] Scripture elsewhere intimates that before the end of the world Satan's power to deceive—perhaps by the revival of heathenism—will be restored. "The Day of the Lord," we are told, will not be "except the falling away come first and the Man of Sin" is revealed "according to the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders" (2 Thess. ii.3-9); when the desolating "*abomination*" (Matt. xxiv. 15) will spring up, exceeding all other idolatries; when the power that now restrains shall be taken out of the way.

after this] Omit "*And*"—see *vv. ll.* Gr. **after these**, viz. "the Thousand Years." Or, **after these things.**

he must be loosed **for a little time.**] For the prophetic formula "*must*," see ch. i. 1; iv. 1. On the word rendered "**time**" (*chronos*,—not the word rendered "*time*" in ch. xii. 12, which is *kairos*), see on ch. i. 3; ii. 21. This duration is occupied by the events described in *vv.* 7-11.

This period Bengel arbitrarily assumes to be $111\frac{1}{9}$ years, or "half a time" (*kairos*), and to extend from A.D. 2836 to A.D. $2947+\frac{1}{9}$. By adding to this "*the short time*" of ch. xii. 12, or $888\frac{8}{9}$ years, he gets A.D. 3836, the close of the *second* Millennium or reign of the Saints *in heaven*:—see Note A at the end of this chapter. Upon the loosing of Satan in A.D. 2836, the gradual Resurrection of the martyrs begins. These reign with Christ in heaven until A.D. 3836, the period of the general Resurrection. *This*, with the final Judgment that speedily ensues, is described in ver. 11, &c. (see Introd. § 11, (b), IV.). When this additional period is fulfilled, and Satan, followed by Gog and Magog, is defeated, he has arrived at the *fourth* and last stage of his punishment—"*the Lake of Fire*": see on ver. 2, and on ch. xii. 12.

The "little time," St. Augustine (*l.c.*, c. 8) understands to be the great period of Antichrist, the "three and a half years":—perhaps, suggests I. Williams (p. 413), because this space of time is the mystical number expressive of a period of *trial* of longer or shorter duration.

THE FIRST RESURRECTION (4-6).

These verses convey a revelation interposed between ver. 3 and its continuation in ver. 7. The Apostolic Church, sighing under her many tribulations, is here taught the spiritual meaning of that Millennial existence which man so fondly pictures to himself as an existence of earthly bliss in the future—a bliss however, of which earth can never be the scene:—see the Excursus at the end of this chapter.

Burger notes that *vv.* 4, 5 exhibit the other side of the victory won in ch. xix. 20, 21.

Ebrard takes a different view:—As ch. xix. 20, 21, reveals the subversion of Antichrist by the Lord Himself, so here we have a new Vision unfolding the share of the "Saints" in that same judgment.

4. *And I saw thrones*,] See the note on Dan. vii. 9; and read in combination with each other the following texts:—Dan. vii. 18, 22; Matt. xix. 28; 1 Cor. vi. 2; Rev. ii. 26; iii. 21. In like manner, with the close of this verse, "*They reigned with Christ*," compare ch. i. 6, "**He made us to be a Kingdom**;" and ch. v. 10, **didst make them to be a Kingdom . . . and they reign on the earth.**"

The idea of *royal* "thrones" can hardly be avoided here. Some refer exclusively to *judicial* seats or thrones—see below. One can scarcely doubt that both ideas are combined.

These heavenly "*thrones*" have been placed by some on the earth.

and they sat upon them,] The subject of the verb is not specified (cf. ch. x. 11; xii. 6), but the meaning naturally is the "*souls*" (see below) of the glorified dead; the martyrs, as well as the faithful, who are next spoken of, and who now, with Christ, judge and govern the Church (see 1 Cor. iv. 8; vi. 2, 3):—so St. Augustine (*l.c.*, c. 9). Burger suggests the *Twelve Apostles* (Matt. xix. 28) or the *Twenty-four Elders*;—Hengst. the Apostles in fellowship with the *Twelve Patriarchs*;—Reuss the *Saints* (Dan. vii. 22; 1 Cor. vi. 2), or the Angels;—And yet again, Words. the *Pagan and Papal persecutors*, of the Church. Grotius takes the Judges to be God and Christ—a sense excluded by the following words "judgment was *given* unto them." If a distinction is to be made between those who "*sat*" upon the thrones here, and those who "*reigned with Christ*" at the

given unto them: and *I saw* the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received *his* mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and

end of the verse, the natural subject of the verb would be the representatives of the Universal Church—the "Twenty Four Elders" of ch. iv. 4; xi. 16. The *number* of the "*thrones*," however, is not stated here.

and judgment was given unto them:] "*Judgment*" (κρῖμα) without the art., notes Burger, points to a special judgment for a definite object. Of those who see here a *judicial* transaction in heaven, some regard the "*judgment*" as intended to decide on the claims of the Martyrs to their reward (Hengst.);—Düsterd. includes the Saints generally—to which Alf. objects, quoting John v. 24, the believer "cometh not *into judgment*" (εἰς κρίσιν);—Words. writes: "The Pagan and Papal *persecutors* of [the] Martyrs had been seated on *thrones* executing *judgment*, and condemned them to *death*;—Ebrard thinks that the absence of the art. before the word "*judgment*" indicates a judgment preliminary to that of ver. 12. *This* he takes to be a *judgment* on Christ's enemies identical with that described in ch. xix. 20–xx. 3.

The true sense (see below) seems to point to that moral *judgment* of humanity spoken of by Christ in John v. 24–27, the execution of which is here delegated by Him to His Saints as promised in ch. iii. 21:—see on ver. 12.

and [*I saw*] *the souls*] In ver. 12 St. John says "I saw the *dead*;" here he beholds "*the souls*" of those who "*shall never die*" (John xi. 25, 26),—of the martyrs in glory,—"animæ," writes St. Augustine, "martyrum nondum sibi corporibus suis redditis" (*l.c.*, c. 9). It is of the Martyrs only that "*the souls*" are expressly said to have been now seen. Words. notes: "He does not say he saw *the bodies*;" *i.e.*, the Seer has a Vision of the Martyrs in the state of the dead, after they were slain, and before their Resurrection.

of them that **had been** *beheaded*] Gr. **who had been smitten with an axe**;—the axe (πέλεκυς, *securis*, *fasces*) was the badge of Roman power (Virg. *Æn.* vi. 820), as Wetstein notes, a *supplicium Romanum*. Of course we may take this to be an emblem of all forms of martyrdom; pointing to those "*souls*" beneath the Altar which cried for vengeance (ch. vi. 9), as also those who were slain by the Beast over all the earth, and with whose blood the "Harlot" was drunken—ch. xiii. 7, 15; xvi. 6; xvii. 6; xviii. 24.

for the **testimony** *of Jesus, and for the word of God,*] See ch. i. 9; xii. 17; xix. 10.

and **such as worshipped not** *the beast,*] The second class of those who were seen seated on the "*thrones*," see ch. xiii. 15:—Either "the souls of **such as**," &c.; or (with an accusatival construction, supplying πάντας before οἵτινες), "I saw all the faithful of all times, **such as**" &c.—which includes the living as well as the dead. This latter construction seems to give the true sense; and thus there is here not a Vision of Martyrs only, or of the dead only:—see on ch. vi. 11.

neither his image,] See ch. xiii. 14.

and received not the mark upon their forehead and upon their hand;] See ch. xiii. 16. As in ch. vi. 11, St. John distinguishes two classes here,—(1) "The noble army of Martyrs"; (2) "The holy Church throughout all the world," understood in the sense of the lines—

> "There is
> One great society alone on earth:
> The noble Living and the noble Dead."
> Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, B. xi.:

—the redeemed in heaven, and the faithful on earth—"the Communion of Saints." "Nor is this union," writes Pearson, "separated by the death of any, but as Christ in Whom they live is the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, so have they [viz. "such persons as are truly sanctified in the Church of Christ, while they live among the crooked generation of men,"] fellowship with all the Saints which from the death of Abel have ever departed in the true faith and fear of God, and now enjoy the presence of the Father."—*On The Creed*, Art. ix. ["Neque enim," writes St. Augustine, "piorum animæ mortuorum separantur ab Ecclesia quæ etiam nunc est regnum Christi . . . . 'Et si qui non adoraverunt bestiam,' &c. simul de vivis et mortuis debemus accipere" (*ib.*)].

Burger sees in ver. 4 *two* classes,—as well the 144,000 of ch. vii. 4–8, and ch. xiv. 1–5, as those spoken of in ch. vii. 9–17 and ch. xv. 2–4.

and they lived,] Millennarians with one voice assert "**lived again**":—e.g. Alf. writes, "ἔζησαν = ἀνέζησαν, as in ch. ii. 8; Rom. xiv. 9." In both these texts the reference is to Christ, and therefore is irrelevant here. When other Millennarians urge the force of the words which follow, "*the rest of the dead*," and "*the First Resurrection*," they give a meaning to the passage which it cannot bear—see below. The key to the real

reigned with Christ a thousand years.

5 But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years

sense of this whole Vision is, however, to be found in our Lord's words (John v. 24–29) which unfold the conception of spiritual Life. In John v. 22 the Father "hath given *all* judgment unto the Son,"—*i.e.*, (1) "*judgment*" in its spiritual sense as defined in *vv.* 24–26, and (2) in its external sense, as defined in *vv.* 27–29: in other words, the two senses in which "*judgment*" is now referred to in this present verse, and in ver. 12. Accordingly, it is declared in John v. 24 that believers "*have* eternal Life," and "*come* not into *judgment*" (in the spiritual or moral sense), but have "*passed out of death into Life.*" Even in this world, they *already have* spiritual Life—"Life," in the fullest and truest sense of the word. And this is the meaning of the expression here, "*they lived*"—see also 1 John iii. 14; and cf. Luke xv. 32; Rom. xi. 15. Neither here nor in ver. 5 (see *vv. ll.*) is it said "they lived *again.*"

Hengst., in his theory of the Millennium (see Note A), does not include those now actually living on earth, and explains: "I saw how they lived, or attained to life before my eyes:"—he sees them not merely in the state of the living; he also sees how they came to this state—cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 7.

and reigned with Christ a thousand years.] See *vv. ll.* The *Textus Receptus* reads the article here—"*the* Thousand Years."

This *reigning* of the Church Militant on earth, as well as of the Church triumphant in heaven (1 Cor. iv. 8; cf. Eph. ii. 6; 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12), with Christ, since His Incarnation (see on ver 2), has been already referred to in ch. v. 10; cf. ch. i. 6:—it includes also the office of *judging.* Hence it follows that it is only the faithful who have been born since the date of the Incarnation, who both "*live*" (*i. e.*, receive spiritual life) and "*reign*" with Christ:—the rest of mankind are spoken of in ver. 5.

Auberlen (see Note A) holding that Christ has taken up His Bride, the Church, with Him to heaven, regards the free communion of the heavenly and earthly Churches, to be one of the glories of the Millennium. As a type of this communion between the Church on earth and the glorified Saints, visible in their risen bodies, he takes the appearances of the risen Saviour to His disciples during the Forty Days which preceded the Ascension (*l. c.*, p. 334). This same comparison with the Forty Days is made by Ebrard, who, however, considers that the Saints reign, not from heaven, but over the "*nations*" on earth, near to whom is "*the camp of the Saints,*" ver. 9.

Burger considers that this verse conveys a literal *prediction;* but he declines to discuss any question connected with it ("Wie sie zu denken, womit sie ausgefüllt sein wird, haben wir nichts zu besprechen").

On the absence of the article Bengel founds his theory of *two* Millennial periods—see Note A. The art. is omitted in ver. 2, and is inserted in *vv.* 3, 7; and Bengel takes these *three* verses to mark the *first* "Thousand Years," or the binding of Satan. He connects *vv.* 5, 6 with ver. 4, this second group of *three* verses marking the *second* "Thousand Years," or reign of the Saints—the art. being doubtful in ver. 6 (see *vv. ll.*). On its omission Bengel notes: "versu 6, quasi in elogio, seorsum posito."

5. **The** *rest of the dead*] (Omit "*But*"—see *vv. ll.*). Compare, as on ver. 4, John v. 25: "The hour . . . . *now is* when *the dead* shall hear the voice of the Son of God"—when "Jesus sees Himself as the only really Living One, in the midst of mankind who are sunk in *death* and in sin" (Godet *in loc.*). On this, the spiritual sense of '*being dead*,' compare "*Let the dead bury their dead*"—Luke ix. 60; see also Luke xv. 24; Rom. vi. 2; Eph. ii. 1, 5; Col. ii. 13. The spiritual sense of "*death*," as well as of "*life*," implying a moral Resurrection, is to be retained here. "*The rest of the dead*" St. Augustine takes to be those who have *not* heard the Divine voice, John v. 25 ("quicunque non vixerit, id est, isto toto tempore quo agitur prima resurrectio, non audierit vocem filii Dei," *ib.*). And so Hengst. and Bisping, &c.,—"the godless dead."

I. Williams understands the Saints of the Old Test., those under the *fifth* Seal who "*died for the word of God*," but not *for the testimony of Jesus;* and who are to rest "*yet for a little season*" (ch. vi. 9, 11); cf. also Heb. xi. 39, 40. De Wette and Düsterd. include among "*the rest of the dead*" all godly or ungodly who had literally died, but had not been called to reign with Christ during the Millennium;—and so De Burgh, who excludes from those who "*reign*," "all the converts of the Millennial period."—p. 364.

The meaning, however, seems to be, 'All mankind from the beginning who have not shared on earth in that "*Life*" which Christ came to confer, and which He alone could bestow (John i. 4; v. 40),—whether holy men of old who had not received the promise (cf. the case of John the Baptist, Luke vii. 28; and also Heb. xi. 39, 40); or those among the heathen of all times who have

were finished. This *is* the first resurrection.

6 Blessed and holy *is* he that hath part in the first resurrection: on

ever shewn "*the work of the Law written in their hearts*" (Rom. ii. 15); or, in fine, the ungodly of all ages and of all nations.'

lived not until *the thousand years* **should be** *finished.*] Note, we do *not* read, "*lived not again*" (see *vv. ll.*), as the A.V.: —see on ver 4. Alford, however, and others still interpret, as before, "lived not (*again*)," *i.e.*, did not rise, literally speaking, from the dead—according to their notion of the "*First Resurrection*": see below. Words. notes: "After the crisis of the last struggle they will revive 'to shame and contempt' (Dan. xii. 2) at the General Resurrection."

Dean Vaughan explains: "'*The rest of the dead lived not*'—in that sense of *life* which is alone the Gospel's and the Christian's sense." Till after the "Thousand Years" "they exist only in that suffering of the lost soul which is separation from God, and therefore also from life and from hope; and when they are finally reunited to the resurrection body it will be for them not a 'body of glory' (Phil. iii. 21) but . . . . a body suited to that future life which is called more properly the second death" (ii. p. 219).

It may well be doubted whether an expression so comprehensive as "*the rest of the dead*" is to be thus restricted in its meaning. Carefully preserving, however, throughout this passage the same meaning for the words "*life*" and "*death*," the result is rather as follows:—"*The rest of the dead*" who are at length to attain to spiritual *life* do not receive that gift until the end of the present Dispensation,—until the end of the "Thousand Years," —until the eve of the General Judgment. They are then to "*live*," but not to "*reign*" with Christ (see on ver. 4). Accordingly the "*First Resurrection*" (see below) includes those only who both "*live*" and "*reign*." They who only "*live*" with Christ hereafter do not share in what is here called the "*First Resurrection*"; but they are to share in the "*Resurrection of the Just*" (Luke xiv. 14).

This clause of ver. 5 is parenthetical.

This is the first resurrection.] The *fourth* verse is resumed here. These words Millennarians rely upon as rendering their system secure. Dean Alford writes: "If in a passage where *two resurrections* are mentioned, ... the first resurrection may be understood to mean *spiritual* rising with Christ, while the second means *literal* rising from the grave;—then there is an end of all significance in language; and Scripture is wiped out as a definite testimony to anything. If the first resurrection is spiritual, then so is the second, which I suppose none will be hardy enough to maintain."

As opposed to this reasoning one may ask, if "*the second death*" is to be taken in a spiritual sense in ver. 6, why may not the "*First Resurrection*" in the same verse be, in like manner, so taken? Here the reader is to note, (1) That, from beginning to end, St. John nowhere uses the words relied upon, "the *second* resurrection;"—as indeed neither is the phrase "the *first* death" employed by him: while he uses here, and repeats in ver. 6, the phrase, the "*First* Resurrection," and also repeats more than once the phrase, "the *second* death" (see *vv.* 6, 14; ch. ii. 11; xxi. 8). In ver. 12 the Universal Resurrection is spoken of in the most general terms,—and similarly in *vv.* 12, 13 and, elsewhere, *literal death* (e.g. "*I will kill her children with death*," ch. ii. 23); but St. John abstains pointedly from writing the "*second* resurrection" or "the *first* death." In other words, he abstains from language which would have been so natural had the supposed parallel between *two* literal resurrections been intended:—*i.e.*, had the "*First* Resurrection" which he speaks of been literal, as is that other Resurrection to which he merely refers in the most general terms. So too St. John nowhere uses "the *first* death" to signify the literal death of the body; while he carefully dwells upon "the *second* death," or final doom of the wicked (ch. ii. 11; xxi. 8)—a figurative sense which is evident from ver. 14, where "the *second* death" follows the Resurrection of the body, and does not precede it, as the literal event referred to in *vv.* 12, 13 (which we call *death*) precedes the future rising from the grave.

(2) In this figurative sense "*the second death*" is connected, in ver. 6, with the "First Resurrection":—and thus, as in *vv.* 12, 13 we do not scruple to take the word "*dead*" literally, or to understand a literal Resurrection (although not expressed); so, in like manner, we need not scruple, as Alford does, to interpret in a spiritual sense the "First Resurrection," just as all interpret spiritually "the *second* death."

(3) We do not read of "the *first* birth," but we do read, and notably in John iii. 3, 5, of being "*born again*," "*born of water and of the Spirit*"—in fact of Regeneration or "the *second* birth"; and this is precisely what the "First Resurrection" means. Thus, speaking of those who are "*born of God*," St. John writes: "*We have passed out of death into life*" (1 John iii. 14). Hence the antithesis of ver. 6: The "*First* Resurrection,"—The "*second*

such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

death." In John v. 24, 25, our Lord "borrows from the physical Resurrection images whereby He depicts the moral work which is to pave the way to it. He seems to allude to that magnificent vision of Ezekiel (ch. xxxvii.), in which the prophet, standing in the midst of a plain covered with dry bones, calls them to life, first by his words, and then by the breath of Jehovah" (Godet, *in loc.*). In John v. 25, in the words "the hour that *now is*," Christ speaks of what takes place in this life; and then He goes on to speak (*vv.* 28, 29) of that future hour "*in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice.*" And so St. John teaches in this present passage, following the stream of New Test. doctrine. Thus St. Paul: "*We were buried with Him through baptism into death*" (Rom. vi. 2–4); "*Buried with Him in Baptism, wherein ye were also raised with Him*" (Col. ii. 12); or as St. Paul applies the images of death and resurrection: "*Awake thou that sleepest and arise from the dead*" (Eph. v. 14). Hence it is that in harmony with all New Test. teaching, we have symbolized here, under the figure of the "First Resurrection," that "death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness" in the Sacrament of Baptism, of which the Lord's death and Resurrection are the pledge and the efficient cause.

(4) Further,—the words of Christ, John v. 28, 29, are decisive against the opinion that there is to be a *First, literal, Resurrection* of certain of the dead distinct from that of all: "The hour cometh in which *all that are in the graves shall hear* the voice of the Son of Man, and *shall come* forth." Here we are to note (1) that the event spoken of is wholly future, the words "*and now is*" of ver. 25 being carefully omitted;—(2) that we read not merely of "*the dead*," but of "*all that are in the graves*;"—(3) that it is not merely "*they that hear*," which implies a division of classes, but "*all* that are in the graves shall hear;"—(4) that Christ is not speaking in ver. 29 of "*life*" only—as in ver. 25; in ver. 29 two opposite issues are proposed, *life* and *judgment*. In a word, at that *one, last* "*hour*" the righteous and the unrighteous are to rise together from the dead: see Godet *in loc.*

The conclusion, then, is as follows:—The subjects of the "First Resurrection" are those who are specified in ver. 4, of whom Christ had already spoken in John v. 25; while "*the rest of the dead*,"—who are referred to in the parenthetical clause at the beginning of the present verse,—though they do not partake of the "First Resurrection" until the end of the "Thousand Years," are also included in the announcement of John v. 29: They shall come forth from their graves, "*they that have done good unto the resurrection of life; and they that have wrought evil, unto the resurrection of judgment.*"

6. *Blessed and holy*] For similar words of consolation and encouragement cf. ch. i. 3; xiv. 13; xvi. 15; xix. 9; xxii. 14.

is he that hath part in the first resurrection:] The phrase "*to have part*" is peculiar to St. John; see John xiii. 8, in which verse alone—although with another preposition, "*with*" (μετά not ἐν), as referring to a *person*—do we find it elsewhere in the New Test.: see ch. xxi. 8. Cf. Luke xi. 36; xii. 46; Acts viii. 21; and Introd. § 7, IV, (*c*).

Note,—They that have "*part in the First Resurrection*," as shewn on *vv.* 4, 5, "*live and reign with Christ a Thousand Years*" (ver. 4). They who, from among "*the rest of the dead*," shall "*live*" with Him after the "Thousand Years" are finished, will share in the blessedness of the former, although they have not reigned with Him.

It is no objection to the interpretation here given of this passage that, among those who "*are buried with Christ through Baptism into death*," and who like Him are "raised from the dead" (Rom. vi. 4), there are some—nay many—who fall away. It is characteristic of St. John to assume that the gifts of Divine grace actually produce that spiritual change which the God of love designed that they should produce in man. Thus he writes: "*Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin*" (1 John iii. 9); while this same Epistle opens (i. 8) with the assertion of the general principle: "*If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves*": see also John x. 28, 29; xiv. 15:—"Ipse est autem particeps ejus, qui non solum a morte, quæ in peccatis est, reviviscit, verum etiam in eo quod revixerit, permanebit."—St. August., *ibid.*

over these *the second death hath no power;*] Gr. **no authority.** In ver. 14 we are told that "*the second death*" is "**the lake of fire**"—see also ch. ii. 11; xxi. 8: and ver. 15 proves that not those only who "*have part in the First Resurrection*" are released from "*the second death*," but those also who are "*found written in the Book of Life*,"—that is, all who shall ultimately "*live*" with Christ.

On the spiritual as well as the literal signification with St. John of the expressions, "*to die*," "*death*," see John xi. 25, 26; 1 John v. 16, 17.

but they shall be priests of God and of Christ,

7 And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison,

8 And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, [a] Gog and Magog, to gather [a] Ezek. 38. 2. & 39. 1.

and shall reign with him] See ch. i. 6; v. 10. Note that the expressions being "*priests*," and the "*reigning*," or having "a Kingdom," are always used of this present life.

St. Augustine points out that it is briefly intimated here that Christ is God; "Deum esse Christum, dicendo sacerdotes Dei et Christi"—*ib.*, c. 10.

a thousand years.] Or "**the** *Thousand Years*,"—see *vv. ll.*; and cf. Bengel's note quoted on ver. 4.

For the interpretation which connects this passage with an earlier Vision, see the remarks of Todd quoted on ch. xi. 18.

From comparing the blessing in this verse with that in Dan. xii. 12, 13, some have inferred that the 1335 (1260+30+30+15) days of Dan. xii. 12, will be immediately followed by the Resurrection of the Just, and the Millennial reign of Christ. Thus some ancient writers held that the 1260 days (Rev. xii. 6) or "three and a half years" (the duration of Antichrist's power—Dan. vii. 25), the 1290 days of Dan. xii. 11, and the 1335 days, will commence together after the delivering up of the Saints to the antichristian "Horn" (Dan. vii. 21);—that at the end of the 1290 days (*i.e.*, in thirty days after the "three and a half years") Antichrist "shall be broken without hand" (Dan. viii. 25);—and that at the end of the 1335 days the dead shall be raised with their bodies:—see Todd's *Lectures on Antichrist*, p. 117.

Referring to the "Pre-millennial scheme" of modern times Dr. David Brown asks: "When Christ appears at the *beginning* of the Millennium, He will raise all the Saints that shall have died before that time, and change all that shall then be alive. But what is to become of the myriads of Saints that are to people the earth during the Millennium? . . . This whole subject is a *blank* in the system. It has positively got no Scripture on the subject. . . . For the most part the subject is avoided" (*l. c.*, p. 155).

THE JUDGMENT ON SATAN (7–10).

7. *And when the thousand years are* **finished**,] See on ver. 3:—the narrative of ch. xix. 19–21 is here resumed. A clear proof of the parallel nature of the two passages is supplied by the quotation in ch. xix. 17, 18, of those words of Ezekiel (ch. xxxix. 17, 18) on which ver. 8 (see below) is founded. The two passages, indeed, are but different accounts of the assembling "*unto the war of the great day of God, the Almighty*," described in ch. xvi. 14–16; the hosts being gathered together by the evil spirits proceeding from "*the Dragon*," "*the Beast*," and "*the False Prophet*." The destruction of "The Dragon," or Satan is described here; and the destruction of "the Beast" with the "False Prophet" is described in ch. xix. 20. For the order in which the Three Enemies of God are punished see the remarks introductory to this chapter.

Satan shall be loosed out of his prison,] On this revival of Satan's power at the end, compare the words: "*When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?*"—Luke xviii. 8. As to the *binding* of Satan, see on ver. 2.

Here we have no longer a Vision, introduced by the words "*And I saw;*" but a distinct prediction of what will come to pass hereafter. We have now the *prophetic future*; in ver. 9 the *historic* form is resumed with *aorists*. This instance (together with *shall come forth*, ver. 8), as Hengstenberg observes, is the only case in the Apoc., where *the future*, as such, is announced beforehand. In ver. 9 St. John returns to his Vision. The *future* in ch. ix. 6 but reflects Jer. viii. 3;—in ch. xi. 3, St. John is not the speaker;—in ch. xiii. 8 the *future* follows from what was seen.

According to Reuss (see on ch. xvi. 18), the Third great Conflict is described here in *vv.* 7–10.

8. *and* **shall come forth** *to deceive*] See ver. 3. How Satan accomplishes his deception at this stage, has been explained by commentators generally by a reference to ch. xvi. 13.

the nations which are in the four **corners** *of the earth,*] As to the sense in which "*the nations*" are to be taken, see on ver. 3. As to "*the four* **corners** *of the earth*," see on ch. vii. 1,—*i.e.*, the whole earth to its four corners (cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 38, LXX.). Others take the meaning to be, "the nations occupying the most remote parts of the earth" (so Vitr. "*extremæ terræ oræ*," p. 870);—"the peoples outside the scene of historical development" (Burger). Who these "*nations*" are, and whence they are to come, are questions which cause Millennarians great perplexity. Not to mention the difficulty as to the existence, during the Millennium, of members of the Church who are born and die, marry and are given in marriage, there remains the

them together to battle: the number of whom *is* as the sand of the sea.

further difficulty as to unbelieving "*nations*." Vitr. suggests that they may be "Iberi, Colchi, Albani, Moschi, Sarmatæ, Turci, &c.—*ib.*;—Mede conjectures "Orbis Americani, Arctici et Antarctici incolæ;" and generally the Antipodes (*l. c.*, p. 575);—Hengst., as before (see on ver. 3), refers to the *heathen* as such; and he notes how Bengel "perceived, even in his day, the beginnings of the germinating heathenism;"—Ebrard explains that they are the unconverted heathen who dwell all round the region assigned to the Saints as their dwelling, see ver. 9; and so Bisping;—De Burgh (p. 366): "That enemies will be suffered to exist during [Christ's] reign, for the exhibition of His power, is intimated in other Scriptures (Ps. cx. 2, 3). The only question is, Why should this be permitted?—To prove the undoubted security of the Saints . . . as also finally to consummate the guilt of the enemy himself." And yet, as Düsterd. objects, Millennarians generally consider that all ungodly nations and rulers had already been annihilated (ch. xix. 21).

Besides the connexion of this verse with the prophecy of Ezekiel (see below), Hengst. also connects it with Daniel's prophecy of the "*Little Horn*" (Dan. vii. 8, 21, 24), or Antichrist.

Gog and Magog,] These names appear in Ezek. xxxviii.; xxxix.; where, however, we read "*Gog, the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal*" (Ezek. xxxviii. 2). In Gen. x. 2, Magog is a son of Japheth father of the Gentiles (ver. 5), as distinguished from the race of Shem (ver. 21); Gog being (see above) "*the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal*," who are also sons of Japheth. In Gen. x. 2 (see note *in loc.*) Magog is placed between Gomer and Madai (ancestors of the Cimmerians and Medes)—evidently as the name of a people of the North—see Ezek. xxxviii. 15; xxxix. 2. In Cuneiform inscriptions "we find side by side with 'a chief of Madai (Media)' 'Sariti and Pariza, sons of *Ga-a-gi*, a chief of the Saka (Scythians),' whom Mr. Smith (*Hist. of Assurbanipal*, p. 97) identifies with Gog" (note on Ezek. xxxviii. 2). The statement of Josephus (*Antt.* i. 63) that the descendants of Magog were the Scythians is generally accepted as true. The great irruption of the northern races from beyond the Caucasian range, who are known by the general name of Scythians, is recorded by Herodotus (B. I. C. 103–106); and, although the fact has been questioned, the influence of those races in Western Asia is confirmed by the Cuneiform records (see Rawlinson, *Hist. of Herod.*, vol. i. *Essay* xi., p. 648). This invasion lasted from B.C. 633 to B.C. 605;—see Larcher (*Hist. d'Herodote*, t. vii., p. 151), who places the Scythian devastation of Judæa in B.C. 628, or the year after Jeremiah prophesied (in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign) the coming of evil "*out of the North*" (Jer. i. 14; iv. 6; vi. 22–24). Although not mentioned in the historical Books of the Old Test., we have, as Ewald concludes (*Hist. of Israel*, Engl. tr. vol. iv. p. 230), clear evidence of this devastation of Judæa, during the Scythian invasion of Egypt, in Jer. iii.–iv., and in Zephaniah: while the name *Scythopolis*, given to the ancient Bethshan, or Beth-shean (Judges i. 27; Judith iii. 10; 2 Macc. xii. 29), which lay on the great road between Nineveh and Egypt, perpetuated the memory of the event. (Dr. Pusey, however, dissents from this reference to Zephaniah—see his *Minor Prophets*, p. 439). Ewald, arguing from Ps. lix. 6, also considers that this Psalm was composed by Josiah as the record of his having been besieged in Jerusalem by this nomad horde.—*Die Dichter des A. B.*, ii. s. 164. This terrible invasion of the northern nations, which left such traces and memories behind (see St. Jerome, *in Ezek.* xxxviii., t. v., p. 444), supplied the foundation of the imagery and language of Ezekiel. Ezekiel expressly states (ch. xxxviii. 17) that Gog and Magog *had been* the subjects of earlier prophecy,—intimating thereby that these names were but symbols of the enmity of the world to the people of God. The later Jewish theology also explains the names as signifying the nations which shall come up in the Last Days to Jerusalem, and shall fall by the hand of Messiah (*Jerus. Targum* on Num. xi. 27, *ap.* Wetst.); and later still, the Talmud applied the names to the Goths (Neubauer, *La Géogr. du Talmud*, p. 422). See also St. Ambrose, *De Fide*, *II.* c. xvi., t. ii. p. 495.

Renan notes: "Gog et Magog, personifications mythiques des invasions barbares";—and he notes: "Chez certaines tribus parlant l'ossète, *Gogh* 'montagne' et *Mughogh* 'la grande montagne' désignent deux massifs du Caucase." The two names were applied to the Scythian populations of the Caspian and the Black Sea.—p. 447; see *Koran*, xviii. 94; xxi. 96; *Carm. Sibyll.* iii. 319, 512 (see Note E on ch. ii. 20).

The result, then, is that the catastrophe which St. John is now about to describe has led him to borrow once more, and with greater minuteness, that imagery of Ezekiel (xxxix. 17–20) which he had already employed to signify this same destruction of the powers of the world, leagued with Satan, in their last assault on the City of God:—see on ch. xix.

9 And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them.

10 And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire

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17. And thus, in "*Gog and Magog*" we have an epithet, taken from the symbolism of the Old Test., to represent the heathen and God-opposing nations of the earth.

St. Augustine (*l.c.*, c. xi.) understands by Magog the ungodly in whom, as in an Abyss (see on ver. 3), the Devil—symbolized by Gog—is shut up ("*Gog tectum, Magog de tecto*"). Others, he adds, took them to be barbarous nations outside the Roman Empire; some, from the initial letters, applying the names to the Getæ and the Massagetæ.

Luther, Grotius, and others refer to the Saracens;—Bellarmine (*De Pont. Rom.* iii. 17) refers generally to Antichrist;—Bossuet to the Albigenses and Manichæans;—Mede regards the Gog and Magog of Ezekiel and St. John as type and antitype, relating to the first and second Resurrections respectively (cf. Ezek. xxxvii.): "Each resurrection has for its forerunner (*prodromus*) its own Gog and Magog" ("illâ Scythicum illum et Aquilonarem, hac vero mysticum"—p. 571).

to gather them together **to the war**:] The article (see *vv. ll.*) is emphatic, as in ch. xix. 19. Here is the last great struggle, under the *sixth* "Vial," ch. xvi. 12–16; xvii. 14. This conflict, notes Burger, is to take place long after the conversion and restoration of Israel—see Ezek. xxxviii. 8.

the number of whom] The pronoun (see *vv. ll.*) is repeated for emphasis—cf. ch. ii. 7.

is as the sand of the sea.] "Like a cloud to cover the land"—Ezek. xxxviii. 9, 16:—cf. Josh. xi. 4; Judges vii. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 5. See also ch. ix. 16.

9. *And they went up*] The past tense, the *historic aorist*, is resumed here; see on ver. 7. The verb is that employed when an army proceeds to attack,—Judges i. 1; 1 Kings xxii. 4.

over the *breadth of the earth*,] To overspread it:—the phrase is taken from Hab. i. 6, LXX.; and is used in contradistinction to the "corners of the earth" in ver. 8.

and compassed the camp of the saints about,] The word rendered "*camp*" (παρεμβολή, cf. Heb. xiii. 11, 13) is that which expresses a station of soldiers—see Acts xxi. 34. There is also an evident reference to the state of the "Church Militant"—cf. Eph. vi. 11–17. The terms '*Camp*' and '*City*' are images borrowed from the condition of Israel in the Wilderness and in the Promised Land (Ex. xiv. 19; Ps. cvii. 36). Here the "*Camp*" is to be understood as surrounding and defending the "*City*," — cf. Luke xix. 43.

and the beloved city:] *I.e.*, Jerusalem—so styled in Ecclus. xxiv. 11; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 68. Jerusalem throughout the Apocalypse is the symbol of the Church:—the nations, writes St. Augustine, do not come together *into one place*, when they come to attack the camp and the City, "because the City is none other than the Church of Christ diffused throughout the whole world":—so also Beda, Vitr., Hengst.

Of Millennarians some understand "the metropolis of the Church during the Thousand Years' reign," the symbolical Jerusalem (see Bisping);—Others understand the literal, earthly, Jerusalem (so Alford). It is generally agreed that it is not the "New Jerusalem," cf. ch. xxi. 2: Mede, however, takes *it* to be so; and "*the Camp of the Saints*" he supposes to be "*the nations who shall walk in the light of it*,"—ch. xxi. 24. Grotius takes "*the Camp*" to denote "*the Seven Churches*" (ch. ii.; iii.);—and "*the City*" to be Constantinople;—Gog (see on ver. 8) represents the house of Othman, which first appeared in Lydia;—and the "*earth*" means the inhabitants of Asia Minor,—Mohammed II., of the race of Othman, being the conqueror of Constantinople. The "*fire from heaven*" (see below) signifies, adds Grotius, the destruction, still future, of the Turkish Empire, "*fire*" denoting such catastrophes,—see Isa. ix. 5; x. 16; xxvi. 11.

and fire **came down out of heaven**,] (Omit the words "*from God*," see *vv. ll.*; and cf. ch. xxi. 2). This feature of the Vision is also taken from Ezek. xxxviii. 22; xxxix. 6 On *fire* as the instrument of Divine punishment, see Gen. xix. 24; Lev. x. 2; Num xvi. 35; 2 Kings i. 10; Luke ix. 54.

10. *And the devil that deceived them*] Düsterd. thinks that emphasis should be laid on the present participle here, "**that deceiveth them**," in order to mark the continuous and peculiar agency of Satan:—see *vv.* 2, 3.

was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone,] See Matt. xxv. 41; and also the words "Art Thou come hither to torment us *before the time*,"—Matt. viii. 29.

This, according to Bengel, is the *fourth* stage of Satan's punishment,"—see on ver. 3.

and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet *are*, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

11 And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them.

12 And I saw the dead, small and

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where are both the beast and the false prophet;] As stated in ch. xix. 20. On the addition of "**both**," see *vv. ll.*

It has been suggested that this casting of the Devil—"*the Prince of the power of the air*" (Eph. ii. 2)—into the "Lake of Fire" *after* the Beast and the "False Prophet," is implied in the pouring out the *seventh* "Vial" "*upon the air*" (ch. xvi. 17). The conflict at Ar-Mageddon, however, was under the *sixth* "Vial" (ch. xvi. 16); and consequently the conflict here is not the same.

and they shall *be tormented day and night for ever and ever.*] See on ch. i. 6. The eternal torment:—cf. ch. xiv. 11; and also ch. xix. 3; Matt. xxv. 46; Mark ix. 48; Isai. lxvi. 24.

The Three great Enemies of God's Kingdom have now disappeared.

THE UNIVERSAL JUDGMENT (11–15).

A new Vision begins here,—the Last, and Universal Judgment of "*all that are in the graves*," described by our Lord in John v. 28, 29. See above on ver. 5.

Hengst. would see here the final decision as to those only who had submitted to the influence of the Three Enemies of God's Kingdom,—ver. 11 referring to the irrational Creation, and *vv.* 12–15 to mankind. According to Ebrard, there are on earth, at this crisis, only the glorified Saints who reign with Christ during the Millennium: all the other inhabitants of earth had perished (see ver. 9); and now comes the "Second Resurrection," viz. of those who had never heard Christ's name, as well as of those who, having heard, were positively unbelieving (ch. xix. 21). There must be a "*docta ignorantia*," he concludes, as to unbelievers who have been converted and who have died during the Millennium; we are only told that they are among those who are to be "*judged according to their works*" (*vv.* 12, 13):—believers, he adds, are not judged, John v. 24. The conclusion is yet more dogmatic of those who hold the doctrine of "the Pre-millennial Advent," as a writer quoted by Dr. Brown (*l. c.*, p. 196) states it: "All the dead whose names were in the Book of Life will have been raised a 1000 years before this, and not one shall perish or be again judged; while all the dead will be raised afterwards to a Judgment at which no one shall be saved." A strange conclusion indeed in the face of such a picture as that given in Matt. xxv. 31–46.

11. *And I saw*] Cf. *vv.* 1, 4,—and also ch. xix. 1, 6 ("*I heard*"); and ch. xix. 11, 17, 19 ("*I saw*"),—introducing the new Vision. See on ch. *iv.* 1.

a great white throne,] This is the true order, as in the Greek (see *vv. ll.*):—the A. V. changed the order of the Textus Receptus. "*Great*" as compared with the thrones of ver. 4; "*white*" (cf. the "*white* cloud," ch. xiv. 14) as being the colour of heaven, see on ch. ii. 17:—"The great white throne is equivalent to the throne of glory of Matt. xxv. 31, for *light* at the utmost intensity is *white;* from this, too, we may further explain Dan. vii. 9; Rev. i. 14,"—Trench, *Studies in the Gospels*, p. 194.

and him that sat on it,] Clearly the Person referred to in Matt. xxv. 31; John v. 22; Rom. xiv. 10; 2 Cor. v. 10—namely "The Son of Man," Christ, He Who is the Source of the New Creation (ch. xxi. 5). The true reading in ver. 12, "**before the throne**" is also to be noted:—the sense of this passage being expressed in the words of the *Te Deum*, "We believe that Thou shalt come to be our Judge."

According to Hengst., "God in the Undivided Unity of His Being;" "not the Father in fellowship with Christ,"—see ch. iii. 21; vii. 17; xxii. 1; and so Züllig. De Wette, Düsterd., Alford, and Bisping conclude that it is "God *the Father*," ch. i. 8; iv. 2; cf. Dan. vii. 9.

from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away;] Cf. ch. xvi. 20. Not from one locality to another, but so that "*there was found*," &c.

and there was found no place for them.] See ch. xxi. 1:—The present earth and the present heaven give place to the "New Heaven and the New Earth."

On the scene here referred to, cf. 2 Pet. iii. 7, 10–12. The old world disappears, notes Burger, through the *fiat* of that Omnipotence which at the first called all things into existence (Heb. xi. 3).

12. *And I saw*] Another scene now opens (see on ver. 11) continuing the preceding Vision.

great, stand before God; and the
• books were opened: and another
[b] ch. 3. 5. [b] book was opened, which is *the book* of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.

the dead, **the great and the small,**] (See *vv. ll.*). The Seer now beholds those of "*the dead*" who had been raised from their graves as ver. 13 describes. This is clearly a description of the General Resurrection—see John v. 28. That we have here an exhaustive specification of the human race—of all who have ever lived, the just and the unjust—is plain from ch. xi. 18; xix. 5.

Hengst. argues that "the *dead can only be the ungodly dead*"—"*the dead*" being understood of those who are *spiritually* dead (Matt. viii. 22) according to John v. 24; viii. 51;—Bengel understands those who survive the Lord's "Parusia";—Alf. and Bisping see here "*the rest of the dead*" of ver. 5; *i.e.*, the (assumed) Second Resurrection is now described, of all "*the great and the small*" who had not part in the "First Resurrection" (cf. ch. xi. 18). "If '*the dead great and small*,'" observes Dr. David Brown (*l. c.*, p. 198), mean merely '*the rest of the dead*,' seven verses before, "why was not the same expression retained, or at least an equivalent expression, *looping* one clause with another at some distance from it"—as in ch. v. 10 compared with ch. xx. 4; or ch. vii. 15–17 with ch. xxi. 3, 4; or ch. xiv. 11 with ch. xix. 3, 20; &c., &c.?

standing before the throne;] See *vv. ll.* The codex of Erasmus follows Andreas in reading "*before God*":—Cf. Rom. xiv. 10, and see on ver. 11.

These words are related to ver. 13 where it is told whence "*the dead*" have come, just as ch. xv. 1 is related to ch. xv. 6.

and books *were opened:*] This feature of the Vision is borrowed from Dan. vii. 10. We have here, notes Ebrard, "a symbolical representation of the Divine Omniscience."

Observe, not "*the* books" as below, but "*books*" indefinitely, such as are spoken of throughout Scripture as the register of all human actions—Ps. lvi. 8; Isai. lxv. 6; Mal. iii. 16; cf. Deut. xxxii. 34. See Matt. xii. 37.

St. Augustine explains the "*books*" as a symbol of the "*Divine memory*" (*De Civ. Dei*, xx. 14):—["Illi libri quos priore loco posuit, intelligendi sunt sancti et veteres et novi, ut in illis ostenderetur quæ Deus fieri sua mandata jussisset: in illo autem qui est vitæ uniuscujusque, quid horum quisque non fecisset sive fecisset. Qui liber si carnaliter cogitetur, quis ejus magnitudinem valeat æstimare?..... Non ergo unus liber erit omnium, sed singuli singulorum.... Quædam igitur vis est intelligenda divina; qua fiet ut cuique opera sua in memoriam revocentur ... Quæ vis Divini libri nomen accepit"]. Beda who, on the whole, copies St. Augustine here, sees a reference to the Old and the New Testaments, according to which men, under both dispensations, are to be judged.

and another book was opened,] These words seem to point to "*the Manifestation* (or rather "the Revealing") *of the sons of God*," —to "*the redemption of our body*," spoken of in Rom. viii. 19, 23,—to the literal Resurrection to glory of the Saints, as distinguished from their spiritual Resurrection in this life, described in ver. 5; see also ver. 15. *All* the dead are judged (see below) out of "*the books*"; the names of the Redeemed alone are inscribed in "*the Book of Life*."

which is [*the book*] *of life:*] See ch. iii. 5; xiii. 8; xvii. 8; xxi. 27; and compare Ps. lxix. 28; Dan. xii. 1; Luke x. 20; Phil. iv. 3; cf. Ex. xxxii. 32; Ezek. xiii. 9.

Beda notes that the reprobate are self-condemned, as they now read of the good which they might themselves have done. This may be part of the "judging" ascribed to the Saints in ver. 4, when "*judgment was given unto them*" (I. Williams).

and the dead were judged] *All* the dead: "*We shall all stand before the judgment seat of GOD.*"—Rom. xiv. 10. On the part to be taken by the Saints in this judgment of the human race, see on ver. 4.

out of **the things** *which were written in the books,*] We have here the article omitted above—"*the books*," in which all human actions are inscribed.

Alford does not really differ from Düsterd., when he takes "*the books*" to be "vouchers for the *book* of life;"—Hengst. takes "*the books*" to be "those of guilt, condemnation, death."... "A name cannot be written both in the *books*, and in the *Book* of the Lamb:' the single '*book*' in this phrase denotes either that few are saved, or that the Book of Life contains simply the *names*;" while "*the books* contain the long array of their evil deeds";—Bisping makes "*the books*" to contain a record of words and deeds, disclosing the characters of all; while "*the Book of Life*" gives to those inscribed in it the right to be received into eternal bliss.

according to their works.] The constant

13 And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.

14 And death and hell were cast

[1] Or, *the grave.*

doctrine of Scripture—see e. g. Rom. ii. 6; 2 Cor. v. 10; Gal. vi. 7; Col. iii. 24, 25; and especially of this Book,—cf. ch. ii. 2, 5, 19; iii. 1, 8, 15.

13. *And the sea gave up the dead which were in it:*] On the imagery which the "*Sea*" has suggested throughout the Apocalypse, see the remarks of Dean Stanley as quoted in the Introduction, § 4. It is scarcely possible to understand in this verse the literal, physical *sea*. To do so would be to interpret contrary to the analogy of the whole Book. But if the "*Sea*" is symbolical here, of what is it the symbol? Are we to say, with Hengst., that "*the sea* can only be referred to in this place as the receptacle *of the lost dead?*" or, with Ebrard, are we to explain: "All *who have died* in the heathen-world, so far as that world has not been reached by the preaching of the Gospel; and who, therefore, could not commit the sin of positive unbelief?" Both senses are unsatisfactory. The terms "*Death and Hades*" are sufficiently comprehensive to include *all* who had ceased to live before this hour of Judgment; and thus we are constrained by the context itself to understand "*the dead*" in this place to mean those who are *spiritually dead*,—those who, as St. Paul teaches (Eph. ii. 1), "were **dead** (*νεκρούς*) through their trespasses and sins," and who are to be found among *the living* nations of the earth when the Lord returns "to be our JUDGE." See Introd., § 10, (b) on ch. vii. 1–3. The *living* must, surely, be included here. Compare also the condition of the New Heaven and the New Earth as described in ch. xxi. 1: "And *the Sea* is no more."

As examples of the literal interpretation, Stuart writes:—"Not only those who have been buried beneath the earth, in the proper domains of Death and Hades, but all who have perished and are buried in the *ocean*, will be raised to life;"—and Bishop Horsley (*Sermon* on 1 Pet. iii. 18–20) suggests that not the comparatively few who perished by shipwreck are referred to here, but "the myriads who perished in the general Deluge, and found their tomb in the waters of that raging ocean."

In order to account for this separate mention of the "*Sea*," writers (after Wetstein), quote words of Achilles Tatius (v. p. 313), which describe the souls of those whose bodies lie in the sea as not going to Hades, but as continuing to wander about the waters.

and death and hell **gave up** *the dead which were in them:*] (See *vv. ll.*). On the similar conjunction of "*Death and Hell*" (or "**Hades**"—the receptacle of the dead) see on ch. i. 18; vi. 8.

All living and dead shall stand before the JUDGE,—1 Thess. iv. 16, 17. And so St. Augustine explains (*l. c.*, c. 15). He understands by "the *Sea* giving up its dead," the existing world exhibiting those who had not yet died;—by "*Death* giving up its dead," its giving up the *good* "qui tantummodo *mortem* perpeti potuerunt, non et *infernum;*" —by "*Hell* giving up its dead," its giving up the *wicked* "qui etiam pœnas apud inferos pendunt."

and they were judged **each one** *according to their works.*] The words of ver. 12, here repeated, are ever the burden of the Judgment.

14. *And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire.*] "*Death*, and *Hell*" ("**Hades**") the follower of death, represented locally in ver. 13 and in ch. i. 18, are here personified as in ch. vi. 8. St. Augustine (*ibid.*) takes "*Death and Hell*" to signify the Devil whose punishment was stated more literally in ver. 10. St. Paul had announced, "*The last enemy that is destroyed is death*" (1 Cor. xv. 26); and here, with "*Hell*" or "**Hades**" its companion, "*Death*," the product of sin, receives the punishment of sin. Their destruction is the guarantee of the life of the blessed,—ch. xxi. 4.

It is to be noted that, according to Christ's words, "**Hades**" includes both *Paradise* (Luke xxiii. 43) and Gehenna (Luke xii. 5),—"*Abraham's bosom*," and the state of "*torment*" of "*anguish*," of "*anguish in flame*" (Luke xvi. 22–28). Here "**Hades**," without any distinction between the two regions,—although between them "*there is a great gulf fixed*" (Luke xvi. 26),—**is** "*cast into the Lake of Fire.*" Burger's explanation is not to be disregarded: —Neither "*Death*," nor the abode of the departed, "**Hades**," has place any longer in the New Creation. "*Death*" and in its train *the abode* of the dead belong to the present Creation. In the New, which God will restore, "*Death*" ceases, and consequently "**Hades**" has nothing more to do. There is no *personification* intended here: the things themselves, called "*Death*" and "**Hades**," no longer exist. Nevertheless the question remains, Why should "*Paradise*"—"*Abraham's bosom*"—be cast "into "*the Lake of Fire*"?

into the lake of fire. This is the second death.

15 And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.

This is the second death, [**even**] **the lake of fire.**] See *vv. ll.* The apposition of the two clauses, as now to be read, denotes that "*the second death*" (see ver. 6; ch. ii. 11; and cf. on ch. ii. 7), which is followed by no Resurrection, consists in the being cast into "*the Lake of Fire*,"—see ch. xxi. 8. In other words, "*Death*" and "*Hell*," being here personified, will be treated like the two Beasts and Satan, ver. 10; ch. xix. 20. All the misery and condemnation which accompanied them as "*the wages of sin*," is now cast into "*the Lake of Fire*," the abode of the condemned. Their destruction points onwards to the bliss of the Redeemed, in ch. xxi. 4.

Ebrard understands "*Death and* "**Hades**" "in the concrete," viz., the men—positive unbelievers—who are there found and judged and condemned "*according to their works*:" he adds,—"Of the dead in the '*Sea*' nothing express is said"; and he regards this silence as a confirmation of his interpretation of the "*Sea*"—viz. that class of the dead which consisted of those among the heathen who had either never heard of Christ; or who had been converted during the Millennium:—see on ver. 13. He applies ver. 15 to explain "how it will fare with the heathen who die in ignorance." How such persons are saved "we find in ch. xxii. 2, where we read of 'the healing of *the nations*,'"—cf. Acts x. 35.

15. And if any was not found *written in the book of life*,] See on ver. 12; and also the remarks on ver. 6, as to those who shall be released from "*the second death*."

Ebrard (see on ver. 14) applies this verse to the heathen who had never heard of Christ. Hengst. observes: "In ver. 14 the final hell is, as it were, erected; here it receives its wretched inhabitants."—John xv. 6.

he was cast *into the lake of fire.*] In this verse, the doom of unbelievers is described; and "the Judgment of condemnation" is ended, in order to introduce, for the comfort and encouragement of believers, the picture of eternal happiness which now occupies the rest of the Book.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. XX.

NOTE A ON VER. 2—THE MILLENNIUM.

I. The principles of Millennarianism were borrowed by the first generations of Christians from Jewish theology (see the Excursus). They rest on the literal interpretation of the two phrases—a "*Thousand Years*," and the "*First Resurrection*." Babylon, it is said, having fallen (ch. xviii.), and judgment having overtaken the Beast and the "False Prophet," together with "*the kings of the earth and their armies*" (ch. xix. 19-21), there immediately follows a *preliminary* judgment on Satan himself, previous to his *final* judgment. Upon this, he is bound for the literal period of a "*Thousand Years*" (ver. 2), during which the "*First Resurrection*" (ver. 5) takes place. That is to say, a literal Resurrection from the dead takes place,—either of all "*the dead in Christ*" (1 Thess. iv. 16), all "*that are Christ's at His Coming*" (1 Cor. xv. 23); or, at the beginning of the Millennium, of those only who had suffered for Christ in preceding times, and then—"*each in his own order*" (1 Cor. xv. 23)—of the rest of the righteous who had not obeyed the Beast (so Mede, p. 572). After this follows, during the Millennium, the reign of the Saints, *on earth*, with Christ, Who is to exercise there in Person His sovereignty, from Jerusalem as the centre, and by means of the revived theocracy and kingdom of Israel (so De Burgh, p. 359, and others). Mede, however, while he considers that the Saints are to reign *on earth* with Christ during the Millennium (p. 573), yet is careful to add that he does not dare to imagine (as some of the Ancients did) that Christ will Himself reign *on earth*. His is ever "Regnum Cælorum" (p. 603). Throughout this Millennial age, nevertheless, of perfect felicity, besides the Saints who reign with Christ and judge the world, there still exist nations on earth (ver. 8), "who during the binding of Satan have been quiet and willing subjects of the Kingdom" (Alf.);—or (as others more naturally explain) who are avowed enemies of the kingdom, or, at least, who are still unconverted. To these, countless "*as the sand of the sea*" (ver. 8), Satan, "*loosed out of his prison*" when "*the Thousand Years are finished*" (ver. 7), before the end, and before his final overthrow, turns with all his powers of seduction, and leads them to assail the Saints (ver. 9). Hence, we are told, it follows that the *risen* Saints are to dwell in the *earthly* Jerusalem, where they are to be assailed by hosts of heathen nations still living on *earth*; and this, although

all the inhabitants of the earth—the enemies of God, and adherents of the Beast and "False Prophet"—had already been slain: see ch. xix. 21. Such a result leads Düsterd. to understand this "apocalyptic drama" to be a purely "ideal representation" of a long series of events occurring on the Day of the Lord's Coming, comprising the general Resurrection and the Last Judgment; "no special period of time" being signified by the Millennial reign, for "a thousand years in God's sight are but as yesterday."—Ps. xc. 4.

Auberlen—here following Piscator (A.D. 1627), Petersen, Joachim, Lange, Hebart (see Semisch, art. *Chiliasmus*, in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.*)—meets this objection by supposing that the whole congregation of believers who have died in Christ are to be clothed, at the "*First Resurrection*" (ver. 5), with their glorified bodies, whereby they are rendered visible to earth, and are manifested together with Him; while living believers, freed from everything earthly, are to be caught up to meet the returning Lord in the air (1 Thess. iv. 16, 17). The Elect, thus gathered together by the Angels (Matt. xxiv. 31; xiii. 43), "*live and reign with Christ a Thousand Years*" (ver 4). It is from heaven, however, that the Saints exercise their rule; for earth, not yet renewed, is not suited for the glorified Church (p. 334). At the beginning of the Millennium the state of the world will be what it was at the date of Christ's Ascension,—Israel and the Gentiles, who still remain on the earth (see on ch. xix. 21), opposing the Church, but being gradually converted by the influence of the Church in glory, and by the sight of the judgments on Satan and his adherents (ch. xix. 11–xx. 2). From the *religious* point of view, in their relation to God, Gentiles and Jews stand on a perfect equality; from the stand-point of the history of Revelation, however, Israel is, and ever shall be the chosen people through whom God's designs are executed:—Ex. iv. 22; xix. 5, 6; Rom. xi. 21–24 (p. 343). The Last Times shall prepare a thorough change of heart in the people of Israel; and to this change of heart the Lord's words in Matt. xxiii. 39 clearly point (p. 347). In the Millennium Jews and Gentiles are united; and thus, the whole human race becoming one, the full and true life of humanity is at last realized—Rom. xi. 30–32. Still, during the "Thousand Years," there is a separation between earth and heaven—between humanity glorified and humanity still living in the flesh. Hence it is possible that an apostasy should take place at the end of the Millennial period (p. 356).

In this description we recognize many features of the older Chiliasm. This system assumes that there are to be *two* future Advents of Christ, of which the former is to be preparatory:—the texts relied upon are John xxi. 21–24; Acts i. 10, 11. In accordance with Zech. xiv. 4, Christ is to descend on Mount Olivet, whence He had ascended to heaven:—there the Chiliast expects the former of the two Advents to take place; and there Antichrist is to meet his final overthrow. The Jews are now to be converted as a nation (Zech. xii. 9, 10; Luke xiii. 34, 35; Rom. xi. 25–27; 2 Cor. iii. 13–16), and the Kingdom restored to Israel (Jer. xxxiii. 17, 20, 21; Luke i. 32, 33; xxi. 24)—the kingdom consisting of Jews and Gentiles, with Christ as the Head (Matt. xix. 28; xx. 23; 1 Cor. vi. 1–4).

Vitringa contented himself with explaining the Millennium to signify "a long time, not less than a Thousand Years" (p. 853); and with placing its beginning in those times when the empire of the Beast is to terminate,—the Millennium itself being a figure of that long duration of the Church's peace, and happy condition on this earth, of which the emblem is that silence of "*half-an-hour*" in heaven, under the Seventh Seal—ch. viii. 1 (p. 844). And Bengel represents as the chief excellence of his apocalyptic system that, following Vitringa, he had "restored the old, true order,—Antichrist, Millennium, End of the world" (*l. c.*, pp. 661–675).

On the doctrine of "Pre-millennarians" who distinguish between "those Christians whom they style *the Bride*, and the rest of the Saved"—see Dr. David Brown (*l. c.*, p. 91) who, in illustration of this doctrine, quotes as follows: "This elect body," says Mr. Bonar, "of believers *before* the Millennium is the *Bride*, and shall be complete at the Lord's coming. Not one other shall be added to this body after the Lord's coming—not one" (P. 123). See Note A on ch. xix. 11.

II. According to the second system of interpretation,—of which St. Augustine is the ablest exponent (*De Civ. Dei*, xx., 7, &c.).—Christ had gone forth, in the *first* Seal "*conquering and to conquer*" (ch. vi. 12). Foes, however, are still to be encountered as the other Seals and the Trumpets and the Vials describe. The Church is to be ever militant on earth; a form of Antichrist is to continue until the end; and although the agents of the evil one are at length overcome (ch. xix. 20), Satan himself still remains undestroyed. Has Christ, then, not conquered? In order to answer this question, the Seer now re-ascends ("recapitulando quid in istis mille annis agat Ecclesia"—St. August., *l. c.*, xx. 9) to the beginning, and recounts the work of Christ at His First Advent, and what He still continues to do. Christ was the Woman's promised Seed Who bruised the Serpent's head (Gen. iii. 15). This, the first promise in the Bible, was ful-

filled by the Incarnation, when "*the Son of God was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil*" (1 John iii. 8). At His First Advent Christ declared: "*If I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the Kingdom of God is come unto you. Or else, how can one enter into the strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man?*" (Matt. xii. 28, 29). St. John, accordingly, now explains (ver. 2) that Christ had already "*laid hold on the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years.*" From the date of the First Advent, therefore, the "Thousand Years"—symbolizing a great but indefinite period of time—take their beginning ("mille annos pro omnibus annis hujus seculi posuit, ut perfecto numero notaretur ipsa plenitudo temporis"—St. August., *l.c.*, c. 7). During this period the power of Satan is restrained, and the opposing power of the "*First Resurrection*"—the spiritual Resurrection of the soul, "the death unto sin, the new birth unto righteousness"—is the strength and support of the Church. Again:—The Church being always in conflict with the powers of evil (for Satan has been "*bound*" merely, not destroyed); and these powers manifesting themselves, with ever renewed intensity at successive periods of history, St. Paul has announced that before the end of all things "*that Wicked shall be revealed whom the Lord shall consume with the breath of His mouth, and destroy with the brightness of His Coming*" (2 Thess. ii. 8):—a time which Christ Himself foreshadowed when He said: "*When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?*"—Luke xviii. 8.

This interpretation of *vv.* 1–6 assumes that the two phrases, a "*Thousand Years*" (ver. 2), and the "*First Resurrection*" (ver. 5), are to be understood figuratively, in accordance with the general character of the Apocalypse (see Introd. § 10). In ver. 7 St. John resumes the course of his narrative, and recounts once more what he had already told, in ch. xix. 11–21, of the last conflict of the Church with the hosts of Antichrist. This conflict is now followed by the absolute destruction of the powers of evil (ver. 10). Then comes the Universal Judgment (*vv.* 11–15).

An interpretation has also been proposed which is founded on the symbolical meaning of the number *Ten* (1000=10^3). This number, as stated in the Introduction (§ 11, (a)), signifies *completeness* and *perfection.* The number 1000, it is said, denotes here merely the perfection and universality (*Œcumenicität*) of the victory of Christ over Antichrist; and the "*Thousand Years*" are not intended to represent any space of time. The passage (*vv.* 1–10) is inserted between ch. xix. 21 and ch. xx. 11 only in order to separate the destruction of the Beast—together with the overthrow of Gog and Magog—from the Last Judgment, so that each of these events, according to its importance, may appear in its true light. It is plain, however, that this manner of giving a symbolical signification to the words, does not bring out the sense of this mysterious Episode.

The majority of Millennarians place this period of the Church's felicity altogether in *the future.* Many, especially in ancient times, in accordance with Jewish theology, understand the Millennium to be the *seventh* "Thousand Years" of the world; and thus the world's Sabbath (Gen. ii. 2, 3). On this aspect of the doctrine, see Gibbon, ch. xv. Hofmann, however, understands not the *seventh* Thousand Years, "but the *eighth*,—the "*Day*" of the Lord, at the beginning of which the Church has risen again" (ii. s. 373). Bengel finds here *two* periods of a thousand years (see on ver. 3):—the *former* of which or *third* stage of Satan's punishment (see on ch. xii. 12) begins A.D. 1836 with the destruction of the Beast (ch. xix. 20), and the binding of Satan; the *latter* begins, A.D. 2836, after the reign of the Saints on earth, and when Satan is loosed (ver. 7). It is closed A.D. 3836, immediately before the end of the world—ver. 11. (This twofold Millennium had been already taught by St. Barnabas—see the Excursus at the end of this Note). Ebrard explaining the number mystically regards the interval between Christ's Ascension and His Second Advent as the "*half-week*" (3½ years); and the duration of His visible rule in His Kingdom on earth as a "Thousand Years," or *twenty* Jubilee periods of fifty years (Lev. xxv. 10). The age accordingly in which we now live—the period of the *ecclesia pressa et militans*—is insignificant when compared with the duration of the visible glory of Christ's Kingdom on earth.

Others place the Millennium in *the past*:—E. g. Bossuet understands the first "Thousand Years" of the Christian Era;—Brightman, Cocceius, Grotius, Hammond, see the beginning of the "Thousand Years" in the time of Constantine the Great, and its end under Lewis the Bavarian (A.D. 1313–1347), the last opponent of the Popes;—Others—e. g. Luther, count this period down to Pope Gregory VII. (A.D. 1073–1085), in whom they recognize Satan let loose;—We have the "Thousand Years'" reign behind us, writes Hengst. (ii. p. 285), and stand now at the loosing of Satan out of his prison (ver. 7): the Millennium counts from Christmas Eve, A.D. 800, the coronation of Charles the Great—under whom the German Tribes were converted to Christ and the Christian Empire of the West founded—down to the reign of Napoleon (Apollyon).—*ib.*, p. 304.

From the rationalistic point of view, Wetstein concluded that the Apocalypse described *prophetically* the Jewish war—the duration of which he restricted to the "*three and a half years*" (1260 days);—"Ita tamen ut quæ cum illis connexa sunt, paulo altius repetat, subjungatque quæ non diu postea consecuta." He did not shrink from reducing the "Thousand Years" to the *fifty* years from the death of Domitian to the Jewish war under Hadrian. Gog and Magog he found in the revolt under Barchochab. The Heavenly Jerusalem, in the happy state of Christianity, and the spread of the Gospel after the complete suppression of the Jewish nationality.

Volkmar appeals to "the *day* of the Lord's vengeance,"—"the *year* of recompenses;"—"the *day* of vengeance,"—"the *year* of my redeemed" in Isai. xxxiv. 8; lxiii. 4; where the "*Day*" and the "*Year*" are identical, according to Ps. xc. 4. Hence, "the *day* of vengeance"—"the *year*" of the first triumph of Christianity after Nero's death—extends, in God's sight, to a 1000 years. Thus the *day* of an imperial triumph used to extend to several days—under Trajan to 120; and accordingly here "the *day*" of triumph extends to 365 × 1000. Reuss sees here an exact expression of the "Judæo-Christian Eschatology" of the age, the first rudiments of which true Christians must leave behind (Heb. vi. 2): to this popular belief the Apocalypse adds "the double Resurrection, and a Millennial era between the two." This theory ingeniously combines the conflicting systems taught by the Jewish doctors—the political element in the ancient hopes of Israel, and the religious element (ch. ii. 27; xii. 5; xix. 15; Acts i. 6; ii. 30); and assures to the Martyrs privileges above all others. Such a doctrine, adds Reuss, "needed to be counteracted by all the force of the spiritualistic reaction which had its root in the Pauline Gospel, and its scientific basis in the Alexandrine School" (p. 366). Renan contents himself with referring to his theory that the Beast cast into the "*Lake of Fire*" (ch. xix. 20) is Nero, the Antichrist; adding that Satan still remains chained during the "Thousand Years" (p. 445).

EXCURSUS ON THE MILLENNIUM.

It is of some importance to trace the early history of the doctrine of the Millennium ("*mille anni*"), or Chiliasm (χίλια ἔτη[1]), or the "Thousand-years' reign of the Saints with Christ," inasmuch as the consensus of the Primitive Church is the stronghold of Millennarianism. Dean Alford, for example, writes on Rev. xx. 5: "Those who lived next to the Apostles, and the whole Church for 300 years, understood them [the 'Thousand Years'] in the plain literal sense." It is necessary, therefore, to examine the facts.

The expectation of an order of things entirely new founded on the language of Messianic prophecy, however misapplied, lay at the root of every form of Chiliasm among the Jews. It was the same hope of a renovated earth, prompted by the instinctive longing—may we not say the memory?—of the human soul, which suggested even to those outside the pale of Revelation, in the picture of a world from which the curse had been withdrawn, the Vision of a second "Golden Age." The history of human thought proves that the fact has ever been acknowledged of "a primal perfection, of a present disorder."[2] The old poet of Greece,[3] though fully conscious of the tokens of suffering and decay which darkened the face of nature, seeks to bridge over the chasm between the gods and degenerate man by the supposition of previous races, each more degenerate than its predecessor, during the five Ages from the Golden Age in the past to the existing Age of Iron:—the first Age, altogether pure, when good, perfect, and happy men lived from the spontaneous abundance of the earth, in ease and tranquillity like the gods themselves. The later verse of Virgil in the West testifies how the return of this Golden Age was the goal and the ideal of human hope.[1] And as if to remove all shade of difference between the expectations of the Gentile world and the Jewish anticipations of Millennial enjoyment, the same period of a "Thousand Years"—which St. John has here taken as the symbol of a sacred period—again and again recurs in the religious speculations of the heathen. In the *Phædrus* of Plato we read how the soul of the true philosopher is excused from *seven* of the Ten *Millennial* probations through which the rest of mankind have to pass; while in the *Republic* is given an account of the allotment and selection of the second life at the close of this period of a "Thousand Years,"[2] this same duration being assigned

[1] "Hi qui spirituales sunt istos ista credentes χιλιασταὶ appellant Græco vocabulo: quod verbum e verbo exprimentes nos possumus Milliarios nuncupare."—St. August., *De Civit. Dei*, xx. 7.

[2] See Trench's *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 231.

[3] Hesiod, *Opp. et Dies*, 120, &c.

[1] "Tu modo nascenti puero, quod ferrea primum
Desinet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,"
&c. *Eclog.* iv.

[2] "Ten thousand years (οὐκ ἀφικνεῖται ἐτῶν

by Virgil for the purification after death from the stain of sin:—

"Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno," &c. *Æn.* vi., 749.

According to Jewish theology, as collected from the Talmud, Messiah is to gather in from the Dispersion all the scattered descendants of the Tribes, to discomfit their foreign oppressors, and from Jerusalem as a centre to rule over the whole earth which is to be a scene of temporal enjoyment and prosperity. Even the doctrine of the Resurrection was harmonized with the exclusive nationality of the children of Abraham. Of the chosen race, if not all, at least the more virtuous are to be summoned from Paradise, from the abode of departed spirits; and under their triumphant King are to enjoy for a "Thousand Years" glory and bliss upon the earth:—see Wisd. iii. 1–8. Here comes in another feature of Jewish Theology:—Lücke (*l. c.*, s. 309 ff.) considers that Chiliastic conceptions appeared among the Jews, in the times before Christ, as soon as they began to distinguish between the *temporal* and the *eternal* kingdom of Messiah; or rather the "*days*" of Messiah's appearance (*ἡμέραι τ. υἱοῦ τ. ἀνθρώπου*, Luke xvii. 22), and the *αἰὼν μέλλων*—a distinction which does not appear in Messianic Prophecy. The "*days*" of Messiah form the epoch when the present world has its end, and the future has its beginning (see Züllig, *l.c.*, i. s. 38, 43; Gfrörer, *l. c.*, s. 212, 252). But how, it was asked, was the duration of this period to be determined according to Scripture? Some took as its type, according to Ps. xcv. 10, the "*forty years*" in the Wilderness;—others the "*four hundred years'*" sojourn in Egypt, according to Gen. xv. 13;—others, again, took as their chronological type the "*Week*" of Creation, as Daniel (ix. 25) has done; and as the world was created in *six* days, and as a "Thousand Years" in God's sight are but as one day (Ps xc. 4), so the duration of the world is the "*Week*" of Creation distributed through time —each "*Day*," or "*Age*" of this "*Week*" being equal to a "Thousand Years." As there was a Sabbath of Creation, moreover, which began after man was formed, so must there be a Divine Sabbath of the Messianic era of Salvation beginning as soon as the human race, restored to its primitive innocence, shall stand on the earth as Adam did in Paradise. Thus R. Salomon writes: "It is fixed that the world shall stand for 6000 years, according to the number of the days of the week; but on the *seventh* Day is the Sabbath, and during the *seventh* Millennium the world has rest."[1]

All Jewish conceptions of a Millennial Kingdom of Messiah were reflected in the system of the Ebionites, and with the other errors of that system injuriously affected the early Church;[2] but this tenet of the later Judaism was conveyed more directly to the Christian community by the Epistle of St. Barnabas, where it is repeated almost literally.[3] Here, however, in accordance with the essence of the Gospel, a condition of spiritual, blissful rest is described,—a restored harmony of Humanity, and a glorified state of Nature. Neither St. Barnabas, however, nor the Fathers who subsequently held this doctrine conceived that the 1000 years' reign was to be the end of all things, but merely a Millennary Sabbath,—a stage of transition to eternal life.[4]

μυρίων) must elapse before the soul can return to the place from whence she came, for she cannot grow her wings in less; only the soul of a philosopher, guileless and true....may acquire wings in the third recurring period of a thousand years (*τρίτῃ περιόδῳ τῇ χιλιετεῖ*); and if they choose this life three times in succession, then they have their wings given them, and go away at the end of three thousand years"—*Phædrus*, 249 (Jowett's transl. vol. i. p. 583). See also on the source of this period of 1000 years Dr. Thompson's note, *Biblioth. Classica*, p. 54.

The *choice of lives* (*αἵρεσις βίων*), which takes place at the end of each Millennial period (*τῷ χιλιοστῷ*), is described circumstantially in the *Republic*. The slain warrior who has returned to life records in its pages his vision of the souls of those on whom judgment had passed:—Some sorrowed and wept at the remembrance of what they had endured beneath the earth during their journey of *a thousand years*; while others described heavenly blessings, and visions of inconceivable beauty. "For every wrong which they had done to any one they suffered tenfold; the 'thousand years' answering to the hundred years which are reckoned as the life of man."—*De Republ.* x. 615 (Jowett's transl., vol. ii. p. 458). And the conclusion is: "Wherefore my counsel is that we hold fast to the heavenly way, and follow after justice and virtue always. ... And it shall be well with us both in this life and in the pilgrimage of 'a thousand years' (*ἐν τῇ χιλιετεῖ πορείᾳ*) which we have been reciting" (*ib.*, 621 p. 464).

[1] Falm., *Avoda Sara*, fol. 9, col. 1,—see Eisenmenger, *Entd. Jud.*, ii. p. 652. See also Gfrörer, *Das Jahrb. des Heils.* 2tes Abth., Kap. x. s. 219, ff.

[2] Neander, *Allg. Gesch. d. Kirche*, i. s. 191.

[3] Referring to the LXX. Version of Gen. ii. 2, *καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ κ. τ. λ.*, St. Barnabas (c. xv.) writes: *τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι συντελεῖ ὁ Θεὸς κύριος ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τὰ πάντα· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη.*

[4] Having further quoted Isai. i. 13, St. Barnabas (*ibid.*) concludes that, after the *seventh* Millennium of rest, an eighth day succeeds (*ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης ποιήσω, ὅ ἐστι, ἄλλου κόσμου*

But there also passed over to the early Christians from the Jewish system a coarser belief embodying gross pictures of an earthly kingdom. The Christian conception naturally differed from the Jewish in this that it represented the Millennial reign as brought in by Jesus of Nazareth, and as including both Jews and Gentiles:—what was common to both was the period of blessedness *on earth;* and the selection of Jerusalem once more as the City of God.[1] That such a belief should, for a time, have been popular in the early Church was altogether natural. Christ had declared it to be His mission to found a Kingdom; and never was the contrast between the Kingdom of God, and the kingdom of the world exhibited more forcibly than in the days when the first Christians lived. Then, as at all times, the Lord's Second Advent was looked for in the future—whether near or remote; and as the efforts of the heathen to crush out the Christian Faith grew more cruel, and persecution waxed more fierce, so did the early believers cherish more eagerly the hope of a speedy deliverance and of a rich reward. All was changed, however, as soon as the Christian Religion was recognized by the powers of this world. When the age of persecution passed away, Chiliasm ceased to form an element of the popular belief. It was only with the cessation of outward oppression, and still more with the growth of that new relation of the Church to the State under which men actually enjoyed the peace that had once seemed to be hopeless on earth, that the motives died out which prompted the longing for the

ἀρχήν), foreshadowed by the day of the Lord's Resurrection, when all that is earthly is to cease, and a new and eternal world to begin. St. Augustine thus describes this opinion, as held in his day:—"Qui propter hæc hujus libri verba (Apoc. xx.) primam resurrectionem futuram suspicati sunt corporalem, inter cætera maxime numero annorum mille permoti sunt, tanquam oporteret in sanctis eo modo velut tanti temporis fieri Sabbatismum, vacatione scilicet sancta post labores annorum sex millium ex quo creatus est homo . . . ut quoniam scriptum est [2 Pet. iii. 8] . . . sex annorum millibus tanquam sex diebus impletis, sequatur velut Sabbati septimus in annis mille postremis, ad hoc scilicet Sabbatum celebrandum resurgentibus sanctis."—*De Civ. Dei*, xx. 7.

[1] That immediate contact with the early Chiliastic literature of the Jews existed in the primitive Christian times, is manifest from the similarity between the statements of Papias and those of the "*Apocalypse of Baruch*":—see the Introduction, § 9, where the publication of this work by Ceriani is referred to. This Apocryphal writing has also been published by O. F. Fritzsche in his edition of the "Apocryphal books of the O. T.," Leipzig, 1871, p. 654. Ceriani (*l.c.*, t. i., *fasc.* 2, p. i.) observes of the "Apocalypse of Baruch:" "Antiquissimis quidem accenserem ex indole libri Judæo-Christiana, ex ejus cum quarto Esdræ arcta affinitate in pluribus, ac demum ex loco illo Papiæ insigni de Chiliasmo apud Irenæum, *Contr. Hær.* v. 33, collato cum nostro libro No. 29." Fritzsche also concludes as to the date: "Hæc Judæum non multo post Hierosolyma a Tito eversa conscripsisse manifestum est"—*Præf* p. xxxii.

The remarkable coincidence of the Millenarianism of Papias with that of Jewish writers is thus shown:—"In Papia," continues Ceriani, "enim superadditur fabulosæ jam nostri narrationi, quod in hujusmodi rebus serioris ætatis indicium videtur." In chapter 22 Baruch is addressed by a voice from heaven, and Baruch in answer styles the speaker "Lord" (*Dominator Domine*). In ch. 24 the voice tells Baruch: "Ecce autem dies veniunt et aperientur libri, in quibus scripta sunt peccata omnium qui peccaverunt, et iterum etiam thesauri, in quibus justitia eorum qui justificati sunt in creatura collecta est." A great "tribulation" is to fall on the inhabitants of the earth in the last days (ch. 25); and Baruch asks (ch. 28): "Utrum in uno loco, aut in una ex partibus terræ futura sunt ista, an tota terra sentiet?" And then we read (ch. 29): "Respondit et dixit mihi: Totius erit terræ quod eveniet tunc. Propterea omnes qui vivent sentient. Illo autem tempore protegam tantum eos qui reperientur illis diebus in terra ista. Et erit postquam completum fuerit quod futurum est ut sit in illis partibus, tunc incipiet revelari Messias. Et revelabitur Behemoth ex loco suo, et Leviathan ascendet de mari, duo cete magna quæ creavi die quinto creationis, et reservavi eos usque ad illud tempus; et tunc erunt in escam omnibus qui residui fuerint. Etiam terra dabit fructus suos unum in decem millia, et in vite una erunt mille palmites, et unus palmes faciet mille botros, et botrus unus faciet mille acinos, et unus acinus faciet corum vini. Et qui esurierunt jucundabuntur," &c., &c. (p. 80).

The words of Papias ["De temporibus regni Domini"] quoted by Irenæus (*Contr. Hær.* v. 33, p. 333) are as follows:—

"Venient dies, in quibus vineæ nascentur, singulæ decem millia palmitum habentes, et in uno palmite dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero palmite dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botruum et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum, et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit vigintiquinque metretas vini. Et quum eorum apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit: 'Botrus ego melior sum, me sume, per me Dominum benedic.'" &c., &c. (*ap.* Routh, i. p. 9). Irenæus refers to this quotation in the words already cited, Introd. § 2 (a), No. (6); and he adds that, to the inquiry 'How can these things be?' Papias replied by referring to the days spoken of in Isai. xi. 6, &c.; lxv. 25. A literal and carnal interpretation of the ideal picture thus presented by Isaiah was clearly the source of the coarse Chiliasm of the Jewish school.

"Thousand Years'" reign of believers with Christ.

There are four chief stages in the history of Chiliasm:—I. The earliest stage is that of the first four centuries, when the doctrine was both popular and earnestly insisted on by many distinguished Fathers of the Church;—II. Then came the period from St. Augustine to the Reformation;—III. In the age of the Reformation Chiliasm was revived among the enthusiastic and fanatical sects which then started into existence;—IV. And next followed the time from Joseph Mede, in Cent. xvii., down to the present day.

I. The same influences that moved the orthodox among the primitive Christians,—the tradition, namely, which had passed over to them from the Jews, as well as the gloomy aspect of the times,—acted upon the early heretics also: e.g. Cerinthus, the Ebionites,[1] Montanus.[2] Chiliasm, or the doctrine that the Saints were to reign with Christ on earth for the literal period of a Thousand Years, now became the common, although by no means the universal belief. With the exception of the Epistle of St. Barnabas, no trace of this doctrine is to be found in the writings of the other Apostolic Fathers.[3] Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Clemens Alex.[4] are silent on the subject.

Justin M., who came next after Papias of Hierapolis as teacher of Millennarianism—ardent supporter though he was of this doctrine—expressly writes that "there are many Christians of pure and devout minds who do *not* admit this"—*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 80.[5]

[1] For Cerinthus, see Euseb. iii. 28, vii. 25;—for the Ebionites, see St. Jerome, *In Isai.* lx. 1; lxvi. 20.

[2] For the Montanists, see Tertullian *adv. Marc.* iii. 24. Tertullian's words are: "Nam et confitemur in terra nobis regnum repromissum, sed ante cælum, sed alio statu, utpote post Resurrectionem in mille annos in Civitate Divini operis Hierusalem cælo delata." See also the writing of the presbyter Caius, against Proclus or Proculus (*ap.* Euseb. iii. 28) as well as the *Test. xii. Patriarch.* (*Judah*, c. 25; *Benjamin*, c. 10);—*Evangel. Nicod.* (II., c. iii. (xix.) 15);—*Sibyll. Orac.* ii. 27-31; iii. 743-784; v. 413, &c.; viii. 206, &c.

[3] An echo of the doctrine has been thought to exist in Hermas, i. 3; iii. 8.

[4] In Clemens Al. (*Ex. Script. Proph. Eclogæ*, c. 57, t. ii. p. 1004) we read:—*οἱ γὰρ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀγγέλους μετασταντες, χίλια ἔτη μαθητεύονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων κ. τ. λ.*

[5] Trypho had taunted Justin M. with holding the doctrine that Jerusalem was to be restored, and that Christians were to lead a life of happiness in union with Christ, together with the Patriarchs and Prophets and the Jewish people. To this Justin replies: "*Ὡμολόγησα οὖν σοι καὶ πρότερον, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ταῦτα φρονοῦμεν ὡς καὶ πάντως ἐπίστασθε τοῦτο γενησόμενον*" [viz. that the doctrine of the Millennium owed its origin to the Jews, and was held by them] *πολλοὺς δ' αὖ καὶ τῶν τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ὄντων Χριστιανῶν γνώμης τοῦτο μὴ γνωρίζειν, ἐσήμανά σοι* (c. 80); and then he goes on to speak of the Gnostics.

The leading advocates of Millennarianism in the Early Church were,—Papias (*ap.* Eus. iii. 36, 39) who, as has been pointed out, borrowed from Jewish sources;—St. Irenæus[1] (v.

Mede in his Dissertation on this passage (*Opp.* p. 533) has suggested a rather startling emendation, which has given rise to some controversy. He would insert a negative, *οὐ*, in this clause, and read "of Christians that are [not] of pure and devout minds;"—this, he argues is required by the context. In his edition of the "*Dialogue with Trypho*," Thirlby (*in loc.*, p. 311) observes:—"Medus (quem sequitur Tillotsonus, *Reg. Fidei*, par. iii. sect. 9, p. 756 et seqq.) legit *τῶν οὐ τῆς καθαρᾶς.* Vehementer errant viri præclari." And similarly, in his ed. of the works of Justin, Otto (*in loc.*, ii. p. 274) notes: "Dallæus (*De pœnis et satisf. human.* p. 453, Amst. 1649), Münscherus (*Handb. d. chr. Dogmengesch.* ii. 455), aliique recentiores (vid. Semisch, *Justin der Märtyr.*, ii. p. 469) *τῶν μὴ τῆς καθαρᾶς* [legunt]. Sed Martyr, ut jam Thirlbius indicavit, aperte distinguit inter duas *orthodoxorum* partes." Döllinger, also referring to Münscher who would insert the negative, writes:—"Many moderns have entered into this view, and have inserted the particle *μή* in the text. But.... St. Justin does not, as Münscher pretends, speak of only *two* classes of Christians—the Gnostics, who denied not only the Millennium but likewise the Resurrection of the flesh, and orthodox Christians who admitted both. He evidently distinguishes *three* classes: (1) those who believe with him in a future Resurrection, and in the Thousand Years' Kingdom;—(2) those true Christians who believed in the Resurrection, but *not* in the Millennium;—and (3) the Gnostics, who were in name Christians, but were in truth impious heretics, who blasphemed the God of Abraham, who denied the Resurrection of the flesh, and who did not, therefore, merit the name of Christians. He does not object to these last the rejection of the Millennium, as, in comparison with their fundamental errors, this was of no importance.... According to St. Justin, therefore, the belief in the Resurrection of the flesh, not in the Millennium, was a proof of true orthodoxy" (*Hist. of the Church*, Cox's transl., i. p. 196). "Although Justin," writes Möhler (*Patrologie*, s. 251), "favours Chiliasm, he will not represent it as a generally received dogma, but openly acknowledges that many other orthodox and pious Christians are not of this opinion."

[1] Irenæus notices three different stages which man passes through before he attains to the "Vision of God" (*οὕτως ἐλεύσονται εἰς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, Adv. Hær.* v. 31, 2); viz.: (1) The souls of the righteous, in happy converse with Christ, await the revival of their bodies;—(2) After the judgment of the wicked, follows the Resurrec-

34–36);—Tertullian, in his lost work *De Spe Fidelium* (see also *Adv. Marc.* iii. 24; *De Resurr. Carn.* c. 25; *De Monogam.* c. 10; *De Spectac.*, c. ult.);—St. Cyprian, *De Exhort. Mart.*, Præf. (on the authenticity of this work, see Smith's *Biogr. Dict.*);—St. Methodius, *De Resurrect., lib. contr. Origen.*; *Conviv.* x. *Virgg.* ix. 1 (*ap.* Galland. iii. p. 730);—Nepos (*ap.* Eus. vii. 24; St. Dionys. Al. i. 43);—Victorinus (*ap.* Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 458);—Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* vii. 14, 24. It is to be borne in mind, moreover, in confirmation of what has been noted as to St. Justin M., that in the writings of Tertullian before he became a Montanist, we find nothing to favour the doctrine of the Millennium. On the contrary, in "*The Rules of faith*" given by him (*De Virg. Vel.*, c. i.; *adv. Prax.* c. 2; *De Præscript. Hær.* c. 13), as well as by so decided a Chiliast as Irenæus (see *Hær.* i. 10; iii. 4), no reference whatever is made to Chiliasm as a necessary article of belief. Nor should it be forgotten that Dionysius Alex., who resisted with success the teaching of Nepos (A.D. 255), speaks always respectfully of his opponent;—a fact which proves that Nepos did not hold the gross and carnal aspect of Millennarianism. This controversy, indeed, with Dionysius proves that, under its most favourable aspect, Millennarian doctrine was now, in the middle of Cent. iii., positively discountenanced in the Church.[1]

It has been already apparent from the words of St. Justin M. quoted above, that Chiliasm was not the universal belief of the primitive Church. So early as the year 196 an earnest opponent of the Millennarian doctrines was found in Caius, a Roman Presbyter, who, writing against the Montanist Proclus, declares that the "Thousand Years'" Kingdom was a vain fable invented by the heretic Cerinthus (see Introd. § 5). Even thus early the tendencies to which Chiliasm gave an impulse,—as exhibited chiefly in the extravagances of the Montanists,—contributed to the growing opposition to this doctrine. It was from the Church of Alexandria, however, with its famous school of theology, that the most strenuous resistance to Millennarianism proceeded. Origen speaks in terms of strong condemnation respecting those who interpret Scripture in a Jewish sense. He was the first—so far as we know—who directly impugned the doctrine. He charges the Chiliasts with holding that "strangers should be given to them as ministers of their delights" (Isai. li. 3–5); with looking for "promises consisting in bodily pleasure and luxury;" &c.:—see his *Sel. in Psal.*, vol. ii. p. 570; *tom.* xvii. *in Matt.* vol. iii. p. 827; *Prolog. in Cantic.*, iii. p. 28; *De Princip.* II. xi. 2, where, in reply to the favourite references of Chiliasts (Matt. v. 6; xxvi. 29), he writes: "Multa alia ex scripturis exempla proferunt, quorum vim figuraliter intelligi debere non sentiunt."

Nepos of Arsinoe wrote in reply to Origen: and was in turn answered by St. Dionysius of Alex. (Introd. § 5). The last echo of Chiliasm, however, in the Eastern Church is given from the writings of the younger Apollinaris, the heresiarch (A.D. 370), who went so far in his Jewish sympathies as to teach that the Temple was to be rebuilt, and the entire Jewish worship to be restored—men still living, as they do now, but observing the Mosaic Law (ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἀναστάσει χιλιοντα-ετηρίδα τινὰ ἐπιτελοῦμεν). In support of this Millennial period he referred to Rev. xx.; which, nevertheless, as Apollinaris admits, "the greatest number and the pious" (οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ εὐλαβεῖς) understand in a spiritual sense:—see Epiphan. *Hær.* lxxvii. 26, t. i. p. 1031. See also St. Basil, who thus describes the opinion of Apollinaris,—ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀναστάσεως, μυθικῶς συγκείμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ Ἰουδαϊκῶς (*Ep.* 263, ed. Ben. t. iii. p. 406).

And thus we see that from an early period Chiliasm was neither held universally, nor imposed as an article of faith; while, as Apollinaris admits, it had almost died out in his day. So little is Dean Alford's assertion, already quoted, to be accepted—namely, that the whole Church, for 300 years after the Apostles believed in a literal Millennium; and so little true is Gibbon's sneer, that the doc-

tion of the righteous, who will then reign with Christ on earth in the enjoyment of happiness, not excluding corporeal pleasure;—(3) The being taken up to enjoy "the Vision of God." To the earthly kingdom of Christ succeeds the great apostasy, and the rule of Antichrist—*ib.* v. c. 25–30.

[1] Gennadius of Marseilles (A.D. 459) thus sums up the opinions of the Millennarians of the fifth century:—"In Divinis repromissionibus nihil terrenum vel transitorium expectemus, sicut *Meletiani* sperant. Non nuptiarum copulam, sicut *Cerinthus* et *Marcion* delirant. Non quod ad cibum vel ad potum pertinet, sicut, *Papia* auctore, *Irenæus*, *Tertullianus*, et *Lactantius*, adquiescunt. Neque per mille annos post resurrectionem regnum Christi *in terra* futurum, et sanctos cum illo in deliciis regnaturos speremus, sicut *Nepos* docuit, primam justorum resurrectionem, et secundam impiorum: et inter has duas mortuorum resurrectiones, gentes ignorantes Deum in angulis terrarum in carne reservandas: quæ post mille annos regni in terra justorum, instigante diabolo, movendæ sint ad pugnam contra justos regnantes; et Domino pro justis pugnante imbre igneo compescendas: atque ita mortuas, cum ceteris in impietate ante mortuis, ad æterna supplicia in incorruptibili carne resuscitandas" (*ap.* St. August., *Opp.* ed. Bened. t. viii., *App.* p. 78).

trine of a life of enjoyment for 1000 years greatly accelerated the progress of Christianity (ch. xv.).

II. From the fourth century to the age of the Reformation, the interpretation of the "Thousand years" advocated by St. Augustine prevailed in the Church. At one time he was himself disposed to be a Chiliast, in the strictly spiritual sense of the doctrine—"etiam nos hoc opinati fuimus aliquando" (*l.c.*, xx. 7; see also his "*Sermo* 259, *in die Dom. Octav. Pasch.*," c. 2), "Regnabit Dominus in terra cum sanctis suis," &c. (*Opp.*, t. vii. pars 2). The spiritual sense he allows to be "tolerable" ("quæ opinio esset utcunque tolerabilis"); but of other aspects of the doctrine he writes: "Nullo modo ista possunt, nisi a carnalibus credi" (*ib.*). In this carnal sense Chiliasm is reckoned among the heresies of the age by Philastrius (A.D. 380, *Hær.* 106); and Stephanus Gobarus (A.D. 600) records the existence in his time of this carnal doctrine, without, however, expressing his own opinion.[1] The sentiments of St. Jerome may be inferred from his reference to the work of Dionysius of Alex., whom he describes as mocking at the fable of the "Thousand Years" ("irridens mille annorum fabulam,"—*Comm. in Isai. Præf. in libr.* 18^m. t. iv. p. 767). The existence of Millennarianism may for a time be traced in the Medieval belief that the world was to come to an end in the year 1000. Subsequently to this date various ideals of the Millennial kingdom were proposed—by the Mendicant Orders (A.D. 1200) as a return to Apostolic poverty;—by the Abbot Joachim (A.D. 1202) as a union of contemplation with the inspiration of love;—by Peter de Oliva (A.D. 1297) as the more energetic action of the Holy Ghost.

III. With the Reformation Millennarianism entered on its third stage. In the Apocalypse many recognized a prophetic compendium of the history of the Church. In the supposed downfall of the Papacy, they saw sure tokens of the near return of the Lord. Among the wild imaginations of the time, the Anabaptists embraced Millennarianism in its grossest forms, and used this belief as a plea for lawlessness and crime. Hence the repudiation by both the Foreign and the English Reformers of this doctrine, which was expressly condemned in the original Articles of the Church of England: "They that go about to renew the fable of heretics called Millennarii, be repugnant to Holy Scripture, and cast themselves headlong into a Jewish dotage" (*Art.* xli.):—see also the *Augsburg Confession*, Art. 17; the *Swiss Confession*, Art. 11.

IV. During the sixteenth century no writer of repute defended Millennarianism; and the question was not revived till the learned Joseph Mede (A.D. 1627), in his *Clavis Apocalyptica*, introduced the subject once more into the field of controversy. The chief impulse however to the revival of this doctrine was given by Bengel in 1740; and the chief importance of Bengel's system, according to Auberlen (*l. c.*, p. 373) "consists in this, that he brought to light again a truth of Scripture which had been misapprehended for nearly fifteen centuries, viz. the doctrine of the Millennial kingdom." According to Bengel's chronological system (see Introd. § 11, b., IV.) the former of the two periods of a "Thousand Years" which he assumed, was to begin in year 1836;—Jurieu placed the date of the Millennium in 1785;—Stilling in 1816;—Sander in 1847;—an anonymous writer (quoted by Ebrard in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.*) between 1879 and 1887. In early times the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus[1] had shortened this period to 500 years;—certain anonymous writers referred to by Philastrius (*Hær.* 106) interpreting Isai. lxi. 2—ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν—according to "the Year-day" theory, placed its beginning in the year 365;—and St. Hippolytus, apparently following "the Gospel of Nicodemus" (see below, note[1]), placed it in A.D. 500.

Several modern Chiliasts (e. g. Rothe, Ebrard, P. Lange) interpret merely as a symbolic prophetical number; and will fix nothing more nearly as to the duration of the Kingdom of Glory.

The tendency to Millennarianism lies deep

[1] Ὅτι πρότερον οἱ δίκαιοι ἀναστήσονται, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ ζῶα, καὶ ἐπὶ χίλια ἔτη τρυφήσουσι καὶ ἑσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες, καὶ τεκνοῦντες, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡ καθολικὴ ἐπιστήσεται ἀνάστασις. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, ὅτι τῶν δικαίων προανάστασις οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ἡ χιλιονταετὴς τρυφή, οὐδὲ ὁ γάμος.—*ap.* Photium, *Codex* 232.

[1] That is to say 500 years *before* the end of the *sixth* Millennium from the Creation:—see Cooper's transl., c. iii. (xix.), p. 303. In this apocryphal "Gospel of Nicodemus" the Archangel Michael tells Seth that the Son of God is to come in 5500 years; and the High Priests tell Pilate that they had found this in a certain collection of writings (*Bibliotheca*) belonging to the first book of the Septuagint (*in libro primo de Septuaginta*). They add together the successive generations from the time "quo fecit Deus cælum et terram et primum hominem," and these together make up 5500 years: "Sicut invenimus scriptum in bibliotheca prænuntiasse Michael Archangelum ad tertium filium Adæ Seth in quinque et semis millibus annorum advenisse Christum Filium Dei." — *Evang. Nicodemi*, P. ii., c. xii. (xxviii.): cf. c. i. (xvii.), "*Descensus Christi ad Inferos*," Latine A (ed. Tischendorf, p. 391). Mr. B. H. Cooper (*Apocryphal Gospels*, Introd. p. c.) is inclined to believe that the Jews really possessed the collection (*Bibliotheca*) here spoken of.

in human nature. Man feels that he is himself weak; too utterly powerless in his own strength to win Paradise back again. It was the ingenuous creed of the heathen Greek or Roman that the restoration of the "Golden Age," when earth would be all fertility and bounty, and man all perfect and happy, could only proceed from the favour of the gods. It was the belief of the Jew that his expected Millennium of carnal enjoyment and worldly dominion was to be brought in by Messiah. Neither Jew nor Gentile dreamed that human efforts could remedy the evils of life. In our modern philosophy, however, 'Man,' or rather the abstraction 'Humanity,' is invested with the character of Godhead. Our new prophets speak of 'Man,' of his future, of his dignity. Civilization is merely the gradual evolution and successive attainment, so to speak, by mankind, of the Divine Nature. We are not indeed told precisely where this progress begins, or where it ends: but nevertheless, according to this doctrine earth alone remains for man; it is no longer his place of exile,—it is his only dwelling-place, his only country. To the ancient conceptions of a "Golden Age,"—or of an earthly Messianic reign,—or of a carnal triumph of Christianity,—has succeeded the kindred doctrine of the perfectibility of the human race. In short, worldly as well as religious speculation has its Millennial dream; inasmuch as it assumes that there is a goal of perfection to which mankind can attain within the present conditions of things. Many Chiliastic enthusiasts appeared during the great French Revolution, who thought that the ideal of earthly bliss would be at once attained by establishing the principle of the "rights of man"; and there is little doubt that the crudest Chiliasm lies at the root of the socialistic and communistic tendencies which are now menacing the very existence of European civilization.[1] For man has need of an ideal. If once he abandons the religion of Christ,—if heaven is a blank for him,—if there is no other life in which he believes or hopes,—he will transfer his ineradicable idea of the Infinite to the present life; and strive in imagination to enlarge the narrow horizon that bounds his earthly career. He will transport to this world his conception of supreme happiness; and imagine for himself a Paradise on earth, having no hope to find it elsewhere. It is thus, from the denial of religion, that the notion of 'progress' has arisen—that "Golden Age" which the prophets of these latter times, Condorcet, and Priestly, and Turgot, and Comte, so pompously announced in recent generations, and of which Mr. J. S. Mill has been the apostle in our own. Amid all the declamation of our modern philosophers—their great words as to spiritualism, and progress, and reason—one single thought, one single aspiration, may be clearly disengaged; and that, an ideal of material happiness, and of sensual enjoyment. Morality has no place, or at best but a very secondary place, in the new dogma, the great end of which is the amelioration of physical life. And this, in the mystical language of these thinkers, is "the New Apocalypse":—an Apocalypse, indeed, but one which has neither an Apostle of Christ for its author, nor the Spirit of God as the source of its Inspiration.

(On the subject of the Millennium, see Greswell's Essay in his *Exposition of the Parables*, vol. i. p. 142; Herzog's *Real-Encycl.*, *Art. Chiliasmus:* Martensen's *Christliche Dogmatik;* Trench's *Hulsean Lectures*, Lect. v.).

[1] See Martensen, *Dogmatik*, Engl. tr. p. 473.

CHAPTER XXI.

1 *A new heaven and a new earth.* 10 *The heavenly Jerusalem, with a full description thereof.* 23 *She needeth no sun, the glory of God is her light.* 24 *The kings of the earth bring their riches unto her.*

[Ver. 1 ἀπῆλθον. Ver. 2 *om.* ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης.—εἶδον is to be read after καινήν [Er., followed by A. V., here departs in both cases from his codex, and re-translates from the Vulg. *ego Ioannes vidi*].—ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ is to be read after ἐκ τοῦ οὐρ. Ver. 3 ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου (cf. ch. xix. 5; xx. 12).—[ℵ, A, 1 read λαοί,—B, P read λαός].—[A, P read, and ℵ, B, 1 omit αὐτῶν Θεός. Er. supplied the words from the Vulg. *eorum Deus*]. Ver. 4 *om.* ὁ Θεός.—ἐκ τῶν. —[A, P *om.* ὅτι]. Ver. 5 [A, B *om.* μοι].—πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθ. Ver. 6 γέγοναν [with ℵ°, A, Iren. —ℵ, B, P read γέγονα.—1 reads γέγονα τὸ, ᾱ καὶ τὸ, ῶ. After the Vulg., "*Factum est. Ego sum a* et ω," Er. reads γέγονε, ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ A καὶ τὸ Ω,—"Videtur Erasm. ad vg. conformasse," Tisch.].—[A reads ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ A,—ℵ, B, P, 1 omit εἰμι]. Ver. 7 ταῦτα —[A, 1 read αὐτῶν].—[Er., altering the αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι υἱοί of his codex, after the Vulg., *erit mihi filius*, inserted without authority the art. before υἱός]. Ver. 8 τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς.—ὁ θάν. ὁ δεύτ. Ver. 9 *om.* πρός με (inserted by Er. without any authority, and adopted in the A. V.).—ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά.—τῶν γεμόντων.—τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀρνίου. Ver. 10 *om.* τὴν μεγάλην. Ver. 11 *om.* 1st καί. Ver. 12 ἔχουσα τεῖχος.—ἔχουσα πυλῶνας. Ver. 13 καί is to be read before the

[c] Is. 65. 17. 2 Pet. 3. 13.

AND [c] I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.

2nd, 3rd, and 4th ἀπό.—[A reads βορρᾶ,—δυσμῶν,—νότου]. Ver. 14 ἔχων.—ἐπ' αὐτῶν.—δώδεκα ὀνόμ. Ver. 15 μέτρον, κάλαμον. Ver. 16 *om.* τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν.—[After ὅσον A reads καί].—[The words *et longitudo ejus tanta est quanta et latitudo* of the Vulg., which are wanting in 1, Er. rendered: καὶ τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτον ἔστιν (*sic*) ὁσοῦτον καὶ τὸ πλάτος]. Ver. 18 *om.* ἦν.—ὅμοιον. Ver. 19 *om.* καί. Ver. 20 σάρδιον. Ver. 21 διαυγής [so also 1: "I hold διαφανής," writes Delitzsch—"which has no authority and which is a usual epithet of ὕαλος,—to be *ein erasmisches Quid pro quo*"]. Ver. 23 *om.* ἐν. Ver. 24 καὶ περιπατήσουσι τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς [The A. V. here follows the reading adopted by Erasmus, who omitted to correct by aid of the Vulgate the confusion of his codex, in which the scribe had mixed up as follows the comment of Andreas on ver. 23, with the text of ver. 24:—The words of Andreas are, τὰ μὲν γὰρ σωζόμενα ἔθνη καθὼς εἴρηται, ἐν τῷ φωτὶ αὐτῆς περιπατήσουσιν. This is thus given by the scribe in 1: καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τῶν σωζομένων, τῷ φωτὶ αὐτῆς περιπατήσουσι· (with these words the *Comment.* on ver. 23 ends; and then follows the *text* of ver. 24, viz. καὶ περιπ. τὰ ἔθνη, διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ βασ. κ. τ. λ.). Luther's transl. "*Und die Heiden, da sie selig werden*" *u. s. w.*, rests on this same confusion in codex 1 between the comm. of Andreas, and the Sacred Text,—see Delitzsch *in loc.*].—*om.* καὶ τὴν τιμήν (see ver. 26). Ver. 27 κοινόν.— ὁ ποιῶν [A omits ὁ].]

CHAP. XXI.

THE GLORIES OF THE NEW JERUSALEM (xxi.–xxii. 5).

1. *And I saw*] For the connexion of this closing scene of the Seventh chief Vision of the Revelation Proper with the previous scenes see Note A at the end of this chapter.

a new heaven and a new earth:] In place of the earth and heaven which, according to ch. xx. 11, fled away from the face of Him that sat on the throne:—cf. Isai. lxv. 17; lxvi. 22; 2 Pet. iii. 13. It is disputed whether an absolutely "*new*" Creation is intended here, or "a renascence"—a reproduction as from a seed (1 Cor. xv. 42, 43)—of a new earth from the old. In support of the latter opinion, St. Paul's words (1 Cor. vii. 31) are quoted, where he says that, not "*this world*," but "*the fashion* (σχῆμα) *of this world passeth away*" (St. Jerome writes: "figura præterit, non substantia"). We are reminded also of the "*Regeneration*" which Christ spoke of (Matt. xix. 28); and writers dwell upon the creation of the old world out of "*water*," and the production of the new from the conflagration of the old—2 Pet. iii. 5–12; cf. Gen. i. 2.

for the first heaven and the first earth **are** *passed away;*] (See *vv. ll.*). The result of the power revealed in ch. xx. 11:—cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 10; 2 Cor. v. 17. "*Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God;*" therefore, when "*the natural body*" "*is raised a spiritual body*" (1 Cor. xv. 44, 50), a new world is necessary for its abode.

and the sea is no more.] As in ver. 4, "*the* **first** *things are passed away.*" The interpretations given to these words are various: (1) The literal,—"**the sea**" exists no longer, because the "*new earth*" has arisen out of fire (Beda, De Wette, Ebrard, Alf., Bisping);—(2) The former "*sea*" has passed away like the former "*earth*," but this does not preclude a "*new*" sea, any more than a "*new*" earth (Düsterd.);—(3) "**The sea**" of the nations, the wicked restless world, cf. ch. xx. 13, and see ch. xvii. 15; Isai. lvii. 20 (St. Augustine, Hengst., Words.). [See on ver. 13 what St. Augustine says of "the *sea* giving up its dead." Having observed, "De Mari novo aliquid me uspiam legisse, non recolo,"—he adds that ch. iv. 6 does not refer to this scene; and he concludes: "Non erit hoc seculum vita mortalium turbulentum, quod Maris nomine figuravit," c. 15];—(4) Because in Paradise there was no *sea*, and here all is Paradise (Züllig); and so, in substance, Volkmar, and Renan who adds a 'sterilization of part of the earth,'—the "Abyss" or domain of Satan, ch. xi. 7; xiii. 1 (p. 449);—(5) Because no longer required to separate and keep apart divisions of the human race (Andreas, Gerlach);—(6) The old *heaven* and *earth* of the former *Israel* having passed away, the "*Sea*," the emblem of the *Gentiles* (Ecclus. xxxix. 23), is no more (I. Williams).

The interpretation of St. Augustine (No. 3) is that which best suits the symbolism of this Book.

Auberlen notes:—Not under the Millennial Kingdom is the end of the development of God's Kingdom. During the Church-historical era, nature and history pursue their wonted, unspiritual course. During the Millennial Kingdom the life of Christ becomes manifest and visible (Col. iii. 3, 4); penetrating the whole world of history—government, civilization, art. Finally, after the Millennium, this life of Christ becomes

2 And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

3 And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God *is* with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be

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also the power which transfigures nature, in the time of the "*New Heaven*" and "*The new Earth.*" In all this process, Israel is once more the head of humanity; and this is why Prophets, intent on the future of the people of the Old Covenant, pass over the Church-historical period—which they only notice as the time of Israel's Dispersion among the Gentiles (p. 358).

2. *And* **I saw** *the holy city,*] Omit "*John*"—see *vv. ll.* The "*Holy City*" is the Church Triumphant, including, like the "*Heaven*" and the "*Earth*" (ver. 1), the community consisting of its inhabitants who have in like manner become "*new.*" The Church is represented as "*a City*" in Matt. v. 14; Heb. xi. 10, 16; xiii. 14. The epithet "*Holy*" is now supplied in addition to the reference in ch. iii. 12—cf. ver. 10; ch. xi. 2; xxii. 19; Matt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53; Isai. lii. 1.

new Jerusalem,] Or, **Jerusalem coming down new.** As the Seer beheld in the renovated world "*a new heaven and a new earth*" (ver. 1), he now beholds in the glorified Church a "*new Jerusalem.*" As the Theocracy, with its system of worship and its Sanctuary, had its type in "the City of the Living God" (Heb. viii. 5; ix. 23; xii. 22), so St. Paul speaks of the earthly Jerusalem in contrast to the heavenly (Gal. iv. 26; Phil. iii. 20).

Tertullian writes: "Hanc et Ezechiel novit et Apostolus Joannes vidit." (*Adv. Marc.* iii. 24). See the note on ch. iii. 12.

coming down **out of heaven from God,**] (See *vv. ll.*). Not on the old, but on the "*new earth,*" and therefore not of this material Creation: the language of ch. iii. 12 is repeated;—see also, below, ver. 10. This conception of the heavenly Jerusalem, familiar to St. Paul and St. John, occurs also in Jewish theology, where the thought of the City "*coming down out of heaven,*" and of a world made new, is likewise to be met with. [Thus we read in *Sohar* Gen. f. 69, c. 271, "R. Jeremias dixit: Deus S. B. innovabit mundum suum, et ædificabit Hierosolymam, ut ipsam descendere faciat in medium sui de cœlo, ita ut nunquam destruatur" (see Wetst. on Gal. iv. 26; Schöttgen, *Diss. de Hieros. Cœl.*, Hor. Hebr. i. 1205)]. The "*new Jerusalem*" comes "*down out of heaven,*" because the Church is already there in triumph, although here below it suffers and struggles. St. Paul speaks of "*the Jerusalem which is above*" as "our *Mother*" (Gal. iv. 26).

"This is the City of God," notes Burger, "which the pious Fathers of old waited for, and which will not pass away from them,—Heb. xi. 10, 16."

A threefold Jerusalem, notes Hengst., is peculiar to the N. Test.:—(1) The heavenly community of the righteous (ch. xiv. 1–5);—(2) The Church in her militant state (ch. xi. 2; xx. 9);—(3) The New Jerusalem on the renovated earth, as here; after whose descent from heaven, the two other forms are seen no more. In this *third* form Jerusalem combines the heavenly character of the *first* and the earthly existence of the *second.* The City, notes Bengel, comes down from God; and still His throne is in it, and He Himself is with men therein (ver. 3; ch. xxii. 3). The New Heaven has inclined to the New Earth; the New Jerusalem is the bond of union. As in Matt. v. 34, 35, the symbolical City has come between.

prepared as a bride] As in ch. xix. 7; where see the note and the references:—cf. ch. xxii. 17; Isai. lxi. 10–lxii. 5. The Holy City and the Bride are now contrasted with Babylon and the Harlot.

adorned for her husband.] Notwithstanding the parallelism of this passage to ch. xix. 7, Millennarians make a distinction. They place the marriage of the Lamb before the Millennium, although here, after the Milennium, the "*Bride*" is so called for the first time in this Book. Ebrard explains this by saying that the "*Bride*" united to her "*Husband*" had been in heaven during the "Thousand years," and now descends with Him to earth:—accordingly she is "adorned for her *Husband*," not for the *Bridegroom*; and in ver. 9 she is styled both *Bride* and *Wife.* Bisping explains that the Millennial reign was the time of the Marriage Feast; and that it is only now that the Lord brings home His Bride. Even Bengel explains ch. xix. 7, "*His Wife hath made herself ready,*" by "*hath begun to make* herself ready" ("paravit se, *i.e.*, cœpit parare se. De *nuptiis istis* vide c. xxi. 2, 9.")

It is surely enough in reply to those who place the union of Christ with His Church before the Millennium, to say that, after the Millennium is over, the Church is here described as descending from heaven "*as a Bride adorned for her husband.*" "It is rather awkward," writes Dr. Brown (*l.c.*, p. 60), "to suppose a bridal preparation and a presentation of the parties to each other, a 'Thousand Years' after the union has been consummated."

his people, and God himself shall be with them, *and be* their God.

[d] ch. 7. 17. 4 [d] And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.

5 And he that sat upon the throne said, [e] Behold, I make all things new. [e] 2 Cor. 5. 17.

THE RESULTS OF THE JUDGMENT (3-8).

3. *And I heard*] A new Vision—*vv.* 3-8 forming an interlude, as it were, between ver. 2 and ver. 9; and exhibiting the results of the final Judgment (ch. xx. 11), as set forth in Matt. xxv. 34, 41.

In ver. 9 the narrative of ver. 2 is resumed.

a great voice out of **the throne** *saying,*] As in ch. xix. 5; cf. ch. xx. 12:—see *vv. ll.* Compare the voice "*in the midst of the Four Living Beings*" (ch. vi. 6) who are "*round about the throne*" (ch. iv. 6). Hengst. reads "*out of heaven*," referring to ch. xi. 15; xii. 10; xiv. 2; xv. 2-4; xix. 1, 6.

Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men,] His actual dwelling, the Heavenly Jerusalem, not the symbol merely of this, as in the wilderness, Lev. xxvi. 11, 12; see also Ezek. xxxvii. 27, 28. Not *a* "Tabernacle," notes Burger, but *the* "Tabernacle" of God; the true contrast to the shadow of heavenly things—the "Tabernacle" of the Covenant and the Temple under the Jewish Law. Not "*men*" but "**the men**," *i. e.*, redeemed and glorified humanity.

and he **shall dwell** *with them,*] Gr. **make his tabernacle**,—see ch. vii. 15; John i. 14; Ex. xxix. 45. The fact of God's dwelling with His people, first manifested by the Incarnation, is now accomplished (see ch. vii. 15-17). This fact supplies the best exposition of the present Vision (cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 28; xliii. 7).

How God dwelt with His people of old is described in Ex. xl. 34-38.

and they shall be his people,] This is the frequent subject of Prophecy, e.g. Jer. xxiv. 7; xxxi. 1; Ezek. xxxvii. 27; Zech. viii. 8. Bisping considers the plural "an unhappy adaptation to the plural-subject (αὐτοί), since God, as He can have but one kingdom, so He can have but one people." The evidence however of MSS. in favour of the plural, "**peoples**" greatly preponderates,—see *vv. ll.*

and God himself shall be with them,] Cf. the name "Immanuel," "God with us"—Matt. i. 23; Isai. vii. 14.

[*and be*] *their God:*] (For the authorities which omit these words, see *vv. ll.*). It is thus implied that the contrast between the Church and the world has now ceased. On this promise see Jer. xxx. 22; xxxi. 33; Ezek. xi. 20.

4. **and he** *shall wipe away* **every tear** *from their eyes;*] (See *vv. ll.*). Note the verbal agreement with ch. vii. 17; and cf. Isai. xxv. 8; lxv. 19.

and death shall be no more;] See ch. xx. 14.

Death, as it had come into the world through sin (Gen. ii. 17; Rom. v. 12), must cease when the victory over sin shall have been won,—1 Cor. xv. 54.

neither shall there be mourning, *nor crying,* **nor pain, any more:**] Isai. xxxv. 10; li. 11.

the first things *are passed away.*] (Or "**for the first things**,"—see *vv. ll.*). As told in ver. 1. On this fact depends the great change implied in *vv.* 1, 5:—evil has now ceased; and there is unimpeded union with God.

Martensen (*Christian Dogmatics*, § 289, Engl. tr.) compares *vv.* 1-4 with 1 Cor. xv. 24-28, and observes, that it is by no means implied that the *mediatorial* office of Christ is at an end: "All communications of blessing from the Father to His creatures pass through the Son, and now it is for the first time, in the full sense of the words, true that Christ is present in all Creation, for He now fills all with His own fulness" (p. 484).

5. *And he* **that sitteth on** *the throne said,*] Christ, as in ch. xx. 11:—even in His state of humiliation the Lord Jesus announced, "*Then shall the Son of Man sit upon the throne of His glory*" (Matt. xxv. 31). On the other hand *vv.* 6, 7, are adduced in proof that it must be God the Father, as in ch. iv. 3; v. 1, 7. The distinction need not be pressed, see 1 Cor. xv. 28. "The Commission of the Son is perfected; His work has attained its object; the scene of that work—the old world of sin and of death—has disappeared; in its stead is the New Creation, in which GOD is All in All" (Burger).

Behold, I make all things new.] He declares that to be His work which St. John had already beheld in ver. 1; and to which He Himself had, when on earth, referred as the "*Regeneration*" (Matt. xix. 28). All things had been originally "*made by Him*" (John i. 1); and now He makes "*all things New.*" On the earthly aspect of the "*New Creation*," see 2 Cor. v. 17; and on Christ as the Source of the "*New Creation*," see

And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful.

6 And he said unto me, It is done. [f] I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. [g] I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely.

7 He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.

[f] ch. 1. 8. & 22. 13.
[g] Is. 55. 1.

Lee on *Inspiration*, Lect. iii. pp. 120–130, 4th ed.

According to Rom. viii. 18–25 we have here expressed the last and highest object of all Christian hope.

And he saith,] Omit "*unto me*"—see *vv. ll.*

Write:] For the third time in this Book the Seer receives the special command to "*write*" certain words, see ch. xiv. 13; xix. 9:—cf. on ch. i. 11. Who is the speaker here? The same indefiniteness as to the speaker, noticed on ch. i. 1, 10, appears in this place. The speaker may be regarded as the presiding Angel of the entire series of Visions,—see ch. xxii. 6, 16.

In ch. x. 4; xiv. 13, the words proceed from a voice "*from heaven*;" in ch. xix. 9 we read as here. Note also the present tense, **saith**, λέγει,—εἶπεν being used immediately before and immediately after in ver. 6.

for these words are **faithful and true.**] (See *vv. ll.*). We may also render (ὅτι *recitativum*): **Write, "These words are faithful and true:"**—cf. ch. iii. 17, &c.; Matt. ii. 23; John i. 20; 1 John iv. 20.

6. *And he said unto me,*] The speaker is once more "*He that sitteth on the throne*;" see on ver. 5.

All is come to pass.] (See *vv. ll.*). Gr. **They are done**, or **They are come to pass**, or **They are accomplished**—as the interpreter of St. Irenæus (v. 25, p. 336) read the text—"*Et dixit mihi, Facta* (cf. ch. xvi. 17, where the same verb, γέγονεν, is in the singular). "The Divine promises and judgments" (Words.);—"All things are become new" (Bisping);—"The Divine Decrees" (Ebrard);—"The words just described as **faithful and true**" (Burger).

The expression "**All is come to pass**" places the promise and the menace which follows (see ver. 8) in connexion with the whole Vision:—What the Seer has beheld is now accomplished; the old world has passed away; the New Earth has come into being.

The reading of ℵ, B, P, 1 (γέγονα ἐγὼ τὸ **A** καὶ τὸ Ω) "I am **become** the Alpha," &c.—although the evidence for it is not weak—is opposed not only to St. John's usage, see ch. i. 8 (the verb is wanting in ch. xxii. 13), and to sound theology (for Christ cannot *become* what He has ever been), but renders the sense absurd: one cannot *become* the "*Alpha*," the "*beginning*," the "*first*" (ch. i. 8, 17; ii. 8; iii. 14; xxii. 13), of *all* things. Were the speaker God the Father, this inference would be, if possible, stronger.

Twice, in this Book, notes Bengel, is it said "*It is done*,"—at the completion of the wrath of God, ch. xvi. 17; and here, at the making of "*all things new*." Three times, notes Stier (on John xix. 30, vol. viii. p. 24, Engl. tr.), do we read in the Bible of the *repose* of God in Christ,—at the beginning, Gen. i. 31; in the "*It is finished*" of John xix. 30; and here, in the final "**All is come to pass.**"

I am **the** *Alpha and* **the** *Omega,*] See ch. i. 8; xxii. 13.

the beginning and the end.] This translation, as it were, of the preceding words is also given in ch. xxii. 13, where the third equivalent, "*the first and the last*," also occurs:—see on ch. i. 8.

I will give] The pronoun repeated,—"*I* am the Alpha," "*I* will give;"—Christ speaks throughout. The ideas here conjoined are expressed separately in ch. xxii. 13, 17.

unto him that is athirst] The thought is taken from Isai. lv. 1; see ch. xxii. 17, and John vii. 37.

of the fountain of the water of life freely.] Cf. Isai. xii. 3; John iv. 10, 14. "*Living water*" (used in its natural sense in the Old Test., e.g. Gen. xxvi. 19) is not necessarily the equivalent of "*the water of life*," in the highest and spiritual sense of the words;—but it is so in St. John iv. 10, as coming from Him in whom is the absolute life.—Trench, *Studies in the Gospels*, p. 94.

In ch. vii. 17 (as in Isai. xlix. 10) we read of "*fountains* of waters of life," which are now united into *one* stream proceeding from the Throne—see ch. xxii. 1.

7. *He that overcometh*] Here only, since the Seven Epistles (cf. ch. ii. 7, 11, &c.), do we find the stimulating promise "*to him that overcometh*" (cf. ch. xii. 11)—in like manner uttered by Christ, see on ver. 5.

shall inherit **these things**;] (See *vv. ll.*). Here only in St. John's writings do we read of the everlasting *inheritance*—the constant theme of Evangelical promise (Matt. v. 5; xix. 29; xxv. 34; Rom. iv. 13; 1 Cor. vi. 9; &c.). This inheritance imports citizenship in the Heavenly Jerusalem (ch. iii. 12);—all the glory of the City of God (ver. 11);—the water

8 But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.

9 And there came unto me one of the seven angels which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues,

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of life from the inexhaustible fountain (ch. xxii. 17);—"*all things*" that have been created anew (*vv.* 1, 5).

and I will be his God,] The Seer goes back once more, as in ver. 3, to the first great promise to the Church at its typical "beginning" (Ex. xx. 2; Lev. xxvi. 12),—a promise fulfilled only in Him who is Immanuel, "*God with us*:" cf. 2 Sam. vii. 24.

and he shall be my son.] These words of Christ point to that perfect equality of the Son with the Father, when GOD shall be all in all (1 Cor. xv. 28). Compare too Christ's title, "*The Everlasting Father*" (Isai. ix. 6):—see on ver. 5.

The interpretation which makes the speaker to be God the Father relies upon 2 Sam. vii. 14; Heb. i. 5; ii. 10—πολλοὺς υἱούς (see e.g. Ebrard).

"What 2 Sam. vii. 14 promised to the house of David, is fulfilled, through David's Son, for all members of that new humanity which dwells in the Tabernacle of David, Amos ix. 11, 12" (Burger).

8. *But* **for the** *fearful,*] (See *vv. ll.*). As contrasted with those "*that overcome*" in ver. 7:—cf. those who "*draw back,*" Heb. x. 38. Hengst. refers to lack of faith, as in Matt. viii. 26; but this thought is expressly added in the next epithet.

and unbelieving,] "Not apostates from Christ," notes Düsterd., "but the dwellers on earth who are hostile to Christianity (ch. xiii. 8; xvi. 2, 21), to whom (cf. ch. ix. 21) the following epithets apply." Some (e.g. Züllig, Words.) read after "*unbelieving,*" the words "**and sinners**"—a reading, however, which has for its authority the single Uncial B.

and abominable,] (The Greek text has not the article). Gr. **defiled with abominations,** viz., those referred to in ch. xvii. 4; cf. ver. 27,—probably the "*dogs*" of ch. xxii. 15; cf. 1 Tim. i. 10.

We may note how the language of the Law (e.g. Lev. vii. 21) is here employed to signify those who are shut out from the City of God. The ancient Jerusalem is the divinely appointed symbol throughout.

and murderers, and **fornicators,**] On this verse compare 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. "The characters named form four pairs—the *four*, the 'signature' of the earth, to which belong these different tendencies of those who live in the world, Col. ii. 20" (Hengst.).

and sorcerers, and idolaters,] Cf. ch. ix. 21; xviii. 23; 1 John v. 21:—"*Sorcerers*" include all who took part in the magical arts of the heathen: the reference to "*idolaters*" naturally follows,—cf. Gal. v. 20.

and all liars,] Note the threefold reference to this sin—here; in ver. 27; and *in* ch. xxii. 15; cf. ch. ii. 2. In illustration of St. John's manner, compare also John viii. 44; xviii. 37.

On this verse compare ch. xxii. 15. It takes up the scene described in Matt. xxv. 41–46.

their part [shall be] in *the lake* **that** *burneth with fire and brimstone;*] (On the phrase "**their part shall be,**" see on ch. xx. 6). This locality—so often described—is referred to simply in ch. xxii. 15, as being "*without.*" The Apocalypse attesting "*The wrath of the Lamb*" (ch. vi. 16), now returns to the judicial severity of the Old Test.:—see ch. xiv. 11; xix. 3; Isai. xxxiv. 10; lxvi. 24; Dan. vii. 11.

which is the second death.] See ch. ii. 11; xx. 6, 14. This, the Lord's last word from the Throne, is nevertheless followed by the sublime appeal in ch. xxii. 17—"*The Spirit and the Bride say,* COME;" and by the glorious close—"**The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all**" (ch. xxii. 21).

The Seer having now shewn us, under its two aspects in *vv.* 3–7 and in ver. 8, the scene introduced in ch. xx. 11, the narrative of ver. 2 is resumed.

The New Jerusalem (9, 10).

This passage is a typical Vision corresponding to the Vision of Babylon, in ch. xvii.:—*Here* one of the Seven Angels of Judgment shows the Seer the Bride (cf. Eph. v. 27); *there* one of the same Vial-Angels shows him the Harlot,—see on ch. xvii. 1 and ch. xvi. 21. Hitherto these Angels had been the executioners of the Divine wrath (ch. xvi.); their work is now completed in a Vision of Divine Love.

9. *And there* **came one** *of the seven angels*] Omit "*unto me.*" Gr. **one from among** (see *vv. ll.*); cf. on ch. vii. 11.

who *had the seven vials,*] See on ch. xvii. 1. This second and last appearance of one of the Vial-Angels indicates that the Visions contained in ch. xvii. 1–ch. xxii. 5 form the continuation of the Vial-Visions.

and talked with me, saying, Come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.

10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God,

11 Having the glory of God: and her light *was* like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal;

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who were laden with *the seven last plagues;*] Gr. **who were full of.** The true reading (see *vv. ll.*) places the participle in concord with "*Angels.*" (T. R. reads *φιάλας τὰς γεμούσας*).

and he spake *with me, saying, Come hither,*] Cf. ch. iv. 1.

I will shew thee] This ninth verse follows ch. xvii. 1, almost *verbatim*, down to this point.

the bride, **the wife of the Lamb.**] (See *vv. ll.*).

In ch. xvii. 1 the Harlot is the false Bride, corresponding to the false Lamb of ch. xiii. 11.

On *vv.* 9–27 Züllig notes: "The interpreting Angel shows the Seer the new City of God,—its appearance as a whole (*vv.* 10, 11);—its walls with their gates and foundations (*vv.* 12–14);—its measurements (*vv.* 15–17);—its special features also,—such as its magnificence (*vv.* 18–21), its unique character (*vv.* 22, 23), the life-movement within it (*vv.* 24–27)."

10. *in the Spirit*] As in ch. xvii. 3;—the Seer is "*carried away*," but not "*into a wilderness.*"

to a mountain great and high,] St. John beholds the City *there*,—but not *from thence*: see Isai. ii. 2.

and shewed me **the holy city Jerusalem,**] (Omit "*the great*,"—see *vv. ll.*) So in ver. 2; ch. xi. 2; xxii. 19. On the erroneous reading here, the "*Great City*," Words. correctly notes: "That phrase is restricted in the Apocalypse to the mystical Babylon:—see ch. xi. 8; xviii. 10, 16." Bengel comments: The Angel said he would show John the "*Bride*," and now he shows him a "*City;*" he had said (ch. xvii. 1) he would show him the great "*Harlot*," and he showed him "*Babylon.*" And again: Taken apart to the "*Wilderness*" (ch. xvii. 3), the Seer beheld a City, the Harlot; here, to the "*Mountain*," he sees a City, the Bride. It was to the "*Wilderness*" that the Apostolic "*Woman*" had fled (ch. xii. 6), and where the Harlot was found; and then we afterwards read of the "*Mountain*" (cf. Heb. xii. 22). "So was it with Israel of old."—I. Williams (p. 452).

coming down *out of heaven from God,*] Observe **coming down,**—not already *descended:*—compare ver. 2, and ch. iii. 12. Winer points out how the construction henceforth frequently changes independently of the governing verb "*shewed*" [*καταβαίνουσαν* agreeing regularly with *τὴν πόλιν*,—then *ὁ φωστὴρ* (ver. 11) inserted independently,—then (ver. 12), reverting to *πόλις*, a new clause begins with *ἔχουσα*].(§ 59. 11)—cf. ch. i. 15.

THE HOLY CITY (11–ch. xxii. 5).

Here begins the description of the City, following Ezek. xlviii. 30–35. In *vv.* 11–23 are described the structure and plan;—in *vv.* 24–27 what takes place within its walls;—in ch. xxii. 1–5 the felicity of the life within it.

11. *having the glory of God:*] Not a special, divinely *caused*, splendour, but the abiding Presence, the Shekinah (Ex. xl. 34; Num. ix. 15–23; 1 Kings viii. 11)—see ver. 23; ch. xxii. 5; cf. xv. 8; John xii. 41; Acts xxvi. 13; 2 Chron. v. 14; Isai. xxiv. 23; lx. 1. Christ Himself has said: "*The glory which thou gavest me, I have given them*" (John xvii. 22)

her light] (Omit "*and*," see *vv. ll.*). Gr. **luminary** (*ὁ φωστήρ*), 'the light of the City;' 'that which gives her light,' 'that whereby she is illuminated'—as by the sun and moon, see Gen. i. 14 (LXX.); of which the source was "the glory of God,"—see Ezek. xliii. 2:—and so most expositors. The distinction is that between the "*glory*" which represents the Presence of Jehovah, and the derived "*light*," which is Messiah,—**the lamp** (*ὁ λύχνος*) **thereof is the Lamb**" (ver 23); cf. Isai. lx. 19. This word "*light*" (*φωστήρ*, which occurs elsewhere in the New Test. only in Phil. ii. 15—cf. John ix. 5) Bengel takes in the sense of "an opening for light," "a window:" so also Bleek.

See, on ver. 10, Winer's remark as to the construction of this passage.

[*was*] *like unto a stone most precious,* **as it were** *a jasper stone,*] For the *jasper*, see on ch. iv. 3.

clear as crystal:] See on ch. iv. 6:—Of a starry, diamond-like effulgence (*κρυσταλλίζοντι*); cf. "stellatus iaspide"—*Æn.* iv. 261. Mr. King, having observed that the Emerald "appears to be generated from the Jasper," adds: "This explains the meaning of

12 And had a wall great and high, *ana* had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are *the names* of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel:

13 On the east three gates; on the north three gates; on the south

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the comparison of the gem illuminating the New Jerusalem to 'a most precious stone': *i.e.*, one combining the Jasper's green, with the Crystal's lustre—an exact description of the true Emerald."—*Nat. Hist. of Precious Stones*, p. 281.

This description preserves the identity with Him that sat on the Throne, round which was a rainbow "like *an Emerald* to look upon" (ch. iv. 3).

12. **having a** *wall great and high;*] (Omit' "*and*" at the beginning of the verse—see *vv. ll.*). The security is now represented of the New Jerusalem against the foes who in the latter days are to assail the Church,—see ch. xx. 9. Gog and Magog had of old time come up against those that dwelt "*without walls*" —Ezek. xxxviii. 11. By the "*wall*," Beda understands the Lord protecting His Church (Isai. xxvi. 1; Zech. ii.5). This wall is of *jasper* (ver. 18), and so is its first foundation (ver. 19), and so (ver. 11) is the similitude of the glory of God.

having *twelve gates,*] (See *vv. ll.*; and for the constr. Winer's note, quoted on ver. 10). The word rendered "*gates*," Gr. **portals**, means in the *singular* (see Matt. xxvi. 71; Luke xvi. 20; Acts x. 17; xii. 13, 14) the "**portal**" of a palace, or house;—cf. "the door of the *gate*," Acts xii. 13. In the *plural* it means the "**portal**" of a city—as in this chapter *ten* times, and in Acts xiv. 13. Here the expression symbolizes how the citizens enter the New Jerusalem—see ch. xxii. 14. The number of gates denotes the freedom of access to the City.

and at the gates twelve angels;] Representing the one household of God, the Church of Angels and men. Or, as I. Williams notes (p. 454), "according to the symbolism of the Apocalypse, as we had before the Angels of the Seven Churches—*Angelic watchers* corresponding with the sacred 'keepers of the door' of the Temple." Or spirits ministering to the saved—cf. Heb. i. 14; Ps. xci. 11; Matt. xviii. 10; Luke xvi. 22. Some refer to Isai. lxii. 6; cf. Gen. iii. 24—denoting that everything unworthy and impure is to be excluded from the City.

It is rather beneath the character of this imagery to conclude (with Düsterd., and Alf.) that the Angels here spoken of serve merely "for the adornment of the City after the idea of a beautiful fortress."

and names written thereon,] Compare the engraving of "the names of the children of Israel"—Ex. xxviii. 9, 29; xxxix. 14. We are to understand here the emblem of the City of the people of God.

which are [the names] of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel:] The order of the Tribes as adopted by St. John in ch. vii. is doubtless followed here—see on ch. vii. 5. See Ezek. xlviii. 31: "The gates of the City shall be after the names of the Tribes of Israel." "*Twelve*," the product of the Divine number *Three*, and the world-number *Four*, is the symbolic number, under both Covenants, of the Church—of the world penetrated by the Divine influence. As such it occurs under the Old Covenant in the Twelve Tribes; under the New, in the Twelve Apostles:—see Auberlen, p. 355; and Introd. § 11 (a). Bähr (*Symbolik*, i., s. 208) notes that Jerusalem, as Josephus (*B. J.* v. 4, 2) describes it, was on *four* hills, with *three* gates on each side, as described in ver. 13. Bähr also refers to the "*Camp*" described in Num. ii., which represented Israel symbolically as a people that had God in its midst. So it is, in like manner, here. Each "*Gate*" bears the name of one of the TwelveTribes. It is thus denoted that the Church made perfect is no confused multitude, but an organized Body, "each member having its special vocation and peculiar glory" (Ebrard).

13. *on the east* [**were**] *three gates;*] "*Gates*" being in the nom. case, it is simpler to supply the verb substantive, as in ver. 11, than to take the construction to be one pointing to the earlier clause, as in ch. iv. 1. According to Ezekiel (xlviii. 32) the names of the Tribes corresponding to the eastern gates are Joseph, Benjamin, Dan (note, that Manasseh is substituted by St. John for Dan, in ch. vii. 6);—according to the encampment in Num. ii. 3–7, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, had each "the standard of their camps," "on the east side." In Ezekiel the order is, North, East, South, West;—in Numbers, East, South, West, North.

and *on the north three gates;*] ("**and**" is to be added, see *vv. ll.*). The Gates of Reuben, Judah, Levi, in Ezek. xlviii. 31;—the standards of Dan, Asher, Naphtali, in Num. ii. 25–29.

and *on the south three gates;*] (See *vv. ll.*). Of Simeon, Issachar, Zebulun, in Ezek. xlviii. 33;—of Reuben, Simeon, Gad, in Num. ii. 10–14.

three gates; and on the west three gates.

14 And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

and on the west three gates.] (The A. V. here supplies "*and*," which is not in the *Textus Receptus*, see *vv. ll.*). Of Gad, Asher, Naphtali, in Ezek. xlviii. 34;—of Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin, in Num. ii. 18–22 (cf. Zech. xiv. 10).

See Note B at the end of this chapter.

On this arrangement, according to the four quarters of heaven, see Luke xiii. 29. We have here "the *signature* of Nature, penetrated, glorified, hallowed, by what is heavenly" (Ebrard). In these four quarters Vitringa and Hengst. see an emblem of "the Ecumenical character of the New Jerusalem."

14. *And the wall of the city had twelve foundations,*] (See *vv. ll.*). Gr. **having**—the masc. part., nom. case, in irregular concord. See Heb. xi. 10, "*the City which hath* **the** *foundations.*"

De Wette explains thus:—Every twelfth part of the walls, between the several gates, had a foundation stone stretching along the whole length, and exposed to view, see ver. 19; and thus the names which were inscribed were visible:—so Düsterd., Words., Alf., &c. Four of these, notes Düsterd., are *corner-stones*, joining the *third* gate on one side, to the *first* gate on the next. It is far more consistent, however, with the grandeur of the whole description to understand that the wall rests on a basis of twelve *courses* of stones; each course encompassing the entire city, and constituting one foundation: see ver. 19.

The material of the whole wall is Jasper, of the whole City Gold (ver. 18).

and on them twelve names] See *vv. ll.* Cf. the "*Twelve Stars*," ch. xii. 1; and also the Twelve standards of the Tribes planted around the Tabernacle, Num. ii.;—see on ver. 13.

of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.] See Eph. ii. 20; a passage which is itself based on Matt. xvi. 18:—cf. 1 Tim. iii. 15. No one Apostle alone supports the City of God —Christ Himself is the One Foundation, 1 Cor. iii. 11:—see also 1 Pet. ii. 4–6, which passage carries out this imagery.

On the Foundations of the New Jerusalem are inscribed the names of the Heads of the Church in the days of the "*Regeneration*"—Matt. xix. 28; cf. Luke xxii. 30. The symbolical number Twelve is all that is insisted upon here; and thus it is needless to discuss whether the twelfth Apostle is Matthias (Acts i. 26), or, as Hengst. insists, St. Paul. See Note A on ch. iii. 19 where the opposition alleged to exist between St. John and St. Paul is discussed. This notion is defended by a reference to the present verse. It is argued that the number Twelve excludes St. Paul. Bengel has acutely noted that St. Paul, as Apostle of *the Gentiles* could not have been included here; and he justly refers to Matt. xix. 28.

Rationalists, however, insist upon a designed exclusion of St. Paul,—e.g. Volkmar (quoted on ch. ii. 2; xiii. 11), who argues that the Apostle of the Gentiles has expressly referred in Eph. ii. 19–22 to this passage of the Apocalypse; and, in order to include himself, speaks merely of "the foundation of *the Apostles*"—not "the *Twelve* Apostles." So Renan: "The author of the Apocalypse on the morrow of the death of the Apostles, is, of all the Jewish Christians, filled with the greatest hatred against Paul" (*Saint Paul*, p. 367). Again:—"Note above all Rev. xxi. 14, which excludes Paul from the number of the Apostles."—*L'Antechrist*, p. 34. And to the same effect B. Aubé, *Hist. des Persecutions de l'Église*, p. 125.

This inference is a favourite one with "advanced critics" of modern times. The whole object, however, of the imagery here is to preserve the unity of the description. Jerusalem, representing the Twelve Tribes, and having Twelve Gates, *could* not be represented as resting on *thirteen foundations*. Again:—Lücke, Ewald, Bleek, and others argue from this verse that the author of the Apocalypse could not himself have been an Apostle,—as thus to style himself "a *Foundation*" would be inconsistent with Apostolic modesty, and consequently that he was not the Apostle John:—see Introd. § 6, (1). The symbolical character of this whole description, however, sets aside all reference to individuals, and lies apart from every conclusion based upon the meaning of the words interpreted literally.

On this verse, combined with Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30, Mr. Elliott founds the conclusion that when Christ shall make all things new (ver. 5), and this earth is restored to paradisaical blessedness, the nationality of Israel is to be restored; and that the chosen People, while inhabiting Palestine in flesh and blood, will be under the rule of the Twelve glorified Apostles—see *Hor. Apoc.* iv. p. 167. In this conclusion, writes Dr. Brown (*l. c.*, p. 448), Mr. Elliott stands alone.

15 And he that talked with me had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

16 And the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand fur-

15. *And he* **that spake with** *me had* **for a measure**] On the added words **for a measure**, see *vv. ll.*

a golden reed to measure the city,] See ch. xi. 1; Ezek. xl. 3, 5, &c.; xlii. 15, &c. The object of this act of measuring, as in Ezek. xl. 4, is to fix the attention of the Seer. The usual note is—"The reed is of gold because the City is Divine, and an Angel measures it"—see on ver. 17. The details which follow are all to be understood spiritually.

["Neque enim putandum est secundum Judaicas fabulas Deum auro et gemmis ædificaturum Jerusalem, et non vivis lapidibus," &c.—St. Jerome, *Comm. in Aggæum*, ii. 7-9.]

16. *And the city lieth foursquare*,] The Greek term signifies any figure in form quadrangular (ver. 13); here, as the sequel shows, the sides are at right angles and equal,—see Ezek. xlviii. 16, 20. The word rendered "*foursquare*," is that used in heathen philosophy to denote the perfection of man (e. g. τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψογοῦ, cf. Arist., *Eth.* i. 10; *Rhet.* iii. 11); and so Simonides in the *Protagoras* of Plato designates the perfect man.

We have here, notes I. Williams, "The square of perfection . . . but the four cherubic forms are not here, for there is no Temple; nor the Four Living Creatures, representing His manifestation in the visible Creation; but the living stones, resplendent each with the Light of the Lamb."—p. 457.

and the length **thereof is as great** *as the breadth*:] (For the text here see *vv. ll.*). That is to say, 12,000 furlongs. In Ezek. xlviii. 16,—the original of the symbolism here,—the length of each side is given separately. De Wette, however, considers that the measure of 12,000 *furlongs*, or *stadii*, refers merely to these two dimensions,—to twice the length and twice the breadth.

and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs:] *I. e.*, **extending to—to the length of.** On the constr. (ἐπί with the accus. as ἐφ' ὅσον Rom. xi. 13) see Winer § 49, s. 363. For the word "*furlong*"(τὸ στάδιον) see Note B on ch. xiv. 20.

In the following description there is plainly a reference to the ancient Babylon, with which the "New Jerusalem" is now contrasted. Herodotus (i. 178-186;—cf. Strabo, xvi.), who had himself seen the grandeur of Babylon, tells us that it also was "*four-square*" (ἐούσης τετραγώνου);—that each side was 120 *stadii* in length [*i. e.*, one hundreth part of the length of each side of the "New Jerusalem];"—that its walls were 200 cubits in height, and 50 cubits in thickness (see Jer. li. 58);—and that it had 100 gates of brass (Isai. xlv. 1, 2). The ancient Babylon contained within its walls the vast temple of Belus, which was also "*four-square*," each side of its sacred precincts being *two stadii* in length. The Belus tower was built in stages, *eight* in number, square being placed on square (Hdt. i. 181). Through the city flowed the Euphrates, dividing it nearly in half (διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης, Hdt. i. 185). Here too were the "hanging gardens" (ὁ κρεμαστὸς κῆπος), in the form of terraces (Berosus, *ap.* Joseph. *Antt.* xii. 1), the highest of which was planted with trees of all kinds, some of the largest size (cf. ch. xxii. 1, 2):—see Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 510-540.

The description given in this verse does not decide absolutely whether 12,000 *stadii* (or 1378.97 English miles) is the length of each side of the "New Jerusalem,"—as understood by Andr., Bengel, Hengst., Ebrard, Ewald, Düsterd., Züllig, Words., Bisping, &c. According to Vitr., Wetst., Eichhorn, De Wette, Alford, the entire circuit of the City is meant, making the distance between each gate 1000 *stadii*. This latter explanation is avowedly prompted by the desire to reduce the vast dimensions of the City; the difficulty being caused by forgetfulness that the whole picture here given is symbolical. In either case the dimensions surpass any natural explanation; while in the latter case there is both a departure from the original picture by Ezekiel, and also a departure from the plain sense of the words which follow. In Apocalyptic symbolism 1000 expresses a vast number; and, when multiplied by Twelve,—the number of perfection,—there results a signification adapted to what we here read of the City of God. When 1000 is multiplied by the square of *Twelve* the meaning is "*a multitude which no man could number*,"—see ch. vii. 4, 9; xiv. 1.

"The parallel," notes Burger on ver. 9, "is not to be mistaken: what Babylon was to the anti-christian World-empire, viz. the brilliant centre of its earthly glory,—the World-city,—the seat of the Beast and his ally the False Prophet; that will the New Jerusalem be to Humanity born anew, viz. the Centre of the perfected, glorified Kingdom of God."

longs. The length and the breadth and the height of it are equal.

17 And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred *and* forty *and* four cubits, *according to* the measure of a man, that is, of the angel.

the length and the breadth and the height **thereof** *are equal.*] The Holy of Holies (Ex. xxvi. 33) was a cubical chamber having each of its three dimensions equal to *Ten* cubits. Although not expressly stated in the Book of Exodus, Philo, Josephus, all tradition, and every consideration of probability, concur as to this:—see the Note on Ex. xxvi.; Ewald *in loc.*; Bähr, *Symbolik*, i. s. 225. In Solomon's Temple also the Holy of Holies was a cube, each edge of which was *Twenty* cubits,—see 1 Kings vi. 20. Here also each dimension is of the measure just specified, viz. 12,000 *stadii*—the City being a vast cube. This is the only natural sense of the words. That it is high as heaven and includes the Throne of God, is implied in ch. xxii. 3, as Ewald (s. 349) notes.

The Rabbinical books contain similar imagery:—We read in the Talmud *Bava Bathra* f. 75, 2: "Deus tempore futuro Hierosolyma evecturus est in altitudinem xii. milliarium S. D. Zach. xiv. 10. Quid est 'in loco suo'? talem esse futuram superne, qualis est infra."—see Wetst. *in loc.*

The following interpretations have been suggested:—

De Wette (see above) makes the circumference of the City to be equal to 12,000 *stadii*, this measure having no reference to the height. When the height is now mentioned, there is no thought as yet of how great that height is;—the height is not referred to until ver. 17, and the word "*equal*" (ἴσα) is here used loosely,—signifying that the height is *equal* all round. The sense, therefore, is:—The length and breadth are each equal to 3000 stadii, and the height of the wall is 144 cubits (ver. 17) all round. Düsterd. distinguishes between the height of the City, and the height of its walls; the City itself, *i. e.*, of the mass of houses contained in it (so Hengst.), being, as stated above, the cube of 12,000 *stadii*, and its wall of the height of 144 cubits. Alf. ridicules this result, and supposes that the City is placed "on a hill or rock [of which the text says nothing] which may be imagined as descending with it;" and thus taking the 12,000 *stadii* to be the circumference, and including this hill or rock, we get the cube of 3000 stadii. Luthardt supposes a City situated on a lofty mountain, with its houses in terraces around the mountain sides. The City would thus appear as a Pyramid; of which the apex attains to the elevation of 12,000 *stadii*, while at the mountain foot a wall surrounds it of 144 cubits high. This certainly agrees with the words of the text, but not with the exigencies of the symbolism.

The heavenly Jerusalem, observes Renan, "is in contradiction to all the sound rules of architecture."—p. 473.

It is quite plain that we cannot take a perfect cube to represent a material city; or compare such a structure to "*a Bride adorned for her husband*" (ver. 2). This symbolic form, as already pointed out, is borrowed from that of "the Most Holy Place" (Ex. xxvi. 33); and, conjoined with the image of the "*Bride*" (Isai. lxii. 5), represents the idea of the Church as the spiritual abode of God. Accordingly all the other images which depend upon this,—the gates, the walls, the site of the City, the river which waters it, the trees on that river's banks, and so forth,—can only be understood in a spiritual and symbolic sense.

17. *And he measured the wall thereof,*] In *vv.* 12, 14, we read of the "*gates*" and "*foundations*" of this "*wall*;" and now the *height* of the wall is measured. Some understand, its *thickness*, cf. Jer. li. 58; Ezek. xli. 9. The former sense is better suited to the nature of *a Vision*; and also better suited to the words "*great and high*" in ver. 12; cf. Deut. iii. 5; xxviii. 52.

a hundred and forty and four cubits,] (On the genitive "*cubits*"—a constr. "unknown to Greek prose"—see Moulton's *Winer*, p. 244). Again the sacred *Twelve*, raised to the second power. Solomon's Porch, the highest part of his Temple, was 120 cubits (2 Chron. iii. 4); and the general height of the Temple 30 cubits (1 Kings vi. 2). With reference to the dimensions of the "*City*" itself writers dwell upon the comparative insignificance of this height—less than the height, notes Stuart, of the walls of Babylon: the most inconsiderable wall however, notes Dusterd., is sufficient to exclude all that is impure—see ver. 27. The height of the wall is, by design, comparatively insignificant, writes Züllig, in order not to obstruct the light radiating from the City.

[*according to*] *the measure of a man, that is, of* **an** *angel.*] (Gr. **a measure of a man**—see ch. xiii. 18). The constr. is "a lax apposition" to "the clause ἐμέτρ. τὸ τεῖχος" (Winer, § 33, 7). In ch. xiii. 18 we read of "*the number of the Beast*" that it is "the number *of a man*,"—as in Deut. iii. 11 mention is made of "four cubits . . . after *the cubit of a man*,"—of which the meaning is 'not less than the ordinary cubit.' Here the explanation is

18 And the building of the wall of it was *of* jasper: and the city *was* pure gold, like unto clear glass.

19 And the foundations of the wall of the city *were* garnished with all manner of precious stones. The

added "*that is of* **an** *Angel*,"—words which can only imply that in the Heavenly City men will be "*equal unto the Angels*" (Luke xx. 36), "and will reckon and measure all things by a spiritual and Divine arithmetic, and by a heavenly and Angelic mensuration":—so Words. Thus too Ebrard notes: That which suits the New Jerusalem,—the measure not of men with mortal bodies but of glorified men when they become equal to the Angels (Matt. xxii. 30). "Measured," writes I. Williams, "to suit human capacities, though it be of what is altogether incomprehensible and divine: . . . they that are accounted worthy to attain that life are equal to the Angels" (p. 458). Bengel calculates what this Angelic measure must be:—As in ch. xiii. 5, 18, we could not explain the 42 months without the aid of the number 666 (see Introd. § 11, (b), IV.); so in this chapter all would be obscure were we not to identify the 144 *cubits*, with the 12,000 *furlongs*, and take these two equal measures to represent the height of the wall. Hence *one* ("englisch-menschlich") cubit is equal to $83\frac{1}{3}$ furlongs; and Bengel considers it important to note that $8 \times 83\frac{1}{3} = 666\frac{2}{3}$.

Burger interprets as follows:—The sacred *Twelve*, the *signature* of the Church, which we have already met in the *Twelve* Gates, the *Twelve* Foundations, the *Twelve* thousand *stadii*,—is here multiplied by itself (cf. ch. vii. 4). The "*wall*" is intended for the protection of the City; and its true defence consists in this that it is the City of the perfected Church of Christ, of which the *number* is 144. Burger, although he notes that the Greek article is absent, translates (with the A. V.) *of the Angel, i.e.*, "*the* Angel" who "*spake*" with St. John, and who used the well-known "*measure of a man*" such as men also employ.

Mr. Maurice writes:—"That measure of a man, which is not derived from his fallen nature, but from his angelic nature, is God's measure. The City which lieth foursquare is His City. He knows the measure of it" (p. 420).

Stuart notes: "It is an Angel who makes the measurement; and lest we might think it was a different measure from that in ordinary use ('*of a man*'), the writer guards us against such an error":—so Hengst., Düsterd., &c.

According to Volckmar "*the golden reed*" (ver. 15) regarded as the "*measure of* **an** *Angel*," measures by *stadii*; regarded as the "*measure of a man*" its unit is a *cubit*. Both numbers (the 12,000 *stadii* for the City, and the 144 *cubits* for its wall) are to be measured by both scales: and thus we get for the height of the "*wall*" (by Angels' measure) 12×12 *stadii*; and for the height of the *City*, which Volckmar makes to be 3×1000—*i.e.*, $3 \times 4 \times 250 = 12 \times 250$—*cubits* (by the measure of a man).

18. *And the building of the wall* **thereof**] The term rendered "*building*" (ἐνδώμησις) is found elsewhere only in Josephus (*Antt.* xv. 9, 6), where it signifies the *mole* or *breakwater* of the port of Cæsarea, built by Herod the Great. It is variously explained here to mean the '*superstructure*' as opposed to the '*foundation*,' ver. 19; or simply the '*materials*,' what is *built in* the walls ("materies in murum inædificata, h.e. ex quo murus extructus erat." Grimm, *in voc.*).

[*was*] **jasper**:] (See *vv. ll.* for the omission of the verb). The building consisted of one material, "*Jasper*"; on which see ver. 11; ch. iv. 3.

and the city [*was*] *pure gold like unto* **pure** *glass.*] See on ch. iv. 6. The Gold (see *vv. ll.*, and ver. 21) was like glass not merely in brilliancy but transparency.

Compare this description of the "New Jerusalem" with the cherished ideal of the Jews:—"For Jerusalem shall be built up with Sapphires and Emeralds and precious stone: thy walls and towers and battlements with pure Gold. And the streets of Jerusalem shall be paved with Beryl and Carbuncle and stones of Ophir" (Tobit xiii. 16, 17). Cf. too, the apostrophe to the King of Tyre: "Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering, the Sardius, Topaz, and the Diamond, the Beryl, the Onyx, and the Jasper, the Sapphire, the Emerald, and the Carbuncle, and Gold" (Ezek. xxviii. 13).

19. **The** *foundations of the wall of the city*] Omit "*And*," —see *vv. ll.* On the sense in which the "*Foundations*" are to be understood, see on ver. 14. Each separate "*Foundation*" consisted of one great precious stone going round the whole City, and underlying the entire wall;—not merely an ornament set into the foundation, but a "*Foundation*" itself.

[*were*] **adorned** *with all manner of precious stones.*] Gr. **with every precious stone**,—the noun is in the singular: see on ch. xv. 6. For the thought of the following description see Isai. liv. 11, 12 (cf. xxviii. 16): see also David's enumeration of the materials which he had accumulated for

first foundation *was* jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald;

20 The fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolyte; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the

Solomon's Temple (1 Chron. xxix. 2). The Foundation, notes Words., was garnished with '*every* precious stone,' and these *Twelve* precious stones are specified, "indicating that the Twelve Apostolic Foundations present *every* spiritual grace bestowed by God upon His faithful servants, who are *His Jewels* (Mal. iii. 17)." As a contrast Babylon also and the "Harlot" are adorned "*with gold, and precious stones and pearls.*" Compare ch. xvii. 4; xviii. 12, 16; and cf. *infra*, ver. 21.

The first foundation was jasper;] The same as the material of the superstructure, or wall resting on the Twelve Foundations,—see ver. 18. On the *Jasper*, see on ch. iv. 3; and cf. ver. 11. See Note B at the end of this chapter

the second, sapphire;] Heorew, *Saphir* (ספיר);—cf. Ex. xxiv. 10; Isai. liv. 11; Ezek. i. 26. In the case of no ancient gem has the attribution of the name been so much disputed as of the *Sapphire*, or "precious Corundum." Mr. King decides that the *Sapphirus* of the ancients was our *Lapis-lazuli*. Pliny describes it as opaque, and sprinkled with specks of gold ("Inest ei aliquando et aureus pulvis qualis in *sapphiris*. In iis enim aurum punctis conlucet. Cœruleæ et sapphiri .... Corallo-achates guttis aureis Sapphiri modo sparsa"—*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 39, 54); and he states that it came from Media (*i.e.*, Persia and Bockhara) whence the entire supply of Lapis-lazuli is brought to the present day. Epiphanius speaks of "the stone Sapphirus, like that of a dark blue beetle." Andreas (*l.c.*, p. 134), who considers that St. Paul is signified by this stone, says that some call it *Lazurium* (τὸ λαζούριον), from its sky-blue colour. "Before the true precious stones were introduced from India, the Lapis-lazuli held the highest place in the estimation of the primitive nations of Asia and Greece; in fact it was almost the only stone known to them having beauty of colour to recommend it."—King, *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 294. The modern *Sapphire* is the ancient *Hyacinthus*, rendered in the A.V., "*Jacinth*," see on ver. 20, and ch. ix. 17. "The modern name *Sapphire* is a mere epithet expressive of its colour: the ancient *Sapphirus* or *Lapis-lazuli* furnishing the paint ultramarine, *sapphirinus* came to signify '*azure*,' exactly as '*Nila*' the present Indian name of our *Sapphire* does."—King, *Nat. Hist. of Precious Stones*, p. 248.

the third, **chalcedony**;] "The *Chalcedonius* of Pliny (xxxvii. 30) was an inferior species of the *Smaragdus* (Emerald), so called from being found in the copper mines near Chalcedon ... He describes them as small and brittle, changing their colour when moved about like the green feathers in the necks of peacocks and pigeons .... It is evident that they were only crystals of transparent *Chrysocolla*" [native verdigris—a carbonate of copper] "still popularly termed 'the Copper-Emerald.' .... It is difficult to trace the steps by which this name has been transferred from a substance of a brilliant green colour to one so totally distinct in all its characters as our "*Chalcedony*" (White Carnelian), a semi-opaque quartz of a milky tinge."—King, *Precious Stones*, p. 157.

the fourth, **emerald**;] See ver. 20, on the word "*Beryl*;" and also on ch. iv. 3.

20. *the fifth, sardonyx;*] "The most beautiful and rarest variety of *Onyx*, and that which was held in the greatest esteem by the ancients, for engraving into cameos" (*Brande and Cox, Dict. of Science*). Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 23) defines this stone as originally signifying a white mark in a *Sard*, like the human nail placed upon flesh, and both of them transparent. "The *Onyx* is called from the resemblance of its white and yellow veins to the shades in the human finger nail. ... Three colours were considered essential to the idea of *Sardonyx*. ... The early Greeks make no distinction between the *Onyx* and the *Sardonyx*. According to Köhler, when the red, brown, or yellow ground is covered by white veins irregularly disposed, it is called *Onyx*; if they are in regular strata, one over the other, it becomes the *Sardonyx*"—King, *l.c.*, pp. 254, 257, 302. Achilles Tatius (ii. 1) describes such a gem, of which the base was *black*, the middle *white*, the rest *red* as fire.

the sixth **a sard**:] See on ch. iv. 3.

the seventh, chrysolyte;] Or oriental *Topaz*; see below on "*Topaz*." The description of Pliny "translucent with golden lustre" ("aureo fulgore translucentis"—*H. N.* xxxvii. 42) applies to no other gem so exactly as to this: "The Arabian *Chrysolithi* were most probably the modern *Jacinths*, for Pliny's account of them applies exactly to the latter gem .... *Chrysolithi*, whatever they may have been, were in high esteem with the Romans."—King, *l.c.*, p. 165, &c. See Ezek. xxviii. 13.

the eighth, beryl;] Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 20) states that many were of opinion that the "*Beryl*" was of the same or a similar nature with the *Emerald*. "This opinion," writes Mr. King, "has been proved correct by

tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst.

21 And the twelve gates *were* twelve pearls; every several gate

modern analysis, the component parts of each, in the same proportions, being Silica, Alumina, and Glucina, coloured by the oxide of Chrome. . . . The *Emerald* is distinguished by its peculiar '*emerald-green*' which it derives from a small proportion of Chrome: all the varieties of other colours, tinged, more or less, yellow or blue, or altogether colourless, are *Beryls*." . . . "*Beryllus* is the Low-Latin term for a magnifying glass: hence the German 'Brille,' *a pair of spectacles*."—*ib.*, p. 130, &c.

the ninth, **topaz**;] In colour a yellowish green,—our *Peridot*: "This gem derived its name from the island in the Red Sea, thirty miles off the main land, where it was first discovered. . . . The Roman lapidaries accurately discriminated the two varieties, the *Chrysopteron*, our *Chrysolite*; and the *Prasoides*, our *Peridot*; the latter 'aiming at the exact imitation of the colour of the leek-leaf.' Although the same chemically, both being Silicates of Magnesia coloured by a Protoxide of Iron, yet, from the jeweller's point of view, there is a great difference between the *Chrysolite* and the *Peridot*. The former is much harder, and the yellow in it greatly predominates over the green. . . . In the *Peridot* green is the predominant colour, but slightly modified by yellow. . . . The modern *Topaz* is a totally distinct substance from the *Topazius*, ... it was totally unknown to the ancients."—King, *l.c.*, p. 336, &c.

the tenth, **chrysoprase**;] This word does not occur in the LXX.; elsewhere it is found only in Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 20,—"Fulgore vicinum genus huic [*beryllo*] est, sed pallidius, et a quibusdam proprii generis existumatum)," who accurately distinguishes the varieties of *beryl*. The most admired "emulates the green tint of pure sea-water," the modern *aqua-marine*. Next is the *Chryso-beryl*, in which this green is tinged with gold,—probably our Indian *Chrysolite*. There was a still paler kind known by the name of *Chrysoprase*, a variety only of the *Chryso-beryl*: "Most certainly it was not our *Chrysoprase*, silica-coloured a beautiful apple-green by Oxide of Nickel."—King, *l.c.*, pp. 130, 163. In his *Nat. Hist.* (p. 335) Mr. King adds that here, for "*Chrysoprasus*," "Marbodus has evidently read *Chrysopaston* [which is the reading of the cursive MSS. 40, 50, 92], a dark blue studded with gold dust:—if correct, the three shades of blue would then follow each other in order."

the eleventh, **jacinth**;] The modern *Sapphire*,—Gr. *Hyacinthus*, see on ch. ix. 17. Of no ancient appellation, notes Mr. King, has the proper attribution been so much and so variously disputed as of this (*Nat. Hist.* p. 242). [Düsterd. states incorrectly that in Ex. xxviii. 19 (LXX.) the Cod. Alex. gives, for the Hebr. *Leshem* (לֶשֶׁם), ὑάκινθος in place of "*ligure*" (λιγύριον)]. Epiphanius suspected that the *ligure* of the LXX. (the *Lyncurium* of Theophrastus) was the *Hyacinthus* of his own time, because so important a stone could not have been omitted by Moses. Here we find the first germ of the subsequent confusion between two very different things. There can be no doubt, observes Mr. King (*ib.*, p. 217), that the *Lyncurium* of Theophrastus "is our *Jacinth* (*Zirkon*), the yellow *Jargoon*, distinguished by having for its chemical base the earth *Zirconia* peculiar to this family. This exactly resembles *Amber* in colour."

"That the *Hyacinthus* of the ancients is the *Sapphire* of the moderns [see on ver. 19], will be perfectly evident to any mineralogist who will carefully peruse the minute description of the same gem given by Solinus [who lived two centuries after Pliny]. The modern name *Sapphire* is a mere epithet expressive of its colour."—King, *ib.*, p. 194. See Note C at the end of this chapter.

the twelfth, **amethyst**.] Violet or purple. "The common *Amethyst*, and the stone generally designated among the ancients by this name, is nothing more than rock crystal coloured purple by manganese of iron; in modern mineralogy, Amethystine Quartz":—see King, *l.c.*, p. 60. Pliny thus distinguishes this stone from the preceding: "Differentia hæc, quod ille emicans in *Amethysto* fulgor violaceus dilutus est in *Hyacintho*" (*H. N.* xxxvii. 41). The name *Amethyst*, though most probably a mere corruption of the Eastern name for the stone, a trace of which seems preserved in Ex. xxviii. 19, in the Hebrew *Achlamah* (אחלמה),—perhaps the true origin is the Persian '*Shemest*,'—was interpreted by the Greeks as though formed from ἀ and μέθυ, '*wine-less*:'—see King, *ibid.* ("Majorum vanitas ebrietati eas resistere promittit, et inde appellatas."—Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvii. 40).

Different interpretations have been given of the precious stones themselves, of their order, and of their symbolical meaning; but these interpretations are purely arbitrary; e.g. according to that which is most usually adopted,—the Jasper, the last stone of the Breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 20) and which is the first "*Foundation*" here, unites the Alpha and the Omega; the ending the Old, and the beginning the New.

21. each one of the several gates

was of one pearl: and the street of the city *was* pure gold, as it were transparent glass.

22 And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it.

23 [h] And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb *is* the light thereof. [h] Is. 60. 19.

24 [i] And the nations of them [i] Is. 60. 3.

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was of one pearl:] (On this idiom, cf. John ii. 6). For the word "*Pearl,*" see on ch. xvii. 4. In Isai. liv. 12, the "gates" are "carbuncles." Here, notes I. Williams, "all are of the same celestial substance, as on every side of the world the entrance is but of one kind, the knowledge of God in Christ,—the Incarnation, which the pearl signifies,—the one pearl of great price" (p. 462). In *Bava Bathra* f. 75. 1 (see Wetst.), it is said that God will place gems and pearls ("gemmas et margaritas") thirty cubits square, and hollowed out to the height of twenty cubits, and to the breadth of ten cubits, in the gates of Jerusalem." J. D. Michaelis is embarrassed by the size of such pearls.

St. Augustine expounds this passage:—"The Apostles and Prophets are "*Foundations,*" because their authority is the support of our weakness. They are the '*Gates,*' because through them we enter into the kingdom of God; and while by their means we enter, we enter through Christ, Himself the '*Gate.*' The one '*Gate*' is Christ, and the Twelve '*Gates*' are Christ; for Christ dwells in the Twelve '*Gates.*' There is a deep mystery in the number Twelve. . . . The Twelve is here put for universality, as spoken of all who sit in judgment (Matt. xix. 28); in the same manner all who enter the City enter by one or other of the Twelve '*Gates.*' These are the Four quarters of the globe. Our Lord declares that He will call His sheep from the Four winds; from all the Four winds the Church is called. It is called in the Trinity, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost:—Four, then, being thrice taken, the Twelve is found."—*In Psalm.* lxxxvii.

and the street of the city] Gr. **the broadway,**—cf. ch. xi. 8; xxii. 2. The word is used collectively; all the streets compose one ideal "*street*":—so also in ch. xxii. 2.

was pure gold, as it were transparent glass.] Or **transparent as glass**—see on ver. 18. On the Greek word rendered "*transparent,*" and introduced into the text by Erasmus, see *vv. ll.* The transparency of glass is the sign of its purity; and such is here the purity of the Gold.

22. *And I saw no temple therein:*] Or **"Sanctuary"**—see on ch. xi. 1. As noted on ver. 16 the City is in form a perfect cube, like the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Jerusalem. The entire City is now that which the Holy of Holies had formerly been—the locality of the immediate Presence of God. The Temple and the Temple-service have hitherto supplied the symbols which denote the condition of the Church on earth before the Judgment. This has now ceased; the Temple is no more; there is none seen in Heaven. The Redeemed being all Priests (see ch. i. 6; v. 10; xx. 6) unto God, the New Jerusalem is without Temple, being all Temple. On the necessary imperfection of the *earthly* Sanctuary, see Heb. x. 1.

Note:—In ch. iii. 12; vii. 15, the righteous are spoken of as serving God in the heavenly *Temple,*—the sense thereby conveyed being no more than that they dwell in the Divine Presence. Here the description enters into details; the righteous, when all is accomplished, "*shall see His face*" (ch. xxii. 4); there shall be no inner "*Sanctuary,*"—no veil between God and the Redeemed.

for the Lord God **the** *Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple* **thereof.**] GOD is now "all in all" (1 Cor. xv. 28):—"a proof of Christ's Divinity."—Words.

23. *And the city* **hath** *no need of the sun,*] Compare Isai. lx. 19, 20.

neither of the moon, to shine **upon it:**] See *vv. ll.* For the construction (with ἵνα) see Introd. § 7, IV., (*f*). Cf. John i. 19.

for the glory of God did lighten it,] See ver. 11:—the immediate Presence, the Shekinah. The promise, in ch. vii. 15, 16, is here fulfilled: *there* the Redeemed serve God "*day and night;*" but *here,* in this final description of the blessed, it is no longer amid the alternations of light and darkness. In ch. vii. 16, there is still need of a sun; here, there is need of neither sun nor moon. The true nature and essence of GOD ("*God is light*"—1 John i. 5) is at length discerned.

and the lamp thereof [is] the Lamb.] Or, **the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb, the lamp thereof.**] The glory of God is the Sun which illumines the New Jerusalem; and His light is reflected from the Lamb, Who is "the brightness,"—"the effulgence,"—"the reflexion" (ἀπαύγασμα), of the Father's Glory (Heb. i. 3). See also ch. vii. 17.

which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.

Compare the striking lines of Kosegarten (1758–1818) quoted in Trench's *Sacred Lat. Poetry*, p. 314:—

"Dir scheint, O Stadt, der Sonne Antlitz nicht,
Und nicht ihr bleiches Bild;
Es leuchtet dir ein himmlisch Angesicht,
Das wunderlich und mild."

It is unsound theology to refer, with some, "*the glory of God*" to the Sun; and to regard the Lamb as corresponding to the Moon, which throughout Scripture is regarded as "the lesser light."

St. John now assumes the tone of the elder Prophets,—see Ps. lxxii. 10, 11; Isai. lx. 3, 11; lxvi. 12.

24. *And the* **nations shall walk amidst the light thereof**:] Omit "*of them which are saved.*" On the confusion which the manuscript of Erasmus has here introduced into the *Textus Receptus*, and which is retained in the A. V., see *vv. ll.* Reuss would account as follows for this confusion in the text:—He considers it to be "un trait bien curieux" that "*the nations*" (*i.e.*, according to him the heathen) should walk in the City of God, because there are now "no other dwellers on the earth than the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem, all previous national or religious distinctions having been effaced:"—the scribes felt this difficulty; and they tried to get rid of it by writing "*les peuples* (c'est à dire la foule) *des sauvés.*"

We may also translate, "**by the light of it**;" or (as Words.) "**through her light.**" The expression in the text (διὰ τοῦ φ.), notes Düsterd., "gives the picturesque conception of the *Heathen* taking their way through the midst of the light which streams forth from the City illumined by the glory of God." Cf. Isai. ix. 2; lx. 3. Alf. renders "**by means of her light**,"—"*i. e.*, she shall be so bright as to serve for sun and moon to the world that then is, and her inhabitants. For such inhabitants are clearly supposed; see below and ch. xxii. 2."

By "*the Nations*" here—as in ch. xxii. 2—all the "*Nations*" of the Redeemed are to be understood, in the sense of ch. v. 9; vii. 9:—see on ch. xv. 3; and on ver. 26. Hengst. insists that we must not understand "*Nations*" generally;—as Ἔθνη, in the usage of the Apocalypse "are always *heathen* nations in their natural or Christianized state (see on ch. xx. 3)"; here, only "*converted* heathen." Ebrard refers to those of the "*heathen*," outside the City and on the "New Earth," who are nevertheless written in the Book of Life,—who while on earth had striven against sin, but had not come to a knowledge of the Saviour,—and who now, after their Resurrection from the dead, become willing subjects of God and the Lamb: see on ch. xx. 13. To the same effect Züllig.

and the kings of the earth do bring **their glory into it.**] (Omit, "*and honour*,"—see *vv. ll.*). "*Their*" refers solely to the "*Kings*;" the homage of "*the Nations*" is distinct,—see ver. 26. Some (e.g. Züllig) refer "*their*" to both "*the Nations*" and "*the Kings.*"

There will still be "*Kings*" writes Hengst.: "As among the Angels there are distinctions of rank and order (see ch. viii. 2), so shall there be among glorified men. . . . It is contrary to all sound feeling that a David, that a Charles the Great, should there be lost without distinction among the general mass;" and he refers to the position assigned to the Apostles in *vv.* 14, 19. Words. notes: "*Some* '*Kings of the Earth*' will remain Christian unto the end and will not join in the rebellion against Christ (ch. xvi. 14; xviii. 9; xix. 19). Kings and nations (ch. xx. 8) are before mentioned as rising up against Christ, but here they are tributary to Him." Words. is referring to "the *heavenly* Jerusalem;" but Millennarians interpret differently,—e.g. Alford, who explains: "The Kings *of the earth* (no longer hostile to Christ) bring," &c. (see on ver. 26). And I. Williams: "All that partakes of the true anointing shall thither be brought: '*the Kings of the East*' spoken of in the *sixth* Vial; the many crowns, with the King of kings. Whatever is precious, whatever is truly great and good upon earth . . . shall be brought into that City; all that the Prophets have spoken of the riches of the Gentiles shall flow into it; the Wise Men of the East with their first-fruits shall be there, the special gift of faith, more precious than of gold that perisheth" (p. 466).

Hence it appears that writers are divided as to whether the heavenly state is meant, or a glorious state of the Church upon earth. When this verse was applied in his day to the Church *on earth*, St. Augustine's comment on the opinion was: "Hoc de isto tempore accipere quo regnant [cives Ejus] cum Rege suo mille annis, impudentiæ nimiæ mihi videtur" (*De Civ. Dei*, xx. 17). Comparing such passages as "And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightness of Thy rising," Stuart observes that St. John "conceives of the New World after the similitude of the old, *i.e.*, as having a great metropolis, and all lands being in subjection to it." Burger more suitably refers to the contrast between the New Jerusalem and Ancient

[k] Is. 60. 11.

25 [k]And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there.

26 And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it.

27 And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither *whatsoever* worketh abomination, or *maketh* a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

Babylon. To Babylon flowed all earthly glory hostile to Heaven;—to the New Jerusalem the Kings of the "*New Earth*" offer all their magnificence to the honour of God and the Lamb.

25. *And the gates thereof* **shall in no wise be shut by day** (*for there shall be no night there*):] The reason is added parenthetically for not saying "*day and night*," as in ch. iv. 8; vii. 15; xii. 10; xiv. 11; xx. 10. "*There shall be no night there*" because of the Divine glory, *vv.* 11, 23; ch. xxii. 5:—cf. Zech. xiv. 7. The open gates are an emblem of perfect security: "What the ancient poets sang of as a vision of the Golden Age, with its 'apertis otia portis,' will then be fully realized" (Words.). Many refer to Isai. lx. 11, to prove that the reason why the gates stand open is to allow the nations to bring in their treasures to the New Jerusalem,—so Hengst., Düsterd.

26. *and they shall bring the glory* **and the honour** *of the nations into it*:] The verb is to be taken impersonally—cf. ch. x. 11; xii. 6: so Bengel, De Wette, Düsterd., Alf., &c. Others (Züllig, Ewald, Bleek) make "*the Kings*" (ver 24) the subject of the verb.

For the inclusion of "*the Nations*" among the Blessed, see ch. v. 9; vii. 9; and cf. on ver. 24.

Alf., having noted at the beginning of this chapter that "the whole" of "the remaining portion of the Book is subsequent to the General Judgment," nevertheless observes here: "This is set forth to us, that, besides the glorified Church, there shall still be dwelling on the renewed earth, nations organized under kings, and (ch. xxii. 2) saved by means of the influences of the heavenly City." De Wette asks, "Why do not these kings and nations dwell in the heavenly City?" But assuredly they do so dwell; and as Words. concludes:—"All will dwell together as brethren, as children of the same Heavenly Father, in one Everlasting Home (John xiv. 2)." See on ver. 24.

Delitzsch mentions that Erasmus, misled by the transcribers of his manuscript, omitted this verse in his earlier editions. Hence this verse did not appear in any of the original editions of Luther's translation:—*Handschr. Funde*, s. 51.

27. *and there shall in no wise enter into it* **anything unclean**,] See *vv. ll.*: Gr. **anything common**—cf. Acts x. 14; and Mark vii. 2. See also Isai. lii. 1: and on the use here of expressions taken from the Law, see above on ver. 8. "The enumeration is comprised in the number *three*" (Hengst.).

Compare ver. 8; ch. ix. 21; xxii. 15.

neither **he that doeth an** *abomination*] See *vv. ll.* Gr. **and he that doeth.** On the word "*abomination*," cf. ch. xvii. 4, 5; and see on ver. 8.

and a lie:] All such had been "*cast into the Lake of Fire*,"—ch. xx. 15. There seems to be a special reference here to the previous existence of Antichrist,—cf. 1 John ii. 22; 2 Thess. ii. 11. See on ch. xiv. 5; xxii. 15. For the contrast, see John iii. 21.

but only *they which are written in* **the book of life of the Lamb**.] See ch. xiii. 8; and cf. ch. iii. 5; xx. 12, 15.

The thought borrowed from Dan. xii. 1 ("At that time Thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the Book") is preserved to the last.

ADDITIONAL NOTES on Chap. XXI.

NOTE A ON VER. 1—THE CONNEXION WITH THE PREVIOUS SCENES.

1. In the earlier part (ch. xvii.–ch. xx.) of the *seventh* Vision of the Revelation Proper (see the remarks introductory to ch. xvii.) the enemies of God, of the Lamb, of the Church, have been judged; and Satan has been overthrown. In the concluding part (ch. xxi.–ch. xxii. 5),—the last and highest object of Apocalyptic Prophecy,—the accomplishment of the mystery of God (ch. x. 7), and the fulfilment of the promises to the Seven Churches (ch. ii.; ch. iii.) are presented to us, *in* contrast to the judgment of condemnation described summarily in ch. xx. 15 ("Finito Judicio, quo prænunciavit judicandos malos, restat ut etiam de bonis dicat." August. *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 16). In the picture here given of the New Jerusalem we

have once more before us the descriptions given in Isai. lx., and in Ezek. xl.–xlvii. St. John, however, follows the order in Ezekiel, who, after his account of Gog and Magog, exhibits, in Vision, the Holy City and the Temple, and the return to it of God's glory.

As to the connexion here Millennarians differ:—

— According to Auberlen, the 144,000 *sealed* from the Twelve Tribes of Israel (ch. vii. 4) form the nucleus of glorified humanity, to which, during the Millennium, an innumerable company of the Gentiles are to be united *in heaven;* while upon *earth*, the world of nations is added to the kingdom of Israel. The glorified Church in heaven, and the Church on earth, although separate during the Millennium, are yet connected with each other; and to this Christ refers in Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 28–30; (see above on *vv.* 12, 14). "After the Millennial Kingdom, after the universal Judgment, when Heaven and Earth are renewed, and the New Jerusalem descends from above, then all limitations shall disappear and cease" (p. 356).

Alford places ch. xxi. and ch. xxii. subsequent to the universal Judgment; and he takes them to describe the bliss of Christ's people with Him in the eternal kingdom of God, which is situated on the purified and renewed earth. He does not understand *the annihilation* of the old Creation, but the passing away of its outward *form*, and its renewal to a more glorious one; and this by the means described in 2 Pet. iii. 10, through "a renovation by *fire*." To the same effect De Burgh (p. 371): "The creation of the new heaven and earth, and the descent of the New Jerusalem take place *after* the Millennial reign of Christ;" and yet, he adds, "almost all who have had their minds turned to the subject" look upon ch. xxi., and ch. xxii. as "but a recapitulation of ch. xx. for the purpose of fuller detail;"—the renovation of heaven and earth, and of Jerusalem, being "parallel with the Millennium, and taking place at the *beginning* of the Thousand Years." "It is certain," however, concludes De Burgh, that "the New Heavens and the New Earth come into existence *after* the general conflagration" (2 Pet. iii.).[1]

In reply to the two latter opinions, Dr. Brown (*l.c.*, p. 273, &c.) brings together the texts 2 Pet. iii. 7, 10–13; and Rev. xx. 11; xxi. 1:—If the "conflagration," described occurs *before* the Millennium, what, he asks, is to become of the inhabitants of the earth? (1) As to De Burgh [and Alf.] (to whom are to be added "Mr. Tyso and Mr. Ogilvy") who place the "conflagration" a Thousand Years after Christ's coming, how can they explain St. Peter's words: "The day of the Lord will come as a thief, *in the which* the heavens shall pass away," &c.? To this question De Burgh (cf. pp. 375, 376) answers, that this "*Day of the Lord*" is a Thousand Years long, and as it is only '*in* the day,' the "conflagration" may be as well at the end as at the beginning of it,—an explanation opposed to the Apostle's object, which is to warn scoffers who would deride the expectation of Christ's coming, that *the conflagration*, like the Deluge of old, will burst upon them when least expected,—Luke xvii. 27. (2) As to the other class of expositors, who make the Second Advent and the "conflagration" to be contemporaneous, and both to be pre-millennial,—Many restrict the "conflagration" "to the prophetic earth, or the territory of old Rome;"—Others to the vast territory of the Papal Babylon, and the godless of its inhabitants" (as Elliott iv. 217–227); or to "all Christendom become Papal:"—"*Papal Europe* only is flung into the crucible," writes Mr. A. Bonar (*Redempt.*, 117–118). (3) Some again suppose that the "conflagration," like the Judgment, will be broken up into two or more "conflagrations" on a small scale (see Mr. Bickersteth, *Guide*, p. 284; Mr. Brooks, *Elem. of Proph. Int.*, p. 239). As to what becomes of the existing inhabitants of the earth, "a modest conjecture" of Mede "is now the general understanding of Pre-millennialists:—viz. that "the rapture of the saints" (1 Thess. iv. 17) is intended to preserve them "during the conflagration of the earth and the works thereof," as Noah and his family from the Deluge (p. 776). Dan. iii. 25 is also quoted; and the words "I have covered thee in the shadow of mine hand."—Is. li. 16.

As to other interpretations of ch. xxi., it must suffice to note that Grotius refers to the time after Constantine, when the earth was no longer steeped in the blood of martyrs;—that Vitr. sees the Church renewed on earth, a completion of the Reformation;—that Alcasar sees the future glory of the Church of Rome.

[1] "During the Millennial Reign the inhabitants of the earth will be still in mortal flesh, the great object of Christ's reign on Earth during this Thousand Years being to carry Christianity into effect in this world, to gather to Himself all the nations of the earth, and to bring about their conversion" (De Burgh, *ib.*, p. 373). See on ch. xiv. 6; xv. 4.

Note B on ver. 19—The Twelve Foundations.

Mr. King, in his different works on *Precious Stones and Gems* has given a consistent explanation of St. John's description here. He assumes that the Foundations of the Wall consist of Twelve courses of precious

Stones; and notices the fact that these Stones are not arranged here in the same order as in the "*Rationale*" (Ex. xxviii. 15, *Vulg.*) or "*Breastplate*" (*Hebr.* חשן, LXX. λογεῖον) worn by the Jewish High Priest, described in Ex. xxviii. 17–21. Mr. King goes on to say:—

"Instead of this, St. John has most ingeniously disposed them according to their various shades of the same colour, as the following list will demonstrate, taking them in order from the bottom upwards:—

(1) *Jaspis*, dark green. (2) *Sapphirus*, blue [our Lapis-lazuli]. (3) *Chalcedony*, a greenish sort of Emerald.

(4) *Smaragdus*, bright green. (5) *Sardonyx*, red and white. (6) *Sardius*, bright red.

(7) *Chrysolite*, golden yellow. (8) *Beryl*, bluish green. (9) *Topazius*, yellowish green.

(10) *Chrysoprasus*, apple-green. (11) *Hyacinthus*, blue. (12) *Amethyst*, violet or purple."

"Neither is this order of the colours suggested by the rainbow, as their heavenly position would naturally suggest,—red, orange, yellow, green, blue, purple, violet. Again, St. John being so close an imitator of Ezekiel, one might have presupposed him guided by the prophet's most poetical apostrophe to the King of Tyrus (xxviii. 13).... So minute an acquaintance with the nicest shades of colour of the precious Stones will more forcibly impress the reader, if he should attempt to arrange from memory, and by his own casually acquired knowledge alone, twelve gems, or even half that number, according to their proper tints.... The 'sainted Seer' alludes in other passages to the proper colours of precious stones in a very technical manner: 'He that sat on the throne' [ch. iv. 3] was like the Jaspis and the Sardius, and was crowned with a rainbow like the Smaragdus; whilst the light within the Holy City [ch. xxi. 11] was like 'a very precious stone, a Jaspis resembling Crystal,'—or the green of the *Plasma* united with the brilliancy and lucidity of the *Crystal*,—by which he probably sought to distinguish the true Emerald, ever a special favourite with the Jews. Such allusions display that exact knowledge of particulars only possessed by persons either dealing in precious stones, or from other circumstances obliged to have a practical acquaintance with their nature, which could never have been found in a Galilean fisherman; unless [interposes Mr King] we choose to cut the knot of the difficulty with the ever-ready sword of verbal inspiration."—*Nat. Hist. of precious Stones*, p. 336.

It is to be noted here that the expression "verbal inspiration" is peculiarly unsuitable. St. John assuredly, like every other Jew, was familiar with *the names* of the precious Stones enumerated by Moses and Ezekiel. The upholder of the Divine Inspiration of the Bible maintains that the same influence which enlightened the native faculties, and guided the acquired knowledge of all the Sacred Writers, directed, in the present instance, that scientific selection of which Mr. King has given so clear, and learned an account. The phrase which correctly describes such an influence is "Dynamic Inspiration"; and of this no better illustration can be adduced than the language of the Seer in the present passage: see Lee *On Inspiration*, Lect. iv.

I. Andreas would assign each precious stone, in accordance with ver. 14, to some one of the Apostles:—

(1) The Jasper is *St. Peter*; (2) The Sapphire, *St. Paul* (διὰ τούτου, ἐοικότος τῷ οὐρανίῳ σώματι, ἐξ οὗ φασι καὶ τὸ λαζούριον γίνεσθαι, τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον οἶμαι σημαίνεσθαι); (3) The Chalcedony, *St. Andrew*; (4) The Emerald, *St. John*; (5) The Sardonyx, *St. James*; (6) The Sard, *St. Philip*; (7) The Chrysolite, *St. Bartholomew*; (8) The Beryl, *St. Thomas*; (9) The Topaz, *St. Matthew*; (10) The Chrysoprase, *St. Thaddæus*; (11) The Hyacinth, *St. Simon Zelotes*; (12) The Amethyst, *St. Matthias*.

Andreas refers for this classification to Epiphanius, who discusses in a special treatise (*De xii. Gemmis*) the nature of the precious Stones in Aaron's Breastplate, but makes no reference to the Twelve Foundations in the Apocalpyse. Epiphanius also classifies the Gems according to the Tribes of Israel,—e.g. to *Reuben*, the Sard; to *Simeon*, the Topaz, &c.:—see *Opp.* vol. ii. p. 231.

Coming to modern times:—

II. Bengel places the Apostles in the following order:—(1) Jasper, *St. Peter*; (2) Sapphire, *St. John*; (3) Chalcedony, *St. James*.

(4) Emerald, *St. Andrew*; (5) Sardonyx, *St. Philip*; (6) Sard, *St. Thomas*.

(7) Chrysolite, *St. Bartholomew*; (8) Beryl, *St. Matthew*; (9) Topaz, *St. James*, the son of Alphæus.

(10) Chrysoprase, *St. Simon* Zelotes; (11) Hyacinth, *St. Jude* the brother of James; (12) Amethyst, *St. Matthias*.[1]

Stern distributes as follows:—(1) The Jasper is the foundation on which Christ has

[1] Mr. Streeter (in his *Precious Stones and Gems*, 1877) gives another classification:

"1.—The hard and solid *Jasper*, representing the Rock of the Church, was the emblem of *Peter*.

2.—The bright blue *Sapphire* was emblematic of the heavenly faith of *Andrew*.

3.—The *Emerald*, of the pure and gentle *John*.

4.—The white *Chalcedony*, of the loving *James*.

5.—The friendly *Sardonyx*, of *Philip*.

6.—The red *Carnelian*, of the martyr *Bartholomew*.

built His Church—St. Peter; (2) The Sapphire,—St. Andrew; (3) The Chalcedony,—St. James the son of Zebedee; (4) The Emerald,—St. John; (5) The Sardonyx,—St. Philip; (6) The Sard,—St. Bartholomew; (7) The Chrysolite,—St. Matthew; (8) The Beryl,—St. Thomas; (9) The Topaz,—St. James the Less; (10) The Chrysoprase,—St. Thaddæus; (11) The Jacinth,—St. Simon Zelotes; (12) The Amethyst,—St. Matthias. A vain attempt this at an explanation, notes Bisping.

II. Ebrard justly observes that the twelvefold colour of these precious Stones denotes symbolically how the one light of the Gospel is variously refracted through the medium of Apostolic teaching; and yet he seeks (as do also Vitringa, Züllig, Ewald, &c.) to identify the various precious Stones enumerated here with those in the High Priest's Breastplate. This attempt of Ebrard is not successful. He takes the Stones of the Breastplate as represented in the LXX. version of Ex. xxviii. 17–20. In the LXX., however, *Jasper* is substituted in ver. 18 for the *jahalom* or *diamond* (see on Rev. ii. 17), although the Hebrew expressly gives "*Jasper*" (יַשְׁפֵה) in ver. 20. The order of the Stones, moreover, is entirely different:—e.g. in the Breastplate the *Sapphire* is the *fifth* stone, and the *Jasper* the *twelfth;* while in the Apocalypse, the *Jasper* is the *first* Foundation, and the *Sapphire* the *second;*—and it is only by an arbitrary interchange of the four "triads" of Stones in the Breastplate, and of the different stones in each "triad," that Ebrard can procure any approach to identity. Even for this he must assume that the three Stones in the Breastplate which do not occur here — the *Anthrax*, [LXX., *Hebr.* נֹפֶךְ, Ex. xxviii. 18], the *Ligure*, the *Agate* (ἀχάτης),—correspond respectively to the *Jacinth*, the *Chrysoprase*, and the *Chalcedony*. Compare the variety also in the order of the precious stones enumerated in Ezek. xxviii. 13;—see the note *in loc.*

Züllig (*Excursus* on Rev. xxi. 19, 20, B. ii. s. 456, &c.) goes farther still than Ebrard. He seeks to assign a particular precious stone to each Tribe of Israel, in the order of the gates of the New Jerusalem as given in Ezek. xlviii. 31–34. He attains the following result: (1) The Jasper corresponds to *Benjamin*; (2) The Sapphire to *Dan*; (3) The Chalcedony to *Simeon*; (4) The Emerald to *Issachar*; (5) The Sardonyx to *Zebulun*; (6) The Sard to *Gad*; (7) The Chrysolite to *Asher*; (8) The Beryl to *Naphtali*; (9) The Topaz to *Reuben*; (10) The Chrysoprase to *Judah*; (11) The Jacinth to *Levi*; (12) The Amethyst to *Joseph*. This arbitrary arrangement begins on the East side in Ezekiel's list of gates (see on ch. vii. 5), and there with the *middle* gate; it then goes round in the order South, West, North,—ending with the *first* gate in the East side, that of *Joseph*.

III. De Wette, Hengst., Düsterd. agree in denying such applications to either the Patriarchs, or the Apostles individually. And Hengstenberg thus sums up his interpretation: "So that we must here rest in the conclusion, that by the variety in the precious Stones is symbolized the richness of the glorious Gifts of God, which unfolded themselves in the Apostles."

IV. Some ancient writers (e.g. Arethas, Beda, Œcumenius, Ludolphus, C. à Lapide) give a mystical and spiritual meaning to each of the Stones. The Jasper is the brightness of *faith;* the Sapphire of *hope;* and so forth: cf. St. Gregory, *Moral. in Job.* xxviii. 16; but, as I. Williams notes, all such attempts are vain. The idea is well expressed by Words. that "in the variety and beauty of the precious Stones, is symbolized the πολυποίκιλος σοφία of God (Eph. iii. 10)."

There is doubtless here an order Divinely intended—an order best expressed in the words of the ancient Hymn:

> "Suis coaptantur locis
> Per Manum artificis."

[On these precious Stones, see Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvii.; Epiphanius, *De xii Gemmis Rationalis*, t. ii. p. 225, Ed. Petav.; Marbodus, De Lapidibus pretiosis Enchir.; Faustino Corsi, *Pietri Antiche*, Roma 1828, p. 127, &c.]

Note C on ver. 20—Jacinth, Hyacinthus.

The name *Jacinth* has been transferred, as follows, to the modern gem from the ancient *Hyacinthus* which has thereby totally lost its original designation:—'Jacinth,' the French 'Hyacinthe,' comes to us from the Italian 'Giacinto,' formed, according to the usual rule of that language, from the Latin 'Hyacinthus' (King, *Pr. Stones*, p. 220). Pliny writes: "Multum ab [amethysto] distat Hyacinthus, ab vicino tamen colore descendens. Differentia hæc est, quod ille emicans in Amethysto fulgor violaceus diluitur in Hyacintho, primoque adspectu gratus evanescit antequam satiet, adeoque non implet oculos ut pæne non attingat, marcescens celerius nominis

7.—The *Chrysolite*, pure as sunlight, of *Matthias*.

8.—The indefinite *Beryl*, of the doubting *Thomas*.

9.—The *Topaz*, of the delicate *James* the younger.

10.—The *Chrysoprase*, of the serene and trustful *Thaddeus*.

11.—The *Amethyst*, of *Matthew* the Apostle.

12.—The pink *Hyacinth*, of the sweet-tempered *Simeon* of Cana"—(p. 19).

sui flore."—*H. N.* xxxvii. 41. "What this *flower* (the Hyacinth) was," adds Mr. King, "is fully as much a matter of dispute among the botanists, as is the nature of the gem with the mineralogists." Pliny (*H. N.* xxi. 97) writes: "Hyacinthus in Gallia maxime provenit; hoc ibi fuco hysginum tinguitur:"—the dye *hysginum* is usually translated *blue*. "Sprengel defines it to be the common *gladiolus*, an explanation overthrown by Pliny's distinction: 'Post hanc gladiolus *comitatus* hyacinthis.' Many others agree with La Chaux in considering it to be the *tiger lily*, with whom sides Milton, who has 'Like to the *sanguine* flower inscribed with woe.' A few make it to be the *larkspur*, a *purple* flower. . . . My own opinion, amidst this diversity, rather inclines to the blue *fleur-de-lys*, the blossom of which lasts but for a day, and thus answers to one of Pliny's characters of the disputed flower" (see Solinus, *Polyhistor*, c. xxx.):—*Nat. Hist.* p. 243.

In Ex. xxv. 4 the three colours of the Tabernacle are "*blue* [*Hebr.* תכלת] and purple, and scarlet" (LXX., ὑάκινθον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ κόκκινον):—see the Note on Ex. xxv. 4; and on Rev. ix. 17.

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *The river of the water of life.* 2 *The tree of life.* 5 *The light of the city of God is himself.* 9 *The angel will not be worshipped.* 18 *Nothing may be added to the word of God, nor taken therefrom.*

AND he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal,

[Ver. 1 *om.* καθαρόν. Ver. 2 ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν [Cf. John xix. 18; Ezek. xlvii. 7, 12, LXX., ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν. ℵ has merely ἔνθεν καί,—"excidit versus quo scripta erant ἔνθεν ξύλ. ζω.",—*Tischend.*].—*om.* ἕνα. Ver. 3 κατάθεμα [T. R. κατανάθεμα, "eine erasmische Erfindung,"—Delitzsch]. Ver. 5 οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι.—[A reads ἔξουσιν].—φωτὸς λύχνου.—[A, P read φῶς ἡλίου].—φωτίσει.—ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ver. 6 ὁ Κύρ.—τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν. Ver. 7 καὶ ἰδού. Ver. 8 ὁ ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων ταῦτα. Ver. 9 *om.* γάρ (inserted without any authority by Er.). Ver. 10 ὁ καιρὸς γάρ, in place of ὅτι ὁ καιρ. Ver. 11 καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπανθήτω ἔτι [These words, omitted from his MS., Er. supplied after the Vulg. (*et qui in sordibus est sordescat adhuc*) by καὶ ὁ ῥυπῶν ῥυπωσάτο (*sic*) ἔτι.—1 omits all from ἀδικησάτω ἔτι to καὶ ὁ ἅγιος κ. τ. λ.].—δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω [Here Er. rendered the *justificetur* of the Vulg. by δικαιωθήτω]. Ver. 12 *om.* the 1st καί.—ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ. Ver. 13 *om.* εἰμι.—ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος (These words are to be read after ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, from both of which A omits ὁ). Ver. 14 οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν [So ℵ, A, Vulg.;—B, 1, Cop. read οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ. P is defective in *vv.* 7–21]. Ver. 15 *om.* δέ.—πᾶς φιλῶν. Ver. 16 [A reads ἐν τ. ἐκκλ.,— ℵ, B ἐπί,—1 omits the prep.].— *om.* τοῦ before Δαυείδ.

[After Δαυείδ the codex of Erasmus breaks off; and he supplied the rest of the chapter by his own re-translation of the Vulgate. In his first edition (1516) he writes "Quamquam in calce hujus libri nonnulla verba reperi apud nostros, quæ aberant in Græcis exemplaribus, ea tamen ex Latinis adjecimus":—see Introd. § 8. Thus in ver. 16 he rendered the *et matutina* of the Vulg. by καὶ ὀρθρινός, for which we must read with ℵ, A, B (cf. ch. ii. 28) ὁ πρωινός,—before which καί (found only in A) is to be omitted]. Ver. 17 ἔρχου twice.—ἐρχέσθω.—*om.* καί before ὁ θέλων.—λαβέτω ὕδωρ. Ver. 18 Μαρτυρῶ ἐγὼ παντὶ τῷ [*contestor enim*, Vulg.].—ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά.—τῷ βιβλίῳ. Ver. 19 ἀφέλῃ.—τοῦ βιβλίου.—ἀφελεῖ.—τοῦ ξύλου [*de libro vitæ*, Vulg.].—*om.* last καί [*et de his quæ scripta*, Vulg.].—τῷ βιβλίῳ. Ver. 20 *om.* and ναί [This ναί Er. took (as he has taken the whole verse) from a reading supplied by Laurentius Valla; it is not presented in the Vulg., nor is it read by any Uncial MS.]. Ver. 21 *om.* ἡμῶν.—*om.* Χριστοῦ.—*om.* ὑμῶν [A reads μετὰ πάντων.—ℵ reads μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων.—B reads μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων].—[A omits Ἀμήν].—[*Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum omnibus vobis. Amen.* Vulg.].]

1. *And he shewed me*] Ch. xxi. 10 is here taken up and continued.

Ezek. xlvii. 1–12 should be read carefully in connexion with verses 1 and 2; cf. also Joel iii. 18; Zech. xiv. 8.

a river] Omit the word "*pure*,"—see *vv. ll.*

Here at length, and in ver. 2, the types which Paradise presented are fulfilled:—(i.) We have first of all the "*river*" which "*went out of Eden*," Gen. ii. 10. See on ver. 2.

For this restoration of a better Paradise, see on ch. ii. 7.

of water of life,] "*There is a river*," wrote the Psalmist, "*the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God*" (Ps. xlvi. 4)—streams

proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.

2 In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, *was there* the tree of life, which bare twelve *manner of* fruits, *and* yielded

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not of physical water; but of the spiritual life promised by Christ,—John iv. 10, 14; vii. 38; see also ch. vii. 17; xxi. 6.

bright *as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb,*] From one and the same throne,—see ch. iii. 21. In Ezek. xlvii. 1, the "*waters issued out from under the threshold*" of the Temple. In the New Jerusalem there is no Temple (ch. xxi. 22), and the river proceeds "*out of the throne of God and of the Lamb,*"—cf. ch. v. 13; vii. 17.

The Lord, while on earth, had spoken of the "*rivers of living water;*" and St. John (vii. 39) has added the comment: "*This spake He of the Spirit.*" Here, the "*river of water of life*" "proceeds out of the throne *of God and of the Lamb*"—affording a remarkable illustration and proof of the Article of the Creed: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son."

Note carefully the connexion of this verse with the first clause of ver. 2.

2. in the midst of the street thereof.] *I.e.*, 'The river proceeded out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, in the midst of the street of the City.' "*The street*" is taken collectively, as in ch. xxi. 21. The connexion of these words with ver. 1—which alone seems to render the words that follow, especially the word "*And,*" intelligible—was first pointed out by Matthiä; and has been adopted after him by Züllig, Füller, Bisping, and Burger. The great majority of commentators however, with the A. V., place a full stop at the end of ver. 1; but in that case the whole analogy of the Apoc. would suggest the existence of "**and**" at the beginning of ver. 2—introducing a new clause; see e.g. ch. iv. 1. The analogy of Ezekiel's vision also leads to the same result. There the waters issue forth "*eastward,*" in the direction of the principal avenue of the Temple Court,—"*by the way that looketh eastward*" through which the Prophet is led (Ezek. xlvii. 2); and in neither ver. 7, nor ver. 12, of which this passage is an almost verbal transcript, is there mention of a "*way*" or "*street*" in connexion with the "*trees.*"

And on **this side of the river and on that was the tree** *of life,*] Or, **a tree of life.** (See *vv. ll.*, and the references there given). The new clause begins, as usual, with "*And.*" The word "*tree*" in the Greek is anarthrous, but is taken generically to represent the numerous *trees* which grew on either side of the river—see on ch. xxi. 16; or *two trees* merely may be signified, in contrast to the *one* Tree in the original Paradise.

Düsterd. allows that it is very difficult, with the ordinary punctuation, to explain the construction, which Alf., after him, renders thus: "'*In the* **midst** *of the street of it* (the city), *and of the* **river, on** *one side and on the other,*'—the gen. ('*of the river*') being governed by '*in the midst*' (as Ewald, Düsterd., and others), not by '*on either side*' (as De Wette): and the meaning being that the trees were on each side in the middle of the space between the street and the river."

I. Williams renders: **"In the midst, &c., and on either side of the river was there a tree of life;"** the absence of the article before the word "*river*" in ver. 1, as well as before the word "*tree,*" implies, he suggests, "in both cases a River and a Tree not to be confounded with any other mentioned in Scripture from its transcendental nature." And he explains (after Dean Woodhouse and Dr. Wells): **"in the midst of the river encompassing the street on this side and on that side"**:—"On the sides of the River, then, not, as in Ezekiel many trees, for the solace of our weakness on earth, but the one Tree of Paradise; when the flaming sword of death is removed. Not a river dividing into four heads to replenish the earth, but one River and one Tree, restored to the unity which is in God. One river, encompassing in the midst of it 'the tree of life.'" (p. 471).

(ii.) In "*the tree of life*" (cf. ch. ii. 7) we have the *second* type from Paradise—Gen. ii. 9; iii. 22. See on ver. 1.

In the note on Gen. ii. 9 see Dr. Kennicott's remark as to the generic force of the word "*tree*"; whence he infers that all the trees of Paradise, except the Tree of Knowledge, were Trees of Life.

bearing *twelve* [*manner of*] *fruits,*] Or, **twelve crops of fruit.** "As before, the one Foundation of Christ was found to be in the Twelve Foundations with Twelve precious stones of every colour, so here the one Tree of Life bears '*twelve manner of fruits*'" (I. Williams, p. 469);—"signifying," notes Ebrard, "the ever new enjoyments of the Blessed."

On the other hand Hengst. writes: "We are *not* to think of different kinds of fruits;"—but merely "*new* fruits," indicating that "the enjoyment of life shall be without interruption." And so Burger, **"a twelve-fold harvest of fruits,** as the verse goes on to

her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree *were* for the healing of the nations.

3 And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him:

4 And they shall see his face; and his name *shall be* in their foreheads.

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explain—a new harvest each month." And so Stuart renders: **producing twelve fruit harvests**, so as to afford an *abundant*, not a *varied*, supply.

yielding its fruit *every month*:] (Omit the initial "*and*" of the A.V.: and see *vv. ll.*). The words of Ezek. xlvii. 12, "*whose leaf shall not fade, neither shall the fruit thereof be consumed: it shall bring forth new fruit according to his months*," rather support Hengst. against the A.V.; viz., that the Tree yields "*new*" fruit every month in never-ending succession. The fruit of the Tree, notes Reuss, is no longer forbidden; on the contrary, it is offered with a fecundity of which actual nature presents no example.

The number *Twelve* is again suggested by the word "*month*:"—cf. the Twelve gates of Pearl (ch. xxi. 21), to which the expression "*every month*" has been taken to correspond; just as the thought of the "*Nations*" walking in the light of the City (ch. xxi. 24), corresponds to the closing words of this verse—

and the leaves of the tree [*were*] *for the healing of the nations.*] Compare: "*And the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof for medicine*"—Ezek. xlvii. 12. The sense clearly is that the healing virtues of the Tree of Life supply the remedy for that sickness of the soul which troubled the "*Nations*" during their earthly existence, but to which they shall no more be subject in the City of God. The objection of Hengst. is groundless, who limits the healing to the *present* state of things: "Healing implies *disease*. But this belongs only to the present life." As little can one argue from ch. xxi. 4, that the tears which God shall wipe away, imply that sorrow still exists in the New Jerusalem. The tears are those which men weep under the troubles of earth, but which cease to flow in the Life Eternal. Düsterdieck refers to those who are "*athirst*," as we read in ver. 17; ch. vii. 16;—and to the wretched and miserable in ch. iii. 17. The virtue of the Tree of Life, as of the Cross, is not limited to Jews only, but extends to all the "*Nations*" of the earth, who are within the Christian Zion—see ch. xxi. 24–26. So Words.; and see the notes on ch. xx. 2; xxi. 24.

On the other hand, De Wette, Züllig, Ewald, Alf., understand the "*Nations*," dwelling *outside* the heavenly City;—Bengel understands the "*Nations*" to which the Gospel has not been preached in this life;—Ebrard makes "*the healing*" import not "*the healing* from sin, but from the state of undeveloped faith in Christ."

Renan comments thus: The Apocalypse is "*par excellence* the Book of Jewish pride. According to the author, the distinction between the Jews and the pagans will continue in the Kingdom of God. While the Twelve Tribes eat of the fruits of the Tree of Life, the Gentiles must content themselves with a medicinal decoction of its leaves ('d'une décoction médicinale de ses feuilles. Trait ironique')."—p. 475.

3. *And there shall be* **no curse any more**:] Or, **no more anything accursed.** On the word rendered "*curse*" see *vv. ll.*, and Matt. xxvi. 74 (*κατάθεμα* — "*Apud profanos non exstat*," Grimm), and cf. Josh. vii. 12, 13; Zech. xiv. 11 (LXX.). All upon which the curse (Gen. iii. 17) might rest has departed from the community of the Blessed—see ch. xx. 10, 15; xxi. 27; therefore what follows naturally results. Because there is no more curse, the Divine rule shall never be withdrawn.

and *the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be* **therein**:) Note, "*and*," not "*but*." One and the same Throne,—see ver. 1; ch. iii. 21.

and his servants **shall do him service**;] See ch. vii. 15. Shall worship *Him*—not *them*; for Christ has said, "I and the Father are One"—John x. 30.

Burger would translate "**shall serve him as priests**," enjoying the rights conferred in ch. i. 6; v. 10; 1 Pet. ii. 5. That the verb here used (*λατρεύω*) does *not* signify this, see Archbishop Trench's *Synonyms*, p. 118.

As in ch. xx. 7, the descriptive style of the Vision has passed in this verse into a direct prediction.

4. *and they shall see his face*;] See Matt. v. 8; 1 John iii. 2; cf. Ex. xxxiii. 20; Ps. xvii. 15:—"Not through veils and mysteries" said Arethas (after "the great Dionysius," *ap.* Cranmer, *l.c.*, p. 491), "but even as He was seen by the holy Apostles, on the holy Mount," when they said "*It is good for us to be here*,"—Luke ix. 33. See on ch. xxi. 22.

and his name [*shall be*] **on their** *foreheads.*] See ch. iii. 12; vii. 3; xiv. 1:—"Not engraved in plates of metal, as on the forehead of the High Priest, but written by the finger of God."—I. Williams, p. 473.

[a] ch. 21. 23.

5 [a] And there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever.

6 And he said unto me, These sayings *are* faithful and true: and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done.

7 Behold, I come quickly: blessed

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5. *And there shall be* **night no more;**] See *vv. ll.* The description of ch. xxi. 23, 25, is here repeated:—cf. John ix. 4; xi. 10.

and they need **no light of lamp,** *neither light* **of sun;**] See *vv. ll.* The Codex Alexandrinus reads, "**they shall need.**" No night:—No lamp, no Sun is needed now,—

for the Lord God **shall give them light:**] See *vv. ll.*: Gr. **shall lighten upon them.**

and they shall reign for ever and ever.] Not for a definite period as in ch. xx. 4, 6, but "**unto the ages of the ages,**"—see on ch. i. 6. The rule of glorified man over the New Earth is to be of a different character from that exercised by man over Nature according to the law laid down in Gen. ix. 2.

With this promise the Revelation Proper (ch. iv. 1–ch. xxii. 5) comes to a close, and the description of the New Jerusalem is ended:—see the remarks introductory to ch. xvii.

III. The Epilogue (6–21).

The Third of the three great divisions of the Book.

The Angelic Confirmation (6–11).

The Visions have now ceased which disclose the future; and the Epilogue follows where, in *vv.* 6–11, the Angel confirms the truth of the communications received by St. John; and where Christ Himself, in *vv.* 12–16, adds to this His testimony. In *vv.* 17–21 the Prophetic Book itself is concluded.

The Epilogue closely corresponds to the Introduction:—The recapitulation, *vv.* 6–12, corresponds to the theme as stated in ch. i. 7, 8;—The words "I John," ver. 8, correspond to ch. i. 9;—The Benediction, ver. 21, to the Salutation, ch. i. 4–6.

6. *And he said unto me,*] The "*Angelus Interpres,*" the interpreting Angel who has in general conveyed the revelations:—see on ch. i. 1; xxi. 5. Not so, writes Düsterd., understanding the Angel who is the speaker in ch. xxi. 9. Differently still Ebrard,—he decides that there is here no new utterance of the Angel who speaks in ch. xxi. 9; but that St. John, as in ver. 8, is himself the speaker, who now recalls to his own recollection and to that of his readers two facts,—(1) the statement of this Angel in ch. xxi. 5; and (2) the truth that the entire of the Apocalypse is of Divine origin.

These words [*are*] *faithful and true:*] See ch. xxi. 5; and cf. ch. xix. 9; Dan. viii. 26. It is clear from *vv.* 7, 18, that the Angel refers here to the entire of the Apocalypse.

and the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets,] See *vv. ll.* Not, as we read in Num. xvi. 22, "*the spirits of all flesh,*" but in the restricted sense expressed in 1 Cor. xiv. 32, and also in the words "*the spirit of Prophecy*"—ch. xix. 10.

"The spirit of the prophets" notes Hengst., "is the spirit of Prophecy which rests on them;" the Spirit itself is the same for all (1 Pet. i. 11; 2 Pet. i. 21); but each prophet has his own measure of the Spirit's gift,—1 Cor. xii. 11: and so De Wette. Düsterd. however understands the prophets' *own spirit,* which God makes His instrument, guiding it by the Divine Spirit. This latter seems to be the true meaning.

sent his angel to shew unto his servants] "*In* (or "**concerning**") *the churches,*" as in ver. 16;—to believers generally.

the things which must shortly **come to pass.**] The verbal agreement of this verse with ch. i. 1, intimates that the conclusion of the Book begins here. This agreement also proves that these words apply to the whole Apocalypse.

7. And behold, *I come quickly.*] (See *vv. ll.*:—in ver. 12 "*And*" is omitted). "**And** still He is not yet come. See ch. i. 1; and 2 Pet. iii. 8" (Words.). In the Inscription (ch. i. 1–3), the order of the clauses is not the same as in this verse,—the words "*the time is at hand*" closing the third verse in ch. i.

The words "*I come quickly*" are now thrice repeated—here, and in *vv.* 12, 20; see also ch. ii. 16; iii. 11. The fundamental prediction is given in Mal. iii. 1. The present passage, although uttered by the "*Angelus Interpres,*" is evidently spoken from the Person of Christ (see ver. 16; cf. ver. 20; and also ch. xi. 3):—the person sent, speaking from the Person of the Sender, as in Gen. xix. 21, 22. If this be borne in mind, the discussion as to who is the speaker in the different clauses of the chapter—e.g. in *vv.* 12–15—is not of much

is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.

8 And I John saw these things, and heard *them*. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which shewed me these things.

9 Then saith he unto me, [b]See *thou do it* not: for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God.

[b] ch. 19. 10.

10 And he saith unto me, Seal

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profit. On the change from the first to the third person Burger compares Jer. xxxiv. Ebrard, who considers that St. John, not the Angel, is now the speaker, notes that the Seer reminds his readers of the saying of Christ, "*Behold I come quickly*," in ch. iii. 11; just as he has quoted at ch. xvi. 15 a similar saying in ch. iii. 3, "*I will come as a thief*":—see on ver. 8.

Blessed is he that keepeth **the words**] The words are "*faithful and true*" (ver. 6; ch. xxi. 5). Cf. ch. xiv. 13; xvi. 15; xix. 9; xx. 6.

In ch. i. 3 the verse *begins* with the Benediction, see above.

of the prophecy of this book.] The addition, "*of this Book*," is made to what is said in ch. i. 3, as the command given to the Seer in ch. i. 11, 19, has now been obeyed.

"*This Book*"—not as yet written—is referred to here, and again in *vv.* 9, 18, 19.

8. *And I John* **am he that heard and saw these things.**] See *vv. ll.* Commentators note here the *present* tense of the participles—marking, without temporal significance, the ecstatic condition in which St. John "**hears and sees**" these things—as contrasted with the aorists that follow, and which refer specially to *vv.* 6, 7: cf. the tense of the participle in ch. xx. 10; xxi. 9; &c. "John," writes Bengel, "had placed his name in the title of his Book (ch. i. 4, 9), . . . and now at the close he names himself again, so that we might perfectly know that he, the Apostle John, had written this testimony as to the Coming of Jesus Christ." It is common to his Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse, that the truth of the facts recorded should be established by the evidence of *hearing* and *seeing*—e.g. John i. 14; xix. 35; xxi. 14; 1 John i. 1, 2; iv. 14. "*These things*," here and at the end of the verse, refer to the entire contents of the Book.

Dionysius of Alex. (*ap.* Euseb. vii. 25) connects this clause of ver. 8 with ver. 7; so that the Seer includes himself in the blessing there pronounced.

And when **I heard and saw,** *I fell down to worship*] As in ch. xix. 10, where see the note. Observe the aorists in this place—see above.

before the feet of the angel which shewed me these things.] Note again the tense of the participle rendered "*which shewed*."

When St. John had heard the words "*Behold I come quickly*" (ver. 7), he supposes that He who speaks is the Lord Himself: he therefore falls, as in ch. xix. 10, before the Angel; so Bisping.—Hengst. considers that the offered worship in ch. xix. 10 had respect solely to the contents of the preceding verses; here, on the other hand, it has respect to the contents of the entire Book;—Ebrard (see on ver. 6) decides that there is no repetition of the act of worship; but that as St. John, in ver. 6, had recalled to mind what he had heard in ch. xxi. 5; and, in ver. 7, had recalled to mind ch. iii. 11; so here he merely re-states what he had written in ch. xix. 10, in order the more carefully to preserve the record of a fact and a warning of such grave importance for the instruction of the Church of all time. As in the Old Test. the person of the Prophet is sometimes lost in that of the word of God Himself who speaks through the Prophet, so it happens here. Thus in ver. 9 it is said "*I am thy fellow servant*," and then, without any intimation of change of person, we read in *vv.* 12, 13, "*Behold I come quickly*," "*I am Alpha and Omega*" (see on ver. 7). To prevent therefore any ambiguity, what occurred in ch. xix. 10 is again introduced.

9. **And he saith** *unto me, See* [*thou do it*] *not:* **I am a fellow-servant with thee and with thy brethren**] (Omit "*for*" before "*I am*,"—see *vv. ll.*). So far there is perfect agreement here with ch. xix. 10, where the words which follow, "*that have the testimony of Jesus*," are now replaced by

the prophets, and **with** *them which keep* **the words** *of this book: worship God.*] The command to "*worship God*," is the same in both places. On this reference to "*the prophets*" Bishop Wordsworth notes: "The *prophets* were *St. John's brethren*, and this spiritual brotherhood is displayed in the Apocalypse. He and they were inspired by the same Spirit, and as is here observed by an ancient Expositor, 'how many words of Isaiah, how many words of Zechariah, do we read in this book of St. John!'" Düsterd. likewise observes that "*the prophets*" are here

not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand.

11 He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still.

12 And, behold, I come quickly; and my reward *is* with me, [c]to give [c] Rom. 2. 6.

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distinguished from the rest of the believers as "*brethren*" of St. John (an idea which does not appear in ch. xix. 10); the design being to exalt St. John's authority as a Prophet, and the authority of the Apocalypse. To this inference corresponds the Angel's command in ver. 10 (cf. ch. i. 11, 19) that the Seer should impart the Revelation to others,—a command to be contrasted with the words of ch. x. 4 (cf. Dan. viii. 26; xii. 4, 9). Alford refuses to recognize any distinction between "*prophets*" and "*brethren*."

After this episode, as it were, of *vv.* 8, 9, the utterances of the Angel in ver. 7 are resumed.

10. *And he saith unto me,*] These words either indicate that the discourse of the Angel here takes a new beginning; or rather serve to point out that his words in ver. 7 are continued:—see on ver. 9.

Seal not **up the words** *of the prophecy of this book;*] The public announcement of the revelation is here enjoined,—see on ch. i. 19. In ch. x. 4 an opposite command is given.

The end of all things under the *seventh* Trumpet (ch. x. 7) *has now come.*

for the time is at hand.] See *vv. ll.* The words of ch. i. 3 are closely followed.

Ebrard would once more see not an actual utterance of the Angel, but a reminiscence on the part of the Seer of the commands "*to write*" given in ch. i. 19; xxi. 5. These are now expressed in the different form "*seal not up;*" just as the reason given in the words "*the time is at hand*" replaces the form "*I come quickly*" in ch. iii. 11, and ver. 7 above.

As in Dan. viii. 26; xii. 4, God is wont to command His prophets to "*seal up*" His prophecies when they refer to remote times; so, when they refer to times near at hand, He commands that the revelation should not be sealed, as the Angel commands here (C. à Lapide). The nearer the time is at hand, so much the more does the Church need the consolation with the Apocalypse conveys.

11. *He that* **is unrighteous,**] On ὁ ἀδικῶν, cf. Matt. xx. 13.

let him **do unrighteousness** *still:*] Or, "**yet more.**" The Angel, with a retrospective glance at the previous visions which reveal the eternal ruin of the ungodly, and the eternal glory of the Saints, now addresses to both solemn words of practical exhortation, not unmingled with a certain irony,—cf. Ezek. iii. 27; xx. 39; Matt. xii. 33; xxvi. 45. The time is so short there is hardly need to change:—so the majority of commentators. The moral is—"Change while there is time"!

Hengstenberg notes that this verse stands between the sayings "*the time is at hand*" (ver. 10), and "*I come quickly*" (ver. 12); and that its meaning is to be determined by its position:—Each of its statements is alike agreeable to the will of God. If men will not sanctify Him, He will sanctify Himself upon them. If they will have it so, let it be so;—if it is right in their view, so is it also in God's.

Burger regards the first two members of this verse as conveying a thought similar to that contained in Luke xvii. 26–30:—every man will continue to act according to his disposition and the bent of his will, as long as there is time to do so. This time, however, is short. "**Behold,**" says the Lord, "*I come quickly*" (ver. 12).

Ebrard makes this verse also to be the inference of St. John.

and he that *is filthy, let him* **be made filthy** *still:*] Or, "**yet more.**" See *vv. ll.* Cf. James i. 21; ii. 2; 1 Pet. iii. 21, on the word translated "*filthy.*" Alf. would take the verb "in the constant middle sense of passive verbs when the act depends on a man's self"—"**and let the filthy pollute himself still.**" Cf. on ver. 15.

and he that is righteous, **let him do righteousness still:**] Or, "**yet more.**" See *vv. ll.* On the word "*righteous*" cf. ch. xv. 3: and as illustrating the *manner* of St. John, compare the use of this form of speech in 1 John ii. 29; iii. 7:—see Introd. § 7, IV. (*f*).

and he that is holy, let him **be made holy** *still.*] Or, "**yet more.**" Alf. would render the passive verb as before: "**and the holy sanctify himself still.**"

Bishop Butler (*Analogy*, ii. ch. 1) quotes this verse in order to illustrate the fact that "the light of Reason does not any more than that of Revelation, force men to submit to its authority."

The verse is also quoted in the Epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1):—see Introd. § 2, (a) No. (13).

CHRIST ADDS HIS TESTIMONY (12–16).

12. **Behold,** *I come quickly;*] Omit "*And,*" see *vv. ll.*; and on ver. 7. A passage (*vv.*

every man according as his work shall be.

[d] Is. 41. 4. & 44. 6. 13 I am Alpha and Omega, [d] the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

14 Blessed *are* they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

15 For without *are* dogs, and sor-

12–16,) where the utterance is from the Person of Christ Himself, now begins:—the objection to this division, founded on ver. 14, is removed by the true reading in that place.

Ver. 16 proves that the speaker here is Christ,—or, at least, which amounts to the same thing, the Angel in His Person, see on ver. 7.

Hengstenberg decides that "the speaker here, as in ch. i. 8, is simply GOD in the undistinguished unity of His Being, or God in Christ. . . . Where the Angel does not speak in his own person, or the speaker is not more definitely described, as at ver. 16, there it can be only God in Christ." Düsterd., however, makes St. John himself the speaker in *vv.* 12–15; and he takes *vv.* 12, 13, to be an introduction, in which St. John (who knows himself to be the true interpreter of the whole revelation) passes over to his own exhortation (ver. 14) from the utterances of the Angel. The Seer does this by the use of the two Divine sayings of *vv.* 12, 13, just as he had done in ch. i. 8.

and my reward is with me,] Or, **wages**. *I.e.*, the reward which I bestow;—see ch. xi. 18; Isai. xl. 10; lxii. 11. These words of Isaiah belong to those Divine sayings which identify St. John as a *prophet*—see on ver. 9.

to render] The *infin. epexegeticus*, added as a complement after the verb "*I come*;"—cf. John iv. 15: see Winer, § 44, 1.

to each man *according as* **his work is.**] See *vv. ll.* The Apocalypse here at its close (cf. ch. ii. 23; xx. 12, 13), insists upon the doctrine on which St. Paul without ceasing dwells,—God "*will render to every man according to his works*"—Rom. ii. 6; xiv. 12; 1 Cor. iii. 8; 2 Cor. v. 10; &c.

These words intimate that the entire life of a man is to be regarded as *one* continuous "*work*." We may compare 1 Cor. iii. 12–15, where also the singular, "*work*,"—τὸ ἔργον,— is found.

13. I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end.] See *vv. ll.*:—compare Isai. xli. 4; xliii. 10; xliv. 6; xlviii. 12. St. John again follows the prophetic utterances of Isaiah—see on ver. 12 above.

In this place only the three Apocalyptic titles of Christ are combined:—(1) "*The Alpha and the Omega*"—see ch. i. 8; xxi. 6; (2) "*The First and the Last*"—see ch. i, 17; ii. 8; (3) "*The Beginning and the End*"—see ch. xxi. 6. The *first* title is symbolical; the *second* is borrowed from the Old Test. (see reff. above); the *third* is philosophical. The sense is, 'I am He from Whom all Being has proceeded, and to whom it will return;—the primal Cause and final aim of all history;—Who have created the world, and Who will perfect it.'

As before, Alford and others ascribe these words to God the Father.

14. Blessed are they that wash their robes,] This (see *vv. ll.*) the reading of the Alexandrine and Sinaitic MSS., Düsterd. imagines to have been suggested by a desire not to allow the Divine utterances in *vv.* 13, 16, to be interrupted by an intervening utterance of St. John, which he takes this verse to be.. This reading alone, however, renders the meaning clear, and the connexion intelligible.

For the full doctrine of what is here expressed, see ch. vii. 14,—from which verse the Vulgate has supplied "*in sanguine Agni*" in this place.

Bishop Wordsworth still retains the reading adopted in the A. V., "*that do his commandments.*" This reading is found among Uncials only in B (C and P are defective here); and among Versions in the Copt., Syr., and Arm. Andreas has it, and therefore codex 1. It is found in Tertullian (*De Pudicit.* 19), and also in Cyprian (*Epist.* 294) who appeals to Matt. xix. 17. Cf. ch. xii. 17; xiv. 12.

that they may have **the right** [**to come**] *to the tree of life,*] Or, **the authority over the tree of life**; and thus "live for ever"—Gen. iii. 22: cf. the promise, ch. ii. 7; and see above ver. 2. On the constr. "*that they may*" see on ch. xiv. 13. Words. renders: "**that their authority may be upon the tree of life**"—"*i.e.*, may extend *to* it, and may be exercised *upon* it, so that they may take and eat of its fruit." Ebrard here (as in ch. xiv. 13) makes this a *dependent* clause,—'They wash their robes in order that they shall, as the result, receive authority to eat of the tree of life.'

and may enter in **by** *the gates into the City.*] Or **portals** (πυλῶσιν). Christ Himself is *the* "Gate"—see John x. 9 [Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα]; and on ch. xxi. 21. See on ver. 19.

The former clause of this verse Ebrard refers to those who dwell *within* the City this clause to "*the Nations*" (see on ch. xxi.

cerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

16 I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, *and* the bright and morning star.

26; and above on ver. 2) who dwell *without*. It is more simple, however, to understand that the great object and aim of believers—"**The right to come** *to the tree of life*"—is first set forth; and then the way that leads to it, entrance "**by** *the gates into the City*."

15. **Without** *are* **all** *dogs*,] Omit the "*For*" of the A. V.—see *vv. ll.* The article, here represented by "**all**," precedes each of the first *five* nouns. In the first noun there is a general description of that moral impurity which is specially noted in ver. 11—an idea borrowed from the wild, unclean type of "*dogs*" in Eastern lands, and still preserved in the French word *canaille*:—cf. Matt. vii. 6; Phil. iii. 2. This verse pronounces a sentence of eternal exclusion of all such from the City of God.

Düsterdieck suggests that the contrast which is presented here to the Benediction in ver. 14, rather requires that these words should be taken as a command—"*Hinaus die Hunde!*" "**Away ye dogs!**" ("*foras*"—*scil.* "sunto," not "*foris*"—*scil.* "sunt;" supplying, in fact, ἔστωσαν). Words. compares "Procul, O procul este profani." The former sense seems far more natural.

and sorcerers,] See, in a different order, the catalogue of sinners given in ch. xxi. 8.

Or render, **Without** [*are*] **the** *dogs, and* **the sorcerers,** *and* **the fornicators**, &c.

and every one that loveth and doeth a lie.] See *vv. ll.*:—or, **every one loving and doing.** The '*doing* a lie' stands opposed to '*doing* the truth,' John iii. 21; cf. ch. xxi. 27. As in the summary of ch. xxi. 8, all single sins are here also comprehended in the general idea of "*a lie*."

Hengst., having noted that in ch. xxi. 8 those who are excluded from the Kingdom of God "form *four* pairs," and that in ch. xxi. 27 the enumeration "is comprised in the number *three*," goes on to observe: "Here the excluded are *seven*, and the *seven* is divided by the four and the three, just as in Isai. i. 4."

"I am not sure," writes Bossuet, "if any portion of Scripture can be found in which terrors and consolations are better intermingled than they are in these last two chapters. There is everything to attract in this most blessed City; all in it is rich and glorious; but everything also is fitted to inspire one with dread,—for we there perceive still more of purity than of grandeur."—*Comm. in loc.*

Burger notes that *vv.* 14, 15 show the results, on either side, of the choice left free for every one (ver. 11), and of the Judgment (ver. 12).

16. *I Jesus have sent mine angel*] As stated from the very first, ch. i. 1. These words contain a direct reference to the present revelation to St. John. See on ver. 7; and compare ver. 12 as to the relation of the speaker throughout to our Lord.

The Apocalypse here resumes as at the beginning the form of an Epistle. Here for the first time, and only here, at the close of the Book, and as the seal to all that is written in it, the Lord styles Himself by His personal name JESUS.

to testify unto you these things in the churches,] See *vv. ll.* The reading ἐν is adopted here; but if ἐπί be read translate **concerning the churches**, as in ch. x. 11 (cf. John xii. 16): so Hengst., Züllig, Düsterd. Hengst. takes "*unto you*" to mean "my servants the prophets who are represented by John, cf. *vv.* 6, 9; ch. i. 1." Düsterd., omitting the prep. (with codex 1) translates, **have sent mine angel unto you the churches** [*i.e.*, the Seven Churches of ch. i. 4] **to testify**, &c. Burger, likewise *without* the prep., suggests the same translation. If, however, the prep. (ἐπί) is to be read he refers "*unto you*" to the Angels of the Churches, and renders, "**concerning the churches.**" Bengel, also omitting the prep., refers the dative "*unto you*" to the Angels of the Seven Churches; and he takes ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις to be an *ablative*, rendering "*in the churches.*" Vitr. translates "*in commodum Ecclesiarum*" (ἐπί):—"Grotius recte vertit *Ecclesiarum bono.*" Alf., likewise reading ἐπί, nevertheless translates "*in the churches*" ("the ἐπί of addition by juxtaposition—John iv. 6; Rev. ix. 14").

I am the root and the offspring of David,] See ch. v. 5; Matt. xxii. 41–45;—cf. also Isai. xi. 1, 10; Rom. xv. 12. On the words "*offspring*" (γένος) Düsterd. quotes in illustration: "Credo equidem . . . . genus esse Deorum"—*Æn.* iv. 12. Vitringa notes "Sensus est, in Christo solo stare et conservari familiam Davidis" (*l.c.*, p. 915).

At the word "*David*" the cursive manuscript, "1," used by Erasmus breaks off—a manuscript which has so greatly influenced the *Textus Receptus* and the modern translations of the New Testament. From this point to the end of the Apocalypse the

17 And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that
[e] Is. 55. 1. heareth say, Come. [e] And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.

18 For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, [f] If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book:
[f] Deut. 4. 2. Pro. 30. 6.

"Authorized Version" is a translation into English, of the re-translation by Erasmus of the Vulgate into Greek. On this subject see *vv. ll.*, and the Introduction, § 8.

the bright,] Omit [*and*], which is not in the Greek. Compare

> "Hesperus that led
> The starry host, rode brightest."—
> *Par. Lost*, IV. 605.

the morning star.] Omit *and*,—see *vv. ll.* on this, and also on the word translated "**morning.**" See on ch. ii. 28.

In this, and in the preceding title, the Lord refers to the past and to the future. He Who after the flesh is the Son of David, is now the Herald of the coming Dawn;—from Him proceeds the light of the eternal Day: see ch. xxi. 23. "*I will give him the Morning Star*," is His promise to every one "that overcometh" (ch. ii. 28).

Sir. I. Newton compares 2 Pet. i. 19.

THE CONCLUSION (17-21).

17. *And the Spirit and the bride say, Come.*] Or translate "**Both the Spirit and.**" See *vv. ll.*: cf. the same form, Ἔρχου, in ch. vi.

In response to the Lord's announcement in ver. 12, "*Behold, I come quickly*," the Universal Church,—the "*Bride*,"—inspired by the Holy Ghost (cf. Acts xv. 28), answers, "*Come*"! Not the Church triumphant, as in ch. xxi. 2, 9, but the Church still waiting for Redemption —cf. John xv. 26, 27.

It is unnecessary to refer precisely, with Hengst., to the Spirit of Prophecy (ch. xix. 10), or yet to the Spirit of the prophets (ch. xxii. 6), *in* which St. John found himself on the Lord's Day (ch. i. 10; iv. 2), and which speaks through him (ch. xiv. 13);—or, with Ebrard and Bisping, to the Spirit abiding with believers (Rom. viii. 26);—or, with Düsterd. and Alf., to the Spirit in the churches and in the prophets (ch. ii. 7, 11; xix. 10);—or with Züllig, to the Prophets (*i.e.*, the prophetic Spirit), and the Saints, ch. xi. 18; xvi. 6; xviii. 20, 24.

On the "*Bride*,"—the symbol by which the Church is represented,—see ch. xix. 7; xxi. 2, 9.

And he that heareth, let him say, *Come.*] See ch. ii. 7. 11—he that heareth "*what the Spirit saith unto the Churches:*" cf. ver. 18; ch. i. 3. Ebrard understands 'he that heareth the words of Christ in *vv.* 12–15'; —Düsterd., 'he that heareth the promise of the Lord's coming';—Alf. and Burger, 'he that heareth the cry of the Spirit and the Bride.' We cannot overlook the Lord's own repeated admonition (see Matt. xi. 15), where also the "*hearing*" is taken absolutely.

And he that is athirst, let him come:] See ch. xxi. 6; John iv. 14; vii. 37; cf. Isai. lv. i. See *vv. ll.*

he that will,] Omit "*and*," see *vv. ll.* Here, notes Ebrard, is the turning point of this exhortation:—to be "*athirst*," and to "*will*," are the essential conditions of "*coming*" to Christ.

let him take] See *vv. ll.*

18. I testify] (Omit "*For*,"—see *vv. ll.*). The personal pronoun is emphatic; 'I John testify.' We have here the Apostle's final warning;—not, as some (e.g. Ebrard) who appeal to ver. 20 conclude, a continuation of the Lord's address in ver. 16. Burger takes Christ Himself to be the speaker, and notes: "This is the Seal which the Lord Himself stamps upon the Book."

unto every man] As in ver. 16; Heb. x. 15. Alf. suggests "**of every man**," as Rom. x. 2; Gal. iv. 15.

that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book,] Note the accurate repetition of the words of ch. i. 3, where the Seer pronounces a Benediction on those who "*read*" and "*hear*," and "*keep the things that are written therein.*"

The solemn menace now follows:—

If any man shall add **unto them,**] See *vv. ll.* Gr. **upon them**—and so in the next clause.

The anathema here, in accordance with the whole spirit of the Apocalypse, is founded on the Old Test.:—e.g. "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it," Deut. iv. 2; xii. 32; Prov. xxx. 5, 6. Speaking of the perfections of God, the son of Sirach writes: "Unto Him may nothing be added, neither can He be diminished,"—Ecclus. xlii. 21.

These words, writes Burger, are addressed to the entire Church and its teachers. "Here," notes Words., "is a prophetic protest against the spurious Revelations forged

19 And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and *from* the things which are written in this book.

20 He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.

21 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ *be* with you all. Amen.

---

by false Teachers in the name of Apostles (see Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr., N. T.*; Jones, *On the Canon;* Lücke, &c.)."

God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book:] For the Old Test. parallels see Deut. vii. 15; xxviii. 27, 60. For the references to the "*Book*" itself, the first *six* Trumpets, ch. viii. 7–ix. 21 may be referred to;—the "*Seven Thunders,*" ch. x. 3;—the "*Seven Vials,*" ch. xv. 1–17;—the "*Earthquake,*" ch. xi. 13; xvi. 18;—the fall of Babylon, ch. xviii. Of course the penalties on additions or omissions are denounced against those who would, as Hengst. notes, assail "the proper kernel of the Book; such as would substitute for the *narrow* way presented in it, a *broad* one; or would in some measure extinguish the light of hope that shines in it for Christians." As a commentary on this passage we may well refer to the similar denunciation by St. Paul in Gal. i. 8, 9; and also to his reference to Hymenæus and Philetus who taught "*that the Resurrection is past already; and overthrow the faith of some*" (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18).

19. *and if any man shall take away from the words*] E.g. the exhortations to patience, ch. xiii. 10; xiv. 12;—to be "*faithful unto death,*" ch. ii. 10; iii. 10.

There have been at all times those who say "Let him make speed, and hasten His work, that we may see it" (Isai. v. 19; 2 Pet. iii. 4).

God shall take away his part] See *vv. ll.* For the phrase "*his part*" cf. ch. xx. 6; xxi. 8; John xiii. 1; and see Introd. § 7, IV., (*c*).

The words that follow are clearly figurative.

from the tree of life,] For this important change of reading (τοῦ ξύλου for βιβλου) in place of that adopted in the A.V., and introduced by Erasmus from the Vulgate, "*de libro vitæ*" see *vv. ll.* Compare also Introd. § 8.

and out of the holy city,] The two prepositions "**from,**" and "*out of*" (ἀπό, ἐκ) are connected with the verb "*shall take away.*"

The Tree and the City were both mentioned in ver. 14. "In these two," notes Bengel, "stands the sum of the blessedness written in this Book, at its beginning and at its close, —ch. ii. 7; iii. 12; xxi. 2; xxii. 2."

[**even from**] *the things which are written in this book.*] Or translate, "**from the tree of life, and out of the holy city, which are written in this book.**"] (Omit "*and,*" before "*from the things,*" see *vv. ll.*). As "*the plagues*" in ver. 18 are described as "*written in this Book,*" so Hengst. would refer the words "*which are written in this Book*" both to "*the Tree*" and to "*the City.*" Wordsworth comments: "The reading of the text [viz., the omission of "*and*"] is important as declaring that the Holy City belongs to those who are written in this Book;"—and he renders, "**out of the Holy City of those that are written,**" **&c.**

Ebrard notes: "Not John, but only He, the Lord, has power to issue such threatenings, as we read in *vv.* 18, 19." These words have caused offence to many. Thus Luther, in his *Preface* of the year 1522, expresses strong disapproval at St. John's assigning so much greater weight to his own Book than to the other Holy Books ("Darzu dünkt mich das allzuviel sein, dass er hart solch sein eigen Buch mehr denn andere heilige Bücher, da viel mehr angelegen ist, befiehlt und dräuet" *u.s.w.*); and, following him, De Wette, Kliefoth, &c. Luthardt justly replies: "As Paul, Gal. i. 8, f. invokes the curse on the man who corrupts the doctrine of *faith*, so John invokes the curse here on the man who corrupts the doctrine of *hope;* for the subject-matter here is the true consolation and light of the Church in the heaviest tribulation, and also the Word which has power to preserve the faithful so that they may not fall in the great Temptation, and perish."

The presumption, notes Bisping, would be intolerable, were such words to issue from the mouth of one who was not an Apostle.

20. *He which testifieth these things saith,*] The speaker is Christ, see ch. i. 2; xix. 10:—"*The testimony of Jesus Christ.*"

This idea of "testimony" (μαρτυρία) appears at the beginning, and recurs at the end of all the three greater documents which we have received from St. John:—John i. 19; xxi. 24;—1 John i. 2; v. 11;—Rev. i. 2; xxii. 20.

The words "*these things*" refer to the whole Book,—see *vv.* 6, 18; and cf. John xxi. 24. In what follows we have the parting sayings of the Lord, and of His Apostle.

Yea: *I come quickly.*] Here with the

reiteration of that promise which is the essence of the entire Apocalypse the Lord's own sayings come to a close.

Amen: **come** *Lord Jesus.*] (Omit "*even so,*" see *vv. ll.*). Thus the Seer answers in the name of the Church Universal. The Lord had promised the beloved Disciple an age above that of others (John xxi. 22): "If I will that he tarry till I come."—As if remembering these words, the longing of his soul gathers itself up in the parting cry: "*Amen: Come Lord Jesus.*"

21. The Grace of the Lord Jesus] Omit "*our,*" and "*Christ,*" see *vv. ll.*

be with all. Amen.] Omit "*you,*" see *vv. ll.* According to readings of more or less authority we may render, "**be with the saints**"; or "**with all the saints.**" These variations in the text have, doubtless, arisen from the desire of the scribes to bring this Benediction into more exact conformity with the closing words of St. Paul's epistles,—as e. g. 1 Thess. v. 28. It would seem from this place, and from ch. i. 4, that St. John had regard to the Pauline form.

To this close may be added that other saying of St. John (1 John ii. 28):—

"*And now, little children, abide in Him; that, when He shall appear, we may have confidence, and not be ashamed before Him at* HIS COMING.

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